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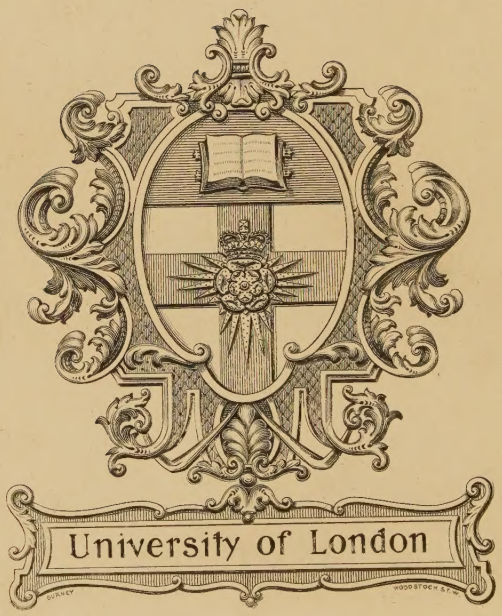

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HANSARD'S

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THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

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51 & 52 VICTORIÆ, 1888.

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THE EIGHTH DAY OF AUGUST, 1888,

TO

THE TWENTY-SECOND DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1888.

Ninth Volume of the Session.

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Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

East India Revenue Accounts—The Annual Financial Statement—*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Moved, "That it appears, by the Accounts laid before this House, that the Total Revenue of India for the year ending the 31st day of March 1887 was Rx.77,337,134; that the Total Expenditure in India and in England charged to Revenue was Rx.77,158,707; that there was a surplus of Revenue over Expenditure of Rx.178,427; and that the Capital Outlay on Railways and Irrigation Works was Rx.5,670,484, besides a Capital Charge of £4,914,546 involved in the Redemption of Liabilities,"—(*Sir John Gorst*) 137

After long debate, Amendment proposed,

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Question proposed, "That those words be there added:"—After further debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 36, Noes 105; Majority 69.—(Div. List, No. 272.)

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Local Government (England and Wales) Bill—

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Several *agreed to;* Several amended, and *agreed to.* [Special Entries.]

Mortmain and Charitable Uses Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 285]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 357

Moved, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Attorney General:*)—Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

County Courts Consolidation and Amendment Bill [*Lords*]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 359

Bill *re-committed* in respect of Clause 45:—Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported*, with an Amendment.

As amended, *considered:*—Bill read the third time, and *passed*, with Amendments.

National Defence Bill [Bill 235]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* 361

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 348]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Attorney General*) 361

Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 15th November.

Local Bankruptcy (Ireland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 344]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 361

After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Lloyd's (Signal Stations) (*re-committed*) **Bill** [*Lords*] [Bill 343]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 362

After some time spent therein, Bill *reported*, without further Amendment; Bill read the third time, and *passed*, with Amendments.

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Divisional Magistrates (Ireland) Bill [Bill 374]—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time" 377
Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday* 15th November.

MOTIONS.

—o—

Registration Act (1885) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Causton, Mr. Asquith, Sir Henry James, Mr. James Rowlands, Mr. James Stuart*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 376] 377

Court of Criminal Appeal Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Anderson, Sir John Simon, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Rowntree, Mr. Bradlaugh*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 377] 377

Cruelty to Children (Prevention) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Mundella, Mr. John Morley, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Henry James, Mr. Samuel Smith, Sir Robert Fowler, Mr. Robert Reid, Mr. Channing*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 378] .. 377

Waltham Abbey Gunpowder Factory Bill—
Read a second time, and *committed* to a Select Committee of Five Members, Three to be nominated by the House, and Two by the Committee of Selection.

[11.0.]

LORDS, SATURDAY, AUGUST 11.

Members of Parliament (Charges and Allegations) Bill—
Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read .. 378
After short debate, House in Committee accordingly:—Bill *reported*, without Amendment.
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Lord President:*)—Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 3ª, and *passed*.

Mortmain and Charitable Uses Bill—
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County Courts Consolidation and Amendment Bill—
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Commons' Amendments *agreed to*.

Imperial Defence Bill (No. 276)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord President*) .. 383
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly:—Committee *negatived*:—Bill read 3ª, and *passed*.

National Defence Bill (No. 277)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord President*) .. 384
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly:—Committee *negatived*:—Bill read 3ª, and *passed*.

Victoria University Bill (No. 218)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª,"—(*The Lord Herschell*) .. 385
After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed. [1.30.]

COMMONS, SATURDAY, AUGUST 11.

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE BANN BRIDGE AT PORTGLENONE—Question, Mr. Lea; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 387

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—TEACHERS IN WORKHOUSE SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 388

SOUTH AFRICA—AFFAIRS IN ZULULAND—Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) .. 388

POST OFFICE — SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT — CLERKS — Question, Mr. Carew; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) .. 388

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AT SUNDON BOARD SCHOOL, BEDFORDSHIRE—Question, Mr. Conway; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) .. 389

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TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS—THE CARDIFF BANK—Question, Mr. Howell; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 390

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STANDING ORDERS—

Ordered, That the Standing Orders, as amended, be *printed*. [No. 368.]

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (SATURDAY)—

Ordered, That the Sitting of the House, this day, be held subject to the Standing Orders that regulate the Sitting of the House on Wednesdays,—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

MOTIONS.

ADJOURNMENT—

Moved, "That this House, at its rising on Monday next, do adjourn till Tuesday, the 6th day of November,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) .. 392

After debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

Board of Agriculture Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. William Henry Smith, Mr. Secretary Matthews, Viscount Lewisham*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 379] .. 420

LOCAL BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) [SALARIES, &c.]—

Considered in Committee 420

Resolution *agreed to*; to be reported upon *Monday* next.

ADJOURNMENT—MR. JUSTICE DAY—
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) .. 430
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*. [5.30.]

LORDS, MONDAY, AUGUST 13.

Their Lordships met;—and having gone through the Business on the Paper without debate, [House adjourned] [2.30.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, AUGUST 13.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

EVICTIONS (IRELAND) — ESTATE OF MR. R. T. HAMILTON, CO. ARMAGH — CERTIFICATES OF REGISTRATION—Question, Mr. J. Nolan; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 433

IRISH LAND COMMISSION — SUB-COMMISSIONERS — MESSRS. BUTLER AND GREGORY—Questions, Mr. W. Abraham (Limerick, W.); Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 434

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MORTMAIN AND CHARITABLE USES BILL—LORDS' AMENDMENTS—EXEMPTION OF KEBLE COLLEGE, OXFORD—Questions, Mr. E. Robertson, Mr. Howell; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 437

MOTION.

—o—

ADJOURNMENT—
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) .. 439
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

House adjourned at Three o'clock, till
Tuesday, 6th November.

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INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS BILL—Question, The Earl of Harrowby; Answer, The Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Salisbury) 457

Local Government (England and Wales) Electors Act, 1888, Repeal Bill [H.L.]—*Presented* (*The Lord Denman*); read 1ª (No. 282) 458

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THE METROPOLITAN POLICE—RETIREMENT OF MR. JAMES MONRO, C.B., ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER—Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 462

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SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,210, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Land Commissioners for England, and for defraying the repayable Expenses to be incurred in matters of Enclosure and Land Improvement, and under 'The Extraordinary Tithe Redemption Act, 1886'" 463

Moved, "That Item A, Salaries and Wages, be reduced by the sum of £3,000, the Salary of two of the Commissioners,"—(*Mr. Molloy*:)—After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 69, Noes 154; Majority 85.—(Div. List, No. 277.)

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

Original Question again proposed 483

Moved, "That Item A, Salaries and Wages, be reduced by the sum of £800, the Salary of the Resident Legal Assistant Commissioner,"—(*Mr. Conybeare :*)—Question put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed 485

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £173,968, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation" 488

After short debate, *Moved*, "That Item F, for Inspection of Metropolitan Vagrant Wards, be omitted from the proposed Vote,"—(*Mr. Pickersgill :*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 497

Moved, "That Item S, £1,864, for the National Vaccine Establishment, be omitted from the proposed Vote,"—(*Mr. Bradlaugh :*)—After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 45, Noes 154; Majority 109.—(Div. List, No. 278.)

Original Question again proposed 523

After debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,717, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Commissioners of Lunacy in England" 543

Moved, "That the reduced sum of £717 be granted for the said Service,"—(*Mr. Molloy :*)—After debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(4.) £18,941, to complete the sum for the Mint, including Coinage.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 555

(5.) £5,071, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office.

(6.) £23,305, to complete the sum for the Patent Office, &c.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 560

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £9,690, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of Her Majesty's Paymaster General in London and Dublin" 566

It being Twelve of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Weights and Measures Bill [Bill 321]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*) 567

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.* [12.10.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 7.

QUESTIONS.

EAST AFRICA—THE SLAVE TRADE—Questions, Mr. Hanbury, Dr. Clark; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 568

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SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—
(In the Committee.)

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

(1.) £9,690, to complete the sum for the Paymaster General's Office.

(2.) £3,033, to complete the sum for the Public Works Loan Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 570

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £7,634, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Record Office" 572

After short debate, *Moved*, "That a reduced sum, not exceeding £7,384, be granted for the said Service,"—(*Mr. Bradlaugh :*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed 591

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £18,567, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Registrar General of Births, &c. in England" 592

Moved, "That Item C, Fees and Expenses of Superintendent Registrars, &c. be reduced by £5,000,"—(*Dr. Clark :*)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 44, Noes 123; Majority 79.—(Div. List, No. 279.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £185,977, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Stationery, Printing, and Paper, Binding, and Printed Books for the several Departments of Government in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and some Dependencies, and for the two Houses of Parliament, and for the Salaries and Expenses of the Establishment of the Stationery Office, and the cost of Stationery Office Publications, and of the Gazette Offices; and for sundry Miscellaneous Services, including a Grant in Aid of the publication of Parliamentary Debates" .. 601

Moved, "That the sum of £185,477 be granted for the said Service,"—(*Mr. Labouchere :*)—After short debate, it being half-an-hour after Five of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*. [5.35.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8.

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—o—

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THE INDIAN POLICE—APPOINTMENT OF EUROPEANS—THE HON. A. HAY—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 635

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THE METROPOLITAN POLICE—THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER—ARTICLE IN "MURRAY'S MAGAZINE"—Question, Mr. Atherley-Jones; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 637

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CRIMINAL LAW—COMMITTAL OF CHILDREN TO GAOL—NORTHALLERTON GAOL—Question, Mr. Pickersgill; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 640

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Sugar Bounties—The Special Commission (Expenses)—Questions, Mr. Picton, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 650

Supply—The Education Estimates—Question, Mr. Sydney Buxton; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 651

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—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

Class II.—Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.

(1.) £185,977, to complete the sum for Stationery and Printing.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 652

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £8,314, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, and of the Office of Land Revenue Records and Inrolments" .. 666

Moved, "That Item A, Salaries, Wages, and Allowances, be reduced by £500,"—(*Mr. Labouchere :*)—After debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 695

Moved, "That Item A, Salaries, Wages, and Allowances, be reduced by £1,000,"—(*Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh :*)—After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 69, Noes 114; Majority 45.—(Div. List, No. 280.)

Original Question again proposed 724

After debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £20,600, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings" 743

After short debate, *Moved*, "That a sum, not exceeding £19,967, be granted for the said Service,"—(*Dr. Tanner :*)—After further short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 44, Noes 163; Majority 119.—(Div. List, No. 281.)

Original Question again proposed 758

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £5,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, in Aid of the Mercantile Marine Fund" 759

It being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Weights and Measures Bill [Bill 321]—

Order for Second Reading read 759

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

Parliamentary Voters Bill [Bill 171]—

Order for Second Reading read 760

After short debate, Second Reading *deferred* till *Monday* next.

Waltham Abbey Gunpowder Factory Bill—

Order [10th August] That the Committee on the Waltham Abbey Gunpowder Factory Bill do consist of Five Members, Three to be nominated by the House and Two by the Committee of Selection, read, and *discharged.*

Ordered, That the Committee do consist of Seven Members, Four to be nominated by the House, and Three by the Committee of Selection:—List of the Committee .. 760

[12.10.]

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QUESTIONS.

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CHINA—MISSION OF MR. COLMAN MACAULAY TO PEKIN—Questions, Sir Roper Lethbridge; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst), The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 763

NAVY—H.M.S. "SULTAN"—COLLISION IN THE TAGUS—THE BRITISH STEAMER "NITH"—COMPENSATION—Question, Mr. Leatham Bright; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 764

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—IMPRISONMENT OF A GIRL IN CORK FEMALE PRISON—Questions, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 764

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND)—THE BURGH OF HAMILTON—Question, Mr. Philipps; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 766

THE SLAVE TRADE (EAST COAST OF AFRICA)—Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) .. 766

ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC—EXPULSION BY THE FRENCH OF THE REV. JOHN JONES FROM MAHE, ONE OF THE LOYALTY ISLANDS—Question, Mr. Johnston; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 767

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Post Office—"Cheap Postage to Australia"—Alleged Breach of Faith—Question, Mr. De Lisle; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes); Observations, Mr. Henniker Heaton 767

India Office—Competition for Indian Stamped Papers, &c.—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 769

Parliament—Scotch Business—Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill—Questions, Mr. D. Crawford, Dr. Clark; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson), The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 769

South Africa—Bechuanaland—Question, Mr. Ferguson; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 770

Post Office—Alleged Opening of Letters—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 770

Africa (Eastern)—The Slave Trade—English and German Cruisers—Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 771

The Truck Acts—Deduction of Wages—Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) .. 772

Business of the House—Hyderabad (Deccan) Mining Company—Question, Sir Roper Lethbridge; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 773

Business of the House—Universities (Scotland) Bill—Questions, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Childers; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 773

Business of the House—The Vote for Crofter Emigration—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 774

Criminal Law—The Murders at the East End of London—Notice of Question, Mr. Conybeare; Question, Mr. Cunninghame Graham; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 774

Australia — Queensland—Appointment of Governor—Sir Henry A. Blake—Question, Mr. Childers; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 774

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Supply—The Irish Votes—Question, Mr. Clancy; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 775

Supply—The Scotch Education Vote—Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 776

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

Class IV.—Education, Science, and Art.

(1.) £1,286,077, to complete the sum for Public Education.—After long debate, Vote *agreed to* 776

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

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SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [8th November] *reported* 880

Resolution 1 *agreed to.*

(2.) "That a sum, not exceeding £8,314, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, and of the Office of Land Revenue Records and Inrolments" 880

After short debate, Resolution *agreed to.*

Resolution 3 *agreed to.*

MOTION.

—o—

Metropolitan Streets Regulation Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Atherley-Jones, Mr. Forrest Fulton, Mr. Bradlaugh, Sir John Colomb, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Octavius V. Morgan*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 380] 882

[12.10.]

LORDS, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.0.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—RIOT AT ARTHURSTOWN—Questions, Mr Clancy, Mr. Cobb; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 883

LABOURERS' ALLOTMENTS ACT, 1887—RESTRICTIONS ON CULTIVATION—Question, Mr. Cobb; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 884

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL—Questions, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Fenwick; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 885

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIVER BANN—Question, Mr. Macartney; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 886

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—FAIR RENTS, CARRICK-ON-SHANNON AND BOYLE—Question, Mr. Cox; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 887

RAILWAYS (INDIA)—CHITTAGONG TO DIBRUGARH—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 887

METROPOLITAN POLICE—ARREST OF FRIEDRICH SCHUMACHER—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 888

BRITISH NEW GUINEA—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 889

THE INDIAN POLICE—APPOINTMENT OF EUROPEANS—THE HON. A. HAY—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 889

IRELAND—STATE OF THE COUNTRY—POTATO CROP, &c. IN CO. DONEGAL—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 890

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SITTINGS AT STRABANE—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 891

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THE BAHAMA ISLANDS — THE SUPERIOR COURT OF JUSTICE — THOMAS TAYLOR—Questions, Mr. Pickersgill, Sir Henry James; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 891

LAW AND POLICE—DEMORALIZING AND INDECENT PUBLICATIONS—Question, Mr. Jennings; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 892

RAILWAYS—ACCIDENTS TO EMPLOYES—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) .. 893

HOME OFFICE—CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT — Questions, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Gent-Davis; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 893

THE REGISTER HOUSE, EDINBURGH—THE DEEDS OFFICE—Question, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 895

THE FINANCIAL RESOLUTIONS—RELIEF OF LOCAL TAXATION—THE PROBATE DUTIES—Question, Mr. Atherley-Jones; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 895

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT — ELECTION OF COUNTY COUNCILLORS — THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX—Question, Mr. Atherley-Jones; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) .. 896

THE TRUCK ACTS—DEDUCTION FROM WAGES—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 896

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND)—THE TOWN COUNCIL OF HAMILTON—Question, Mr. Philipps; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 897

METROPOLITAN POLICE—THE CANONBURY MURDER—ARREST OF HENRY GLENNIE—Questions, Mr. Pickersgill; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 898

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION—REPORTS AND MAPS—Question, Mr. H. Gardner; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 899

METROPOLITAN POLICE—DETECTIVE DEPARTMENT — RESIGNATION OF SIR CHARLES WARREN—Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 899

REGISTRATION OF MINERS — THE COUNTY FRANCHISE — Question, Mr. Paulton; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 900

ARMY CONTRACTS—MESSRS. ALMOND—Question, Mr. J. Rowlands; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 901

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—COUNTY COUNCILS AND ELECTIONS—Question, Commander Bethell; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 902

CRIMINAL LAW—THE WHITECHAPEL MURDERS — OFFER OF REWARD—Questions, Mr. Cunninghame Graham, Mr. Hunter; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 902

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—CONSTITUTION HILL—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) .. 904

THE MAURITIUS—SIR JOHN POPE HENNESSY—Question, Mr. Baumann; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 905

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—THE TOWN COUNCIL OF HAVERFORDWEST — Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) 905

THE TWEED ACTS, 1857, 1859—Questions, Mr. Marjoribanks; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 906

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STANDING ORDERS — MORTMAIN AND CHARITABLE USES ACT — LORDS' AMENDMENTS—Question, Mr. Warmington; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 907

STATE COLONIZATION — APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE — Question, Mr. Kimber; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 907

PUBLIC BUSINESS—IRISH LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 907

THE SPECIAL COMMISSION—THE EXPENSES—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) .. 908

AUSTRALIA—QUEENSLAND—APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR—SIR HENRY A. BLAKE—Questions, Mr. Childers, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 909

NAVY—THE NAVAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—THE NAVY ESTIMATES—Questions, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 911

LAW AND JUSTICE—SALARIES OF THE LAW OFFICERS OF THE CROWN—Question, Mr. Henry H. Fowler; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 912

EXCISE DUTIES (LOCAL PURPOSES) BILL—THE VAN AND WHEEL TAX—Question, Mr. Causton; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 913

SUPPLY—THE IRISH ESTIMATES—Question, Mr. Clancy; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 913

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £5,000, to complete the sum for the Mercantile Marine Fund (Grant in Aid).—After debate, Vote *agreed to* 914

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £19,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Her Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services" 931

After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 214, Noes 94; Majority 120.—(Div. List, No. 282.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £29,776, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries of the Law Officers; the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Solicitor for the Affairs of Her Majesty's Treasury, and of the Department of the Queen's Proctor for Divorce Interventions, and of the Department of the Director of Public Prosecutions; the Costs of Prosecutions, including those relating to the Coin, and to Bankruptcy, and of other Legal Proceedings conducted by those Departments; and various other Legal Expenses, including Parliamentary Agency" 941

Moved, "That Item A, Salaries of the Law Officers, be reduced by £4,000,"—(*Mr. Sydney Buxton:*)—After debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 967

Moved, "That Item A, Salaries of the Law Officers, be reduced by £5,"—(*Mr. Sydney Buxton:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 971

After short debate, *Moved*, "That Item H be reduced by £1,000, part of the Salary of the Director of Public Prosecutions,"—(*Mr. Pickersgill:*)—After further debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 90, Noes 180; Majority 90.—(Div. List, No. 283.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £42,917, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Criminal Prosecutions at Assizes and Quarter Sessions, and for Adjudications under 'The Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879;' for Sheriffs' Expenses, Salaries to Clerks of Assize and other Officers; Compensation to Clerks of the Peace and others; and for Expenses incurred under Extradition Treaties" .. 1007

After short debate, *Moved*, "That Item I, £14,800, Repayments to Sheriffs, be omitted from the proposed Vote,"—(*Mr. Labouchere:*)—Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 66, Noes 176; Majority 110.—(Div. List, No. 284.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £153,315, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for such of the Salaries and Expenses of the Supreme Court of Judicature as are not charged on the Consolidated Fund" 1010

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Jennings:*)—The Committee proceeded to a Division, and the Chairman stated that he thought the Ayes had it, but his decision was challenged; and it appearing to the Chairman that the Division was frivolously claimed, he directed the Noes to stand up in their places, and Twelve Members having stood up, the Chairman declared the Ayes had it.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

Augmentation of Benefices Act Amendment Bill [*Lords*]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time" 1010

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Dillwyn:*)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Suffragans' Nomination Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 363]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 1012

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

MOTION.

Preferential Payment of Wages (No. 2) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Randell, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Abraham* (*Rhondda*), *Mr. Llewellyn*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 381] 1012

[12.15.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

NEW PEER—

The Right Honourable Sir John Savile, G.C.B., created Baron Savile of Rufford in the county of Nottingham.

Oaths Bill (No. 272)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl Spencer*) .. 1013

After debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* the 27*th instant.*

[6.0.]

COMMONS, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

QUESTIONS.

HIGHWAY ACT—OBSTRUCTION BY RELIGIOUS BODIES—Question, Mr. Cobb; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1026

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THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—ALEXANDRA GATE, HYDE PARK—Question, Sir Algernon Borthwick; Answer, The First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) 1027

LAW AND POLICE—DEMORALIZING AND INDECENT LITERATURE—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1028

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—PAYMENT OF INTEREST AND INSTALMENTS—Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) 1029

GLASGOW BOUNDARIES COMMISSION—LEGISLATION—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 1029

NAVY—PRODUCTION OF GUNS—Questions, Mr. R. W. Duff; Answers, The Financial Secretary, War Department (Mr. Brodrick) 1029

INDIA—ANNEXATION OF THE SHAN STATES—Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1030

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—SECTION 121—COUNTY ROADS—Question, Mr. Harry T. Davenport; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1033

EXCISE DUTIES (LOCAL PURPOSES) BILL—THE TAXES ON CARTS AND VANS—Question, Mr. Kelly; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) 1031

THE TRUCK ACT—DEDUCTIONS FROM WAGES—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1031

METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE—NUMERICAL INADEQUACY—Questions, Lord Henry Bruce, Mr. Johnston; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1032

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—BALLYCOTTON PIER—Question, Mr. Lane; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) .. 1032

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—COUNTY ELECTORAL DIVISIONS—Question, Mr. Wardle; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1033

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—RETURNS—Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1033

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE ROYAL NIGER COMPANY—THE CHARTER—Questions, Mr. Picton; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1034

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE—RETIREMENT ON FULL PENSIONS—Question, Mr. Cunninghame Graham; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1035

SUPPLY—CROFTER EMIGRATION (SUPPLEMENTAL) VOTE—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1035

METROPOLITAN POLICE—RESIGNATION OF SIR CHARLES WARREN—Statement, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews); Questions, Mr. Cunninghame Graham, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. James Stuart, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, Mr. Matthews 1035

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £153,315, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for such of the Salaries and Expenses of the Supreme Court of Judicature as are not charged on the Consolidated Fund" 1038

Moved, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by the sum of £500,"—(*Mr. Jennings :*)—After long debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 129, Noes 148; Majority 19.—(Div. List, No. 286.)

Original Question again proposed 1094

Moved, "That Item G, Circuit Allowances and Expenses, be reduced by £1,000,"—(*Mr. Bradlaugh :*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1107

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £4,680, to complete the sum for Wreck Commission.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1113

(3.) £198,030, to complete the sum for the County Courts.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1114

(4.) £596, to complete the sum for Land Registry.

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £370, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Expense of Revising Barristers in England" 1114

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £160, be granted for the said Services,"—(*Mr. Howell :*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(6.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £6,243, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Police Courts of London and Sheerness" 1117

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £6,143, be granted for the said Services,"—(*Mr. Pickersgill :*)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 91, Noes 150; Majority 59.—(Div. List, No. 287.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £233,520, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for contribution towards the Expenses of the Metropolitan Police, and of the Horse Patrol and Thames Police, and for the Salaries of the Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners, and Receiver" 1129

Moved, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by the sum of £1,500, the Salary of the Chief Commissioner,"—(*Mr. Bradlaugh :*)—After short debate, it being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.* [12.5.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE—ALLEGED CONVICTION OF TWO INNOCENT MEN—Question, Mr. Milvain; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1150

AUSTRALIA—QUEENSLAND—APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR—SIR HENRY A. BLAKE—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1151

PUBLIC MEETINGS (METROPOLIS)—THE MEETING ON CLERKENWELL GREEN—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1152

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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £6,243, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for contributions towards the Expenses of the Metropolitan Police, and of the Horse Patrol and Thames Police, and for the Salaries of the Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners, and Receivers" 1152

After debate, *Moved*, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by the sum of £1,500, the Salary of the Chief Commissioner,"—(*Mr. Bradlaugh :*)—After further debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 91, Noes 207; Majority 116.—(Div. List, No. 288.)

Original Question again proposed 1217

It being after half past Five of the clock, the Chairman rose to interrupt the Business:—Whereupon Mr. William Henry Smith rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put:"—Question put, "That the Question be now put:"—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 198, Noes 89; Majority 109.—(Div. List, No. 289.)

Original Question put accordingly:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 198, Noes 67; Majority 131.—(Div. List, No. 290.)

Whereupon the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [13th November] *reported* 1217

Resolutions read a second time.

Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the First Resolution:"—*Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Dr. Tanner :*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Subsequent Resolutions *agreed to.* [6.15.]

LORDS, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.15.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15.

QUESTIONS.

IRELAND—STATE OF THE COUNTRY—POTATO CROP, &c. IN CO. DONEGAL—Questions, Mr. Mac Neill, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1220

INDIA (NATIVE STATES)—THE BEGUM OF BHOPAL AND SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN—Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1222

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—PROPORTION OF ADVANCES—Questions, Mr. John Morley; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1223

SUPPLY—THE SHIPBUILDING VOTE—THE LATE NAVAL MANŒUVRES—Question, Lord Charles Beresford; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1224

SCOTLAND—THE CROFTERS' COMMISSION—Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 1224

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LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—SUMMONING CORONERS' JURIES—Questions, Mr. Illingworth; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1225

LAW AND POLICE—ASSAULTS ON THE POLICE—Question, Mr. Hozier; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1225

PROCLAIMED MEETINGS (IRELAND)—LONGFORD—Questions, Dr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Cox, Mr. Lane; Answers, The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) 1225

LABOUR—RETURN AS TO WAGES, &C.—PART 3—Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) 1227

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (SCOTLAND)—THE MAXWELTON (EAST KILBRIDE) ENDOWED SCHOOL SCHEME—Question, Mr. Hozier; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 1227

METROPOLIS—OVERHEAD ELECTRIC WIRES—Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh, Mr. Brunner; Answers, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) 1228

ARMY CONTRACTS—FORAGE CAPS—Question, Mr. J. Rowlands; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1228

INDIA (BENGAL)—OUTSTILLS IN THE HOOGHLY AND HOWRAH DISTRICTS—Question, Sir Roper Lethbridge; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1229

NAVY—ADDITIONAL WAR SHIPS—Questions, Mr. Howell, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1229

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ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—Civil Service Estimates—

(In the Committee.)

Class III.—Law and Justice.

(1.) £19,000, to complete the sum for Special Police 1258

Moved, "To reduce the Vote by £19,000,"—(*Mr. Firth:*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question again proposed 1266

Vote *agreed to*.

(2.) £872,286, to complete the sum for Police, Counties and Boroughs, Great Britain 1267

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

Moved, "To reduce the Vote by £1,899 4*s.* 10*d.*,"—(*Colonel Bridgeman :*)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1270

After short debate, Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £311,180, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Expenses of the Prisons in England, Wales, and the Colonies" .. 1272

Moved, "That Item D, Pay and Allowances, be reduced by £1,000, in respect of Medical Officers and Chaplains,"—(*Dr. Clark :*)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 101, Noes 161; Majority 60.—(Div. List, No. 291.)

Original Question again proposed 1290

Moved, "That Item D, Pay and Allowances, be reduced by £350, in respect of the Medical Officer of Kirkdale Prison,"—(*Mr. Dillon :*)—After debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 67, Noes 116; Majority 49.—(Div. List, No. 292.)

Original Question again proposed 1326

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(4.) £74,646, to complete the sum for the Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1329

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £13,802, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the maintenance of Criminal Lunatics in the Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum, England" 1335

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £13,402, be granted for the said Service,"—(*Mr. Labouchere :*)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 80, Noes 177; Majority 97.—(Div. List, No. 293.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow;* Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY—REPORT—Resolutions [14th November] *reported* 1338

"That a sum, not exceeding £233,520, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for contribution towards the Expenses of the Metropolitan Police, and of the Horse Patrol and Thames Police, and for the Salaries of the Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners, and Receiver."

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£233,520," in order to insert "£230,220,"—(*Mr. Pickersgill.*)

Question proposed, "That '£233,520' stand part of the Resolution:"—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 143, Noes 30; Majority 113.—(Div. List, No. 294.)

Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution:"—After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. James Stuart :*)—Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 25, Noes 116; Majority 91.—(Div. List, No. 295.)

Original Question again proposed:—After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bann Drainage Bill [Bill 312]—

Moved, "That the Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Appointment of Select Committee be read, and discharged" 1371

Question put, and *agreed to:*—Order *discharged:*—Bill *withdrawn.*

Suffragans Nomination Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 363]—

Order for Committee read [*Progress 12th November*] 1371

Committee *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE—

Ordered, That the Report of the Select Committee on Estimates Procedure (Grants of Supply) be referred to the Committee of Public Accounts,—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

[2.0.]

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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—

(In the Committee.)

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £195,303, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Science and Art Department, and of the Establishments connected therewith" 1396

After debate, *Moved*, "That a sum, not exceeding £190,303, be granted for the said Service,"—(*Dr. Clark:*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1459

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £194,803, be granted for the said Service,"—(*Mr. Labouchere:*)—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 41, Noes 106; Majority 65.—(Div. List, No. 296.)

Original Question again proposed 1462

After short debate, Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £61,359, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the British Museum, including the amount required for the Natural History Museum" 1466

After short debate, *Moved*, "That a sum, not exceeding £61,059, be granted for the said Service,"—(*Mr. Labouchere:*)—After further short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed 1492

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—Committee—*continued.*

After short debate, *Moved*, "That the reduced sum of £61,109 be granted for the said Service,"—(*Dr. Tanner :*)—Question put:—The Committee *divided ;* Ayes 24, Noes 137: Majority 113.—(Div. List, No. 297.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) £4,429, to complete the sum for the National Gallery.—After short debate, Vote *agreed to* 1494

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next; Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

Land Charges Registration and Searches Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 356]

Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Haldane*) .. 1497

Motion *agreed to :*—Bill *considered* in Committee.

Bill *reported ;* as amended, to be considered upon *Tuesday* next.

Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers' Expenses) (Scotland) Bill [Bill 47]—

Order for Second Reading read 1499

After short debate, Order *discharged :*—Bill *withdrawn.*

MOTION.

Bankruptcy Law Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Sir Albert Rollit, Colonel Hill,* ⅋*Mr. Woodall, Mr. Forrest Fulton, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Gully*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 384] 1500

[12.15.]

LORDS, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.0.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19.

QUESTIONS.

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MOTION.

—o—

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill—Motion for Leave—

Moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill further to facilitate the Purchase of Land in Ireland by increasing the amount applicable for that purpose by the Land Commission,"—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*) 1520

Amendment proposed,

To leave out all the words after the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in lieu of proceeding again to vote the sum of £5,000,000, so as to place the State in the direct relation of landlord to the Irish occupier, under the provisions of 'The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885,' it is expedient, especially in view of the lamentable sufferings caused by recent evictions in Ireland, to extend the provisions of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887,' so as to empower the Land Court to reduce or cancel the arrears of rents found to be excessive, as well as to deal with the rents themselves, after the example of the legislation recently and beneficially applied to the crofters' holdings in Scotland,"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir Edward Grey:*)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 348]—

Order for Committee read 1614

Committee *deferred* till *To-morrow*.

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (Kilrush and Cappoquin) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Arthur Balfour*) .. 1614

[12.5.]

LORDS, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 20.

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Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Denman*) .. 1629

On Question? *Resolved* in the *negative*.

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Sea Fisheries Regulation Bill (No. 264)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Earl of Onslow*) .. 1629
Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

Municipal Funds (Ireland) Bill (No. 278)—
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Privy Seal*) .. 1630
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with.

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Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill,"—(*The Earl of Crawford*) 1633
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BURIAL GROUNDS (METROPOLIS) — CITY OF LONDON AND TOWER HAMLETS CEMETERIES — Question, Mr. Cunninghame Graham; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 1659

BURMAH (UPPER)—THE RUBY MINES — Questions, Mr. Hanbury, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) 1659

SOUTH AFRICA—TRIAL OF UNDABUKO AND OTHER ZULU CHIEFS—Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1660

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT—PLEURO-PNEUMONIA—Question, Mr. Farquharson; Answer, Viscount Lewisham 1661

POST OFFICE—POSTCARDS—Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 1662

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT — ELECTION OF COUNTY COUNCILLORS — THE VOTING SYSTEM—Question, Mr. Howard; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1662

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—THE PROCURATOR FISCALSHIP OF ORKNEY—Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) 1662

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—DINIZULU—Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1663

BRITISH GUIANA—DEMERARA—TRANSIT OF MERCHANDIZE—Question, Mr. Watt; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) 1663

MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD—Questions, Sir George Campbell, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) 1664

EGYPT—DEFENCE OF UPPER EGYPT—Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. John Morley; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1664

KEBLE COLLEGE, OXFORD—Question, Mr. E. Robertson; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1665

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL—Questions, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1666

NAVY — THE SHIPBUILDING POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT — "BATTLEWORTHINESS"—Personal Explanation, Mr. Howell 1667

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (WEDNESDAY)—Question, Mr. Brunner; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1667

MOTION.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER)—

Ordered, That the proceedings on the Motion for leave to introduce the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House,—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

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ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill—Motion for Leave [Adjourned Debate]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [19th November:]—Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* 1668

After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 330, Noes 246; Majority 84.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 1756

Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Secretary Matthews*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 385.] [12.30.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

Criminal Law—Alleged Outrage in Whitechapel—Question, Mr. J. Rowlands; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) 1761

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill—A Point of Order—Questions, Mr. Conybeare, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1761

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill [Bill 385]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*) 1761

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day three months,"—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—After debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Parnell:*)—Question put, and *agreed to:*—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

Liquor Traffic (Local Veto) (Scotland) Bill [Bill 106]—

Bill *considered* in Committee 1810

It being half an hour after Five of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House:—Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Wednesday* next. [5.35.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

Cyprus (Finance, &c.)—Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) 1811

Merchant Shipping—Missing Coal-Laden Vessels—Question, Mr. J. Sinclair; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) 1813

[*November* 21.] *Page*

ARMY CONTRACTS—INSPECTION OF BOOTS—Question, Mr. Lafone; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1813

LAW AND JUSTICE—ALLEGED IMPROPER CONVICTION — THE ELLINGHAM BURGLARY — Questions, Mr. Aird, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 1814

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSIONERS—SITTING IN WESTMEATH—Question, Mr. Tuite; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1814

EAST INDIA—HYDERABAD (DECCAN) MINING COMPANY—THE REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) .. 1815

ARMY — NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION — REMOVAL FROM WIMBLEDON—Questions, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Coghill; Answers, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) 1815

METROPOLITAN POLICE — PENSIONS FOR INJURIES — CASE OF CONSTABLE BROWN—Question, Mr. Cunninghame Graham; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) .. 1816

RAILWAYS (IRELAND)—DUBLIN, WICKLOW, AND WEXFORD RAILWAY—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) 1817

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE JURY PANEL AT WICKLOW ASSIZES—Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton), Mr. W. O'Brien; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1817

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT — MAP OF THE BOUNDARY COMMISSIONERS — Question, Mr. H. Gardner; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1818

CRIME (METROPOLIS)—COMMON LODGING-HOUSES—Question, Mr. Howell; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1818

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD — Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) [Further Questions thereon] 1819

NAVY — THE DOCKYARDS — CHECK MEASUREMENT — Questions, Captain Price, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) 1821

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—INTERFERENCE OF THE POLICE AT CASTLEREA—Questions, Mr. Commins, Mr. W. O'Brien; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1822

VACCINATION—DEATHS OF CHILDREN AT ST. PANCRAS—Questions, Mr. Handel Cossham, Mr. Picton; Answers, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) 1823

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—TURF CUTTING AT CASTLEREA—INTERFERENCE OF THE POLICE—Question, Mr. Commins; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1825

TITHE RENT-CHARGES (IRELAND)—COMMUTATION—Questions, Mr. Stanley Leighton, Mr. H. Gardner; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1825

CIVIL SERVICE WRITERS—THE SATURDAY HALF-HOLIDAY—Question, Mr. Tuite; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) .. 1826

POST OFFICE—MAIL CONTRACTS—SURGEONS ON MAIL STEAMERS—Questions, Mr. R. Power, Dr. Clark; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) 1827

LOTTERY ACTS—THE WINTER EXHIBITION AT OLYMPIA—Question, Mr. S. Smith; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) 1828

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PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—THE PURCHASE MONEY—Questions, Mr. Brunner, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton), Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) 1829

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—TERMS OF PURCHASE—Question, Mr. Brunner; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) [Further Questions thereon] 1830

EGYPT (ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE)—MIXED TRIBUNALS—Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1832

MERCHANT SHIPPING—RULE OF THE ROAD AT SEA—COLLISIONS—Questions, Mr. Penrose Fitzgerald, Sir George Baden-Powell; Answers, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) .. 1832

SCOTLAND—CROFTER EMIGRATION—EXPENDITURE—Questions, Dr. Cameron, Dr. Clark; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) .. 1833

TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION BETWEEN HALIFAX AND BERMUDA—Question, Colonel Eyre; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) 1835

SWITZERLAND—THE SALVATION ARMY—IMPRISONMENT OF MISS STERLING—Question, Mr. Henry H. Fowler; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) 1835

THE MAGISTRACY (ENGLAND AND WALES) — THE NEEDHAM MARKET (SUFFOLK BENCH)—Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) 1835

LONDON COAL DUES—ANCIENT RIGHTS OF MEASURING AND WEIGHING COALS—Questions, Sir Joseph Pease, Mr. Brunner; Answers, The Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) 1836

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—BRITISH MUSEUM—EVENING ADMISSION—Question, Mr. Norris; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1837

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (SCOTLAND)—GRANT FOR DRAWING—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1837

EXCISE DUTIES (LOCAL PURPOSES) BILL—THE VAN AND WHEEL TAX—Questions, Mr. Byron Reed, Mr. Causton, Sir William Harcourt; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) .. 1838

SUPPLY—THE IRISH ESTIMATES—Questions, Mr. Dillon, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1839

SCOTCH CROFTERS' EMIGRATION—A COMMITTEE—Questions, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Hunter; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1840

SOUTH AFRICA—DINIZULU—Questions, Dr. Clark; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) .. 1841

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill [Bill 385]—SECOND READING [ADJOURNED DEBATE]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [21st November], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Debate *resumed* 1841

After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Question be now put,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith:*)—Question put, and *agreed to*.

Question put accordingly, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question:"—The House *divided;* Ayes 299, Noes 224; Majority 75.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 1924

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow*.

[*November* 21.] *Page*

Board of Agriculture Bill [Bill 379]—

Moved, "That the Order for Second Reading be discharged, and the Bill withdrawn,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) 1928

After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Order *discharged*:—Bill *withdrawn*.

Copyhold Acts Amendment Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 298]—

Moved, "That the Order for Committee be discharged, and the Bill withdrawn,"—(*Mr. Haldane*:)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Order *discharged*:—Bill *withdrawn* 1931

QUESTIONS.

PUBLIC BUSINESS—PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS—Questions, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) 1931

ORDER OF THE DAY.

Chapels (Clonmacnoice) Bill [Bill 361]—

Order for Second Reading read 1932

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow*.

MOTION.

SCOTCH CROFTERS' EMIGRATION—APPOINTMENT OF A SELECT COMMITTEE—

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the various schemes which have been proposed to facilitate Emigration from the Crofter districts of Scotland to the British Colonies; to examine the results of any such scheme which has received practical trial in recent years; and to Report generally upon the means by, and the conditions under, which such Emigration can best be carried out, and the quarters to which it can most advantageously be directed,"—(*Mr. W. H. Smith*) .. 1933

After short debate, Further Proceeding stood *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

[1.5.]

LORDS.

NEW PEER.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

The Right Honourable Sir John Savile, G.C.B., created Baron Savile of Rufford in the county of Nottingham.

COMMONS.

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

For *Merthyr Tydvil Borough*, *v.* Henry Richard, esquire, deceased.

For *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*, *v.* Right Hon. John Hay Athole Macdonald, Lord Justice Clerk in Scotland.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 9.

For *Dewsbury*, *v.* Sir John Simon, knight, Three Chiltern Hundreds.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 21.

For *Finsbury* (*Holborn Division*), *v.* Colonel Francis Duncan, deceased.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

Liverpool (*West Derby Division*)—The Hon. William Henry Cross

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8.

Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrew's—Moir Tod Stormonth Darling, esquire.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

Merthyr Tydvil—William Pritchard Morgan, esquire.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 20.

Dewsbury—Mark Oldroyd, esquire.

HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

THIRD SESSION OF THE *TWENTY-FOURTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, APPOINTED TO MEET 5 AUGUST, 1886, IN THE FIFTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

NINTH VOLUME OF SESSION 1888.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 8th August, 1888.

MINUTES.] — PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*) — *Considered as amended* — Mersey Railway (No. 1).

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) [354]; Public Works Loans [355]; Expiring Laws Continuance [353]; Municipal Funds (Ireland) [371].

Re-Committed—Committee—Report — Considered as amended—Third Reading — Sea Fisheries Regulation [350], and *passed*.

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Members of Parliament (Charges and Allegations) [336]; Bail (Scotland) [286], and *passed*.

Third Reading—Consolidated Fund (No. 3), and *passed*.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—o—

MERSEY RAILWAY (No. 1) BILL

[*Lords*] (*by Order*).

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered*.

MR. MACLURE (Lancashire, S.E., Stretford) said, he desired to move the insertion of Amendments to the clause which sanctioned an agreement between the Mersey Tunnel Railway and the London and North-Western and Great Western Railway Companies, giving the latter Companies exclusive privileges in the use of the Mersey Tunnel. He wished to explain that during the present Session the Mersey Company Bills had been introduced in the House of Lords, styled respectively the Mersey Railway (No. 1) Bill and the

Mersey Railway (No. 2) Bill. The No. 2 Bill was simply a Money Bill, and the No. 1 Bill contained certain clauses which were now the object of his opposition. The clauses and the agreement scheduled in the Bill to which he referred were not in it as it was originally submitted to the House of Lords or in this House; and therefore certain Railway Companies, whose interests were prejudicially affected thereby, had no *locus standi* against the Bill on that account. The proposal in the Bill really amounted to a gigantic monopoly, by which the whole system of Welsh railways, of the Sheffield and Lincolnshire, of the Midland, and of the Great Northern Railway Companies would be absolutely excluded from the free use of the Mersey Tunnel. The agreement of last year gave the London and North-Western an unfair advantage over five other routes, and it ignored the claims of the whole system of Welsh railways, the Sheffield and Lincolnshire, the Great Northern, and the Midland Railways, all of whom had spent large sums of money for the public benefit in order to establish an effective through communication between the Welsh system and the systems of Lancashire and Yorkshire. The Railway Companies prejudicially affected had already pointed out the gross unfairness of this proceeding to the promoters, but without effect; and he was so thoroughly convinced that the proposal in the clauses to which he took exception was opposed to the public interest that he was prepared to press his objection to a Division. Even taking the promoters' own statement, which had been sent to every Member of the House, the Mersey Tunnel was formed to make a communication between the railways on both the north and south sides of the river. Within the last month a great undertaking had been commenced—namely, the Dee Bridge, and those he represented had spent on that and the Wirral Railway £600,000 on works and communications, and they hoped within another 12 months that the Dee Bridge would be open and the Wirral system would be brought into absolute communication with the Mersey Tunnel. It would be of great benefit to both undertakings. In the statement the promoters had laid before the House they had ventured to say that the route, by means of the extensions of the Wirral Railway, had not been commenced, nor did the Wirral Railway Company complain of the agreement; but he desired, on behalf of the Wirral Company, to protest altogether against such a statement. Then the promoters went on to say that the interests of the Welsh railways were even more remote. But, as a matter of fact, the Wrexham, Mold, and Connah's Quay Company had running powers to the mouth of the Tunnel for the Wirral Railway system, and to sanction the proposal of the Bill would be to enable the London and North-Western and the Great Western Companies to choke the independent traffic which would be conveyed to the great benefit of the Principality of Wales. He asked the House to refuse to assent to this agreement. It was, as he had said, inserted after the Bill had left the House of Lords. The House of Lords had passed the measure without this objectionable clause, nor was it proposed in the Bill when the House of Commons passed the second reading. It was inserted in Committee on the last day when the Bill had been in the list for something like 10 days, and when it was impossible for those who were prejudiced by this very monopolizing clause to make their claim to have justice done.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member move to leave out the whole clause?

MR. MACLURE said, he begged to move the omission of the words, in page 12, from the word "The," in line 3, to "Heads," in line 8.

Amendment proposed, in Clause 15A, line 1, to leave out from the first word "The," to the word "Heads," in line 8. —(*Mr. Maclure.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. KENYON (Denbigh, &c.) said, he earnestly hoped the House would support the protest of his hon. Friend against this proposal to give these great Railway Companies a practical monopoly. As had been pointed out, this agreement was only scheduled at the end of the year, at the very last moment, and without due consideration of the fact that if carried it would place the Welsh Railway Companies in a very unfair position

to other Railway Companies communicating with the Mersey Tunnel. All the Welsh railways asked was that they should be granted the same benefits allowed to all the other railways; that they should be placed on equal terms with them; and they only hoped the House would join in the protest against giving the monopoly of running powers to the railways to which reference had been made.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Mr. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin): I should have liked to have heard something said on behalf of the promoters of the Bill. It is extremely embarrassing for the House to have to come to a judgment on the question after hearing one side only. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the Stretford Division of Lancashire (Mr. Maclure) has moved an Amendment which is an important one, and which deserves very serious consideration; and the hon. Member has been supported by another hon. Gentleman, but no one appears to support what is contained in the Bill. I do not know whether there is anyone in the House charged with the duty of representing the promoters, but I will state to the House very briefly how the case stands. The Mersey Railway, as everybody knows, had financial difficulties to contend with, and last year the Company introduced a Bill which contained in a Schedule an agreement with the Great Western and London and North-Western Companies for the interchange of traffic—an agreement which, it is said, gave these Companies a practical monopoly in respect of the traffic between Wales and the Western and Midland Counties. Without going into the question whether that is so or not, that, at any rate, was agreed to last year. Then this Session the Mersey Company comes again to Parliament with a Bill introduced first in the House of Lords, and had at the last stage of the Committee in the Commons an agreement inserted in the Schedule varying, undoubtedly, the agreement of last year, and, as just alleged, varying it in a manner most prejudicial to the Companies other than those I have spoken of. If this agreement had been in the Bill as introduced, the other Companies would have alleged with some force, if not with exactness, that they would have had a *locus standi* to object to this agreement; but, as a matter of fact, they were not heard before the Committee as it now stands in its amended form. As it is, they have not had the opportunity of urging their objections, and of showing how their interests will be prejudicially affected by this new agreement. Now, what the hon. Member for the Stretford Division of Lancashire proposes to do is not merely to nullify what is proposed to be done in this Bill as to the agreement, and as to which I think he has a very strong case, but he proposes also to repeal the Schedule and agreement in the Act of last year. That course would be unfair to the promoters of the Bill—about as unfair to them as the Bill is unfair to their opponents. I confess I can scarcely think the House will take the step of repealing the agreement which is scheduled in the Act of last year, and which is part of the series of Acts of Parliaments on which the Mersey Company has attained its position. What the hon. Member might do, and what I think the House will probably consider him entitled to do, would be to repeal Clause 15A altogether, and with it the Schedule, which will leave the Mersey Company in precisely the same position as they occupied last year—nullifying, in fact, its action in respect to which the opponents of the Company ought to have had the opportunity of being heard. I will suggest, therefore, to the hon. Member that he should withdraw the present Amendment and move the omission of Clause 15A, and then move the omission of the Schedule. Probably the House will think that by so doing neither the Mersey Company, nor the Great Western, nor the London and North-Western Companies will be unfairly treated.

MR. MACLURE said, it would be unbecoming of him, as a new Member of the House, not to accept the suggestion of such an authority as the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees; and he, therefore, should withdraw his Amendment and propose the omission of Clause 15A.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) said, he thought the promoters of this Bill would, if the course now proposed were adopted, be treated with very remarkable leniency. They had resorted to a course of conduct which, in his humble opinion, ought to have brought them within the jurisdiction of

the authorities of the House. They had adopted a mode of action which enabled them practically to evade those Rules and Orders which had been established for the protection of the different interests of the country with regard to Private Bill Legislation. They brought in a Bill which was of such a character that at the outset a number of persons who might be interested were put off their guard, and therefore did not obtain that *locus standi* before the Committee that was really necessary for the protection of their interests, as events showed. They allowed things to go on until the Committee were prepared to adopt certain conclusions; and then, at the last moment, when it was practically impossible for the Committee to appreciate the effect of what was proposed, they agreed to a Schedule which invaded in a very serious way the interests of third parties. These third parties had had no notice of this, and were not at all aware of what was being done until it was practically impossible for them to lay their case before the public. Now, that appeared to him to be a distinct evasion of the Rules and Regulations of the House; and as the agents of the promoters were, he believed, amenable to the jurisdiction of the House, it appeared to him that it would have been proper, just, and most salutary that some notice should have been taken of their conduct, and that they should have been prevented from further acting as agents in connection with Private Bill Legislation—at any rate, for some time. Their conduct was such as to call for some serious disciplinary action. The observations of the hon. Gentleman, who spoke with all the authority of Chairman of Committees, were, in his (Mr. Arthur O'Connor's) opinion, of a very lenient description. He should have preferred to see objection taken to the Bill being proceeded with any further; but if the House was disposed to take so lenient a view as the Chairman of Committees seemed inclined to recommend, he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) would not take the initiative in endeavouring to enforce serious penalty.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Gentleman withdraw his Amendment?

MR. MACLURE: I do, Sir.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. MACLURE: I beg to move the omission of Clause 15A.

Motion made, and Question, "That Clause 15A stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Schedule stand part of the Bill," put, and *negatived.*

Bill to be read the third time.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) wished, before the Leader of the House made the Motion of which he had given Notice for the suspension of the Standing Orders in regard to that day's Sitting, to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he proposed that that suspension should be extended beyond the Government Orders of the Day?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, they did not intend it to go beyond the 16th Order of the Day, and he hoped that the Sitting would not be very prolonged.

MR. SEXTON asked whether the 14th Order—the Municipal Funds (Ireland) Bill—would be taken?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Yes.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked whether the Scotch Burgh Police Bill would be taken that day?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that if there was any hope of making substantial progress with the Bill, they desired to go on with it; but if the Scotch Members intimated their intention to oppose the Bill, of course they could prevent it passing at the present Sittings.

MR. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University) asked if the Government proposed to take the 16th Order of the Day, no matter how late?

MR. W. H. SMITH: No; we shall not press that Order if it is the obvious wish of the House that it should be postponed.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked a Question as to the Indian Budget.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the hon. Member was under a misapprehension as to the Indian Budget. No Motion could be made on going into Committee, and the Speaker would leave the Chair

for the House to go into Committee without a Motion.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the right hon. Gentleman, as that interpretation of the Rule had the effect of depriving the Native population of India of any means of submitting their grievances to the House, if he would during the Recess consider whether an exception could be made to the new Rule, so as to prevent it from having a result which was not intended, but was only accidental?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he had already intimated that it would be his duty to consider that question during the Recess.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) asked, whether the Scotch Burgh Police Bill was to be stopped if only a few Scotch Members were opposed to going on with it? He wanted it to be passed after proper discussion.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that it was very difficult to make a statement that would be satisfactory to every hon. Member. About five hours had been consumed in discussing the course of Scotch Business the other day, the result of which was to prevent their making progress with that Business. What he wished to convey to the House was that if there was evidence of a general desire on the part of Scottish Members to make substantial progress with the Burgh Police Bill he should desire to press it forward in the present Sitting; but if, as he was informed, there were certain Scottish Members who intended to fight the Bill clause by clause, it was obviously impossible to ask the House to give protracted Sittings at that period. But it was the intention of the Government to pass the Bill in the course of the present Session.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, whether, if the Bill were opposed, as he understood it would be, the right hon. Gentleman would give them some assurance that in the Autumn Session Scotch Members would have a reasonable time afforded them for discussing it.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that he conveyed that meaning yesterday when he stated that it was the intention of the Government to pass the Bill in the course of the present Session—that was before the Prorogation of Parliament.

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston) asked the First Lord of the Treasury to accede to the view of hon. Members on that side of the House that the Oaths Bill should not be taken at a late hour.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, if that were the view of hon. Members behind him the Bill should be taken as a further Order to-morrow.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Before the Indian Budget?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Yes, Sir.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE, WEDNESDAY SITTINGS.

Ordered, That the Standing Orders of the House relating to Wednesday Sittings be suspended this day.—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS) BILL.—[BILL 336.]

(*Mr. William Henry Smith, Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Solicitor General.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *further considered.*

Clause 2 (Powers of Commissioners).

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton), in moving, after the word "action," to insert "and shall exercise the same as in the case of such action," said, that the clause gave the Commissioners all the powers and privileges of a Judge trying an action at law, and the result of the Amendment would be to provide that those powers should be exercised in accordance with the recognized practice of the Courts. One effect of the Amendment would be to make the Commission a public Court where evidence must be taken publicly; whereas, in the discretion of the Commissioners, as the Bill stood, it might be a private Court, and evidence might be taken secretly. That would be a most unfortunate course to take in a matter of this kind. With reference to the observation of the hon. and learned Member for Ashton-under-Lyne (Mr. Addison) on a former occasion that this inquiry ought not to be conducted according to the rules of the game of legal fence, he would remind him that those rules were the result of long experience, and were framed for the purpose of insuring that justice should be done between party and party, and between the Crown and

the accused. Unless the Government intended that this trial should be utterly illusory, or unless they intended that the powers of the Commissioners should be exercised to the disadvantage of the accused, he saw no valid reason why the Commissioners should not exercise their judicial discretion according to the established procedure.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 2, after the word "action," to insert the words "and shall exercise the same as in the case of such action."—(*Mr. Bradlaugh.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne) said, that though it was true the established procedure of the Courts was founded upon long experience, yet its rules were framed to apply between party and party, and not to an inquiry such as this was intended to be. The case of "O'Donnell *v.* Walter and another" showed how entirely inapplicable the strict procedure of the Courts would be to an inquiry of this kind. That case was conducted according to the rules of a civil action. The result was that the counsel for the plaintiff was the master of the situation so far as the conduct of the case was concerned, and made what was considered a clever move in the game—no doubt it was because they were told it received the sanction of the two most eminent lawyers in England. But it was a false move, and the plaintiff was checkmated in consequence. Had the Judge in that case been at liberty to disregard the discretion of the plaintiff and to call what witnesses he chose, the result might have been that the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) would have been examined and persuaded the Court of the truth of his cause, and nothing more would have been heard of this matter.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he wished it to be understood, whatever might be pretended to the contrary, that his Friends and himself desired that the powers of the Commission should be absolutely effectual for every reasonable purpose. They desired extremely that witnesses should be compelled to give evidence; that necessary documents might be examined; that persons might be punished for contempt; and they held it to be essential that evidence should be taken abroad. They would be sorry to assent to any action that would limit the powers of the Commission in any of these respects; but he held it had always been found that the powers of the High Court were absolutely sufficient for the full discovery of truth, and he failed to see any reason why the powers of the Commission should be in excess of those. He would also like to learn from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for England whether the Court would be an open Court, as the Bill left that matter undecided? After the course that the House had taken last night in refusing to sanction the release of Members of Parliament in prison under the Coercion Act to enable them to attend the sittings of the Commission it was all the more important that the Court should be an open one, and that there should be some provision that persons in prison should be made aware of its proceedings.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth) said, he agreed with the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken that it was the desire of the Government, as of hon. Members on his side of the House, that the powers of the Commission should be full and ample in the directions named. As to the question that had been addressed to him as to whether the Court would be an open one, and whether the evidence would be taken publicly, he was surprised that such a question should have occurred to anyone. He could not imagine that a Commission sitting under such circumstances should depart from the practice of all other Commissions, and take evidence in secret affecting the reputations of many persons.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, that many Commissions had taken evidence in private.

MR. SEXTON said, he was quite satisfied with the assurance that had been given by the hon. and learned Gentleman.

SIR EDWARD CLARKE said, that with regard to the Amendment, this Bill gave to the Commissioners all those powers which were given to other Judges to be used in their discretion as they might think necessary. If the proposed words were put in the clause the effect would be a mandatory provision, commanding the Commissioners that they

were to exercise the powers given to them. If anybody said to the Commissioners that a witness ought to attend and give evidence, they would be bound to issue a summons for his attendance, and imprison him if he did not come, although it might be perfectly evident to them that complete evidence was already before them, and that his evidence would be perfectly useless.

MR. BRADLAUGH submitted that the powers proposed by the Amendment were no more mandatory than the existing powers were upon any Judge sitting in the High Court for the trial of any action. The discretion was a judicial discretion governed by precedent.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby) thought the Solicitor General could not have read the Amendment.

SIR EDWARD CLARKE: Yes; I have.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the Amendment only provided that the Commissioners should exercise the powers as in the case of an action. He did not see how it could be said to take away their discretion. The Government had been endeavouring to escape, not only from the title of their Bill, but also from its Preamble. The title applied to Members of Parliament, and the Bill did not. The Preamble did not say that the Commissioners were to inquire into anything and everything. They were not entitled to do that, but were to inquire into the charges and allegations made in the particular action of "O'Donnell *v.* Walter and another;" and if there were any charge not brought forward in that action, the Commissioners would have no power to inquire into it at all. They were absolutely prohibited by the Bill from doing so, and by the 1st clause of the Bill. Surely if the Bill gave to the Commissioners the powers that were given to a Judge in an action, it was not immaterial or unreasonable to require also that those powers should be used as they would be used in an action. The discretion was no more taken away by the Amendment in the case of the proposed inquiry than it would be taken away in the case of an action.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put;" but Mr. Speaker withheld his assent, and declined then to put that Question.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. FINLAY (Inverness, &c.) said, that the result of compelling the Commissioners to exercise their judicial discretion as in an action would be that they would be unable to call any witnesses whom they might think it necessary to have before them for the discovery of the truth, for they would only be able to enforce the attendance of such witnesses as the parties chose to call. He hoped the House would not agree to the Amendment.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 60; Noes 148: Majority 88.—(Div. List, No. 266.)

On the Motion of SIR JOHN SIMON, Amendment made, in page 2, line 5, after "or," by leaving out "otherwise" and inserting "promise and declaration."

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he begged to move an Amendment, the effect of which was to provide that a summons signed by one or more Commissioners should be equivalent to formal process, not only for compelling, but for enabling the production and inspection of documents.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 6, after the first word "the," to insert the words "enabling and."—(*Mr. T. P. O'Connor.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. SEXTON said, he considered the Amendment of vital importance. They knew that the forged letters had been for years in the possession of *The Times*, and that they had been submitted to the examination of experts. He was also informed that *The Times* had retained all the eminent experts in England, and that there was not an eminent expert who had not been so secured. The result was that if his hon. Friend the Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) wished to obtain the services of experts, he would have to go to France, or some other country, for the purpose. He wished the Government to say whether or not they would insert provisions in the Bill to enable his hon. Friend to inspect the documents before the trial or during the progress of the trial, and before he was called upon to give evidence. To refuse to do that would subject his

hon. Friend to a fatal disability. It was absolutely necessary that the documents should be produced and inspected in advance by his hon. Friend, and the experts on his behalf. If that facility was not allowed, public opinion would stand amazed, and would most sternly condemn a proposal by which the parties producing the impugned documents would be allowed to accumulate scientific evidence on the subject of their genuineness, while the parties chiefly concerned with the genuineness of those documents were deprived of the right of examination of them before they were cross-examined in reference to them.

SIR EDWARD CLARKE felt sure that the Commissioners would do justice in this matter. The moment a document was produced, it would be in the custody of the Commissioners, and he did not entertain the slightest doubt that they would allow the persons implicated ample time and opportunities for inspecting it.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA (Monaghan, S.) said, it would not be possible for the hon. Member for Cork to stand cross-examination as to the documents without an examination of them beforehand. He, therefore, hoped that the Government would allow the Amendment to pass.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT contended, that unless those words were inserted in the clause the Commissioners would not have the power to order inspection.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) held the insertion of the proposed words to be of the utmost importance.

SIR EDWARD CLARKE said, that if the hon. Member would consent to the withdrawal of this Amendment, he would afterwards move to insert, in another part of the clause, the following words:—

"The Commissioners may order that any document or documents in the possession of any party appearing in the inquiry should be produced for the inspection of any other party."

MR. SEXTON suggested that his hon. Friend should accept the proposal of the hon. and learned Gentleman.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he begged to move the omission from Sub-head iv. of Sub-section i., which authorized the issue of a Commission or request to examine witnesses abroad. He did not quite understand what the Government thought would be effected by this sub-section. In his opinion, it was possible that persons might voluntarily attend to support particular statements, and it might not be possible for the persons impugned by those statements to compel the attendance of witnesses to give rebutting evidence in the countries where the examination was held. This was a *quasi*-criminal proceeding. At any rate, it was a proposal to inquire into crimes alleged to have been of a very serious character, and it was a proposal to take evidence that certain persons were accessory before the fact. But while under existing Acts, like the Merchant Shipping Act, the power to take evidence was confined to Her Majesty's Dominions, this Bill proposed to take evidence in France, Italy, and America. He submitted that it would not be possible to take evidence in the presence of the accused. Then was the initiative as to these Commissions to be on the application of *The Times*, or were they to suppose some special knowledge on the part of the Judges? It was quite impossible to do that, for if they were impartial they could not have this knowledge. It could only be communicated to them by the defendants in "O'Donnell *v.* Walter." Was there to be notice given, and, if so, to whom, as to the issue of the Commissions? Might the parties stipulate for the right to be represented by agents to cross-examine witnesses? Were these unknown persons, the Commissioners who were to take evidence abroad, to have power to grant certificates? That was a power which might be entrusted to the Judges here; but were the unknown persons appointed in the interests of *The Times* abroad to have this power? He would submit these points strongly, and with confidence, but for the fact that everything appeared to be turned upside down. He had, for instance, just been told by the Solicitor General that the practice was for Royal Commissions to take their evidence in public. The practice was the other way. An hon. Member near him, the Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt), who had been a Member of four Royal Commissions, had informed him that in not one of those cases had the evidence been taken publicly. He hoped the proposal in the Bill would be struck out, for he was

convinced that it could not be attended with any good. It was at variance with every principle of law, and calculated in many respects to inflict gross injustice and the gravest abuse.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 7, to leave out from the word "contempt," to the word "and," in line 10. —(*Mr. Bradlaugh.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. SEXTON said, he might point out that the most extreme attacks in *The Times* were directed against persons residing in the United States; and as *The Times* had very able correspondents in every part of America, some of them officials, some of them lawyers, it was requisite that they should hold the balance fair. In his opinion, no Commission should be held abroad in the absence of notice to the parties whose conduct was about to be investigated, and that they should be at liberty, either personally or by counsel or solicitor, to examine or cross-examine witnesses.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) thought that all the points raised were covered by the rules which related to the subject-matter of the Commission. The arguments of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) would be good against a Commission abroad in ny case, because there was no compulsory machinery. The great advantage of a Commission was that it might be desired to get evidence from people who did not wish to have to come over to this country to prove facts with regard to which there might be very little controversy. It would be extremely hard for any party to have to bring over people in such cases. With regard to the question of notice, it was impossible for any Commission abroad to be settled without notice of it being given. If an action for libel had been brought by hon. Members opposite, *The Times* would have had the right to ask for a Commission to examine into the same facts as would be examined into by a Commission appointed by the three Judges under this Bill. All Commissions abroad were defective, in that the evidence must be voluntary and there was no power of punishment; but in practice the power of issuing a Commission was extremely convenient to both parties, saving the unreasonable cost of having to pay the travelling expenses of witnesses to this country. Its rejection would shut the door against valuable information.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT thought this was one of the most important questions raised in the Bill. What was clear was that a foreign Commission might in matters of the gravest importance open the door to very serious consequences. Suppose that a Commission were sent over to examine a particular person. The person examined might, for some reason or other, have a great desire to injure some person in this country, and he might give evidence inculpating that person in a very serious manner. What power would the person so inculpated have of meeting the accusation by evidence which he might desire to give? A Commission sent abroad might consist of some excellent barrister who had not had much to do; and if a witness who might have received some large inducement to give particular evidence against certain persons gave evidence against them, the parties accused had no power to compel the attendance of witnesses to rebut that evidence. That was why there was no such thing known as a Commission in criminal cases. The Home Secretary had said that the objection of the hon. Member for Northampton would equally apply to all Commissions; but in an action for libel the parties accused could protect themselves against the evidence, while in this roving Commission hundreds of persons might be involved in the evidence without anyone knowing when he might be attacked by some person. He hoped, therefore, that the Government would seriously consider this matter, because they were introducing what was an absolute innovation as far as criminal procedure was concerned.

MR. ANDERSON supported the Amendment, believing that the proposal in the Bill to empower the Commissioners to delegate their power of examining witnesses and of making inquiry to some unknown persons in Paris, New York, and other places was a serious innovation. He doubted whether in previous Royal Commissions there was any precedent for conferring on the Commissioners such a power.

SIR EDWARD CLARKE: There is no such power given in the Bill.

MR. ANDERSON said, the hon. and learned Gentleman could not deny that there was no precedent of the kind, and the sending of Sub-Commissioners was, in point of fact, a delegation of the powers conferred on the Court of Inquiry by the Bill. He believed that neither the Solicitor General nor the Home Secretary had considered this question, especially with reference to the possibility of an inquiry abroad being held in private.

MR. SWETENHAM (Carnarvon, &c.) said, he confessed that he was not very much in love with the sub-section. At the same time he could not help feeling greatly astonished at the nature of the objections urged against it from the other side. It seemed to him that it was a case of "Save me from my friends." Of all the important clauses for the protection of hon. Members who might possibly be the subject of this inquiry, this clause was about the most important in their interests. He apprehended that it was quite as much the object of the inquiry to ascertain not only the guilt of certain persons, but their innocence. *The Times* was quite as much on its trial as hon. Members opposite; and, as far as he was concerned, he could say, on his honour, that there was nothing he desired so much as to see the innocence of hon. Members opposite fully and fairly established. If the innocence of hon. Members opposite was established, then the conduct of *The Times* would be so condemned that it certainly would lose its character for the future as a first-class journal. This Commission, therefore, might be of the greatest importance to hon. Members, and why should they not embrace this opportunity of having their characters vindicated at hardly any expense to themselves? The Commission was going out to examine witnesses, not to prove the guilt of hon. Members, but their innocence.

MR. SEXTON said, they had no objection to the Commission going abroad. They only desired to have the security of examining witnesses before it.

MR. SWETENHAM thought, as a matter of fairness, the Commissioners would give notice to anyone whose conduct was sought to be impeached; they would not send out a secret inquiry behind the backs of hon. Gentlemen. The Commissioners would give abundant opportunity of sending out persons to cross-examine witnesses on behalf of hon. Members.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, they did not object to this branch of the inquiry; on the contrary, they looked upon it as a valuable assistance to them in the making of their case clear. The Irish Members acknowledged, whether they liked it or not, that the Government were bound to put in such a sub-section as this, because the Preamble of the Bill set forth the charges and allegations in a particular trial as the subject of investigation. As large portions of those charges and allegations were concerned with their alleged associates in America, the necessity of holding an inquiry in that country was the necessary complement of this Commission. But what were the safeguards they had a right to demand with regard to the Commission? He appealed to the Government to meet them on this point. Their first demand was that any person who might be expected to be incriminated should have notice; and, secondly, that he should have the right to appear by counsel or solicitor for the purpose of examination and cross-examination. For instance, Mr. Byrne was charged with complicity with crime. Some of the Irish Members, having been official associates in the Land League organization with Mr. Byrne, were accused of guilty knowledge of his complicity with crime. It was of great importance to them, when Mr. Byrne was examined, to find out whether or not they had guilty knowledge of his complicity with crime. The Sub-Commissioner, in some respects, would have duties more grave and important even than those of the head Commissioners, because he would have to examine a man charged with more serious offences than those charged against Members of Parliament, and to examine him far away from the centre of action, and, therefore, with fewer opportunities of guarding against unfair dealing than would exist at home. The Sub-Commissioner would also be a man of inferior legal position; and, therefore, it was more absolutely necessary that protection should be afforded in his case than in the case of the chief Commissioners. It was said that all those safeguards were already provided by the

Bill, but there ought to be no room for doubt on the subject, and the words suggested by the hon. Member for West Belfast, if inserted, could do no harm, and might do good.

SIR EDWARD CLARKE said, he hoped that the claim to put in fresh words in the Bill would not be pressed. The only Commission that would be sent abroad would be a Commission to take the evidence of a particular witness, and the Commissioner would not have any judicial power to exercise in the matter. He would be obliged to take down the evidence given, both question and answer, and report it to the Chief Commissioners, and when he came back it would be published like the other evidence and then dealt with. The practice of sending out such Commissions was one well known to the Courts. The examination was taken upon interrogatories and *viva voce*, with liberty to the other party to cross-examine the witness upon interrogatories and *viva voce*, and then he could be re-examined. The whole examination would be reduced into writing and returned to the Commissioners. Somebody would have in the first instance to apply to the Commissioners for an order to examine a certain witness or witnesses, and then the persons affected by that would have power to cross-examine. Therefore, the Government could not consent to put fresh words into the Bill. They were dealing with those Amendments with a sincere desire to make the Bill complete in regard to the ascertainment of the truth in the matter in question; but he assured hon. Members that all that they reasonably expressed a wish for was met by the Bill as it stood; and he hoped they would now allow the House to direct its attention to other subjects.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, that after what had fallen from hon. Members near him he would not press his Amendment to a Division.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

On the Motion of Sir EDWARD CLARKE, Amendment made by adding to Clause 2 the following provision:—

"The Commissioners may, if they think fit, order that any document or documents in the possession of any party appearing at the inquiry shall be produced for the inspection of any other such party."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 3 (Power to appear by counsel).

Amendment proposed in page 2, line 21, after "solicitor," add "practising in Great Britain or Ireland."—(*Mr. W. Redmond.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

SIR EDWARD CLARKE said, he would be happy to accept that Amendment.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, line 21, after the word "solicitor," to insert the words, "Where it shall appear to the Commissioners that any person affected by any of the said charges or allegations is at any time during the holding of the said inquiry detained or imprisoned under any of the provisions of The Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Amendment Act, 1887, the Commissioners may, subject to such conditions as regards bail or otherwise, as they may prescribe, order the release of such person during the pendency of the inquiry, or during such period as may be necessary to enable him effectually to defend himself against such charges and allegations."—(*Mr. Maurice Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, he understood the hon. Member (Mr. Courtney) to suggest the other evening that the Commissioners should be empowered to order, not the release, but the attendance of any person affected by any of the charges.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Mr. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin) said, he had suggested a modification of an Amendment of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. J. E. Redmond) to meet the case. It was to the effect that if any person affected by a charge or allegation before the Commission was detained or imprisoned during the holding of the Commission—

"The Commissioners may order the attendance of such persons at such inquiry for such time and on such conditions as regards bail or otherwise as to the Commissioners may seem fit."

MR. MATTHEWS expressed his willingness to accept the words just suggested.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT doubted whether the word "attendance" would be sufficient, as it meant nothing more

than having a prisoner up in his prison dress to give evidence, whereas he should be at liberty to consult his solicitor in reference to the preparation of evidence in his defence.

MR. COURTNEY said, no power was necessary, as a Judge possessed it already, to require the attendance of a prisoner. The word "attendance" had here no relation to a person appearing in his prison dress merely to give evidence.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, if the word "attendance" was too narrow, and "release" too wide, he would suggest instead that "such person shall be at large during the pendency of the inquiry."

MR. MATTHEWS said, he could not accept the words "at large."

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) said, he wished it to be made clear that the prisoners set at liberty should not be subject to any surveillance or restraint other than that imposed on a prisoner liberated on bail, who was simply bound to appear at the time required.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) urged that the words suggested were not large enough, as they might merely enable prisoners to be brought up in custody to give evidence, whereas it was necessary that the persons against whom charges were made should hear the evidence of others, and have freedom to prepare their defence. He feared that the Amendment of the hon. Member for Bodmin (Mr. Courtney) would simply enable them to attend the Commission in their prison clothes and in custody, without power to consult a solicitor, as had happened in the case of Mr. W. Blunt.

MR. COURTNEY considered that the suggestion of bail conveyed that the prisoners should be released; but as he was anxious to meet hon. Members below the Gangway he would amplify the Amendment by inserting the words to the effect that the attendance of witnesses should be ordered "in such manner" as the Commissioners thought fit.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

On the Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, the following Amendment was *agreed to*:—

"The Commissioners may order the attendance of such persons at such inquiry in such manner, for such time, and subject to such conditions as regards bail or otherwise as to the Commissioners may think fit."

Amendment proposed,

In page 2, at the end of the last Amendment, to insert the words "Where evidence is taken abroad, due notice shall be given to persons entitled to appear before the Commissioners, and such persons shall be entitled to appear, and to be represented by counsel or solicitor, when evidence is taken abroad, and to examine and cross-examine witnesses."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. MATTHEWS said, the object could have been obtained by inserting in the earlier part of the clause the words "may appear at the inquiry," which would cover everything."

MR. SPEAKER ruled that it was too late to make that Amendment.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that if they were inserted in "another place" no objection would be made on the return of the Bill to this House.

MR. MATTHEWS said, the hon. Member could not bind the whole House.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 4 (Penalty for false swearing) *agreed to*.

Clause 5 (Power to cross-examine and examination of witnesses).

On the Motion of Mr. SEXTON, Amendment made at the beginning of the clause extending the power of examining and cross-examining witnesses to Commissioners for the examination of witnesses abroad.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 6 (Indemnity to witnesses).

MR. SEXTON moved to omit words in paragraph 2 which were calculated to protect any party examined before the Commissioners from a civil action resulting from evidence given at the inquiry. This clause, as it stood, was simply calculated to protect *The Times*. The Irish Members were willing to forego any such protection. They neither sought nor desired any indemnity, and the Government should assent to this Amendment, and not offer protection to *The Times*.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 1, after the word "any," to leave out the words "civil or."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question put, "That the words 'civil or' stand part of the Bill."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 168; Noes 105: Majority 63.—(Div. List, No. 267.)

On the Motion of Mr. MAURICE HEALY, Amendment made, in page 3, line 6, at end, by adding—

"Provided that nothing in this section shall be deemed to apply in the case of proceedings for having given false evidence at an inquiry held under this Act, or of having procured, or attempted or conspired to procure, the giving of such evidence."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth), in rising to move as an Amendment—

"That this House declines to appoint a Commission for inquiry into matters connected with political movements unless such inquiry be confined to definite charges of a criminal nature against specified individuals,"

said, that he had been a good long time in the House, but did not remember any measure of the same dimensions which had caused so much expenditure of time and trouble, and so much temper, as this Bill. He only prolonged the debate because he believed that the Bill would not give satisfaction to any of the parties concerned. The Bill was caused by a declaration in *The Times* newspaper about a year ago that the hon. Member for Cork was the accomplice of assassins. The hon. Member for Cork, in reply, said to *The Times*—"You are a forger." The matter was interesting to the public at large, on account of the prominence of both parties. The hon. Member for Cork was the Chief of the Irish National Party, and *The Times* was an influential organ. The senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) some years ago described it as "the organ of the Devil upon earth." It was not so now; it was the organ of the Unionist Party. It was said, on the other hand—"Why does not the hon. Member for Cork proceed against *The Times?*" That was a very fair remark. On the other it was argued—"If such evidence exists against the hon. Member for Cork, why are not criminal proceedings taken against him?" That was equally plausible. Why had they this Bill before them? The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House said that the Bill had been brought in on account of the tremendous indictment formulated by the Attorney General in the late trial. After that statement, it was absurd to speak of the Attorney General in this connection as simply a professional man. These proceedings were directed, it was thought, against the black sheep of the House. As an old Parliamentary hand, he was never more shocked than when the Leader of the House got up and explained that the Bill had been brought forward as a bargain between somebody or other and the Irish Members. He looked upon the matter as involving every Member of the House and the honour of the House. The only justification for the measure was that charges were brought against Members of the House. If these accusations had concerned anybody out of the House—Mr. Spurgeon, Professor Tyndall, or Mr. Davitt—the House would never have interfered. There was an old saying that every man was the guardian of his own honour. That House was also the guardian of its honour, which ought not to be left to the decision of three Judges. It was said that a Committee of the House would not be impartial. Nobody was absolutely impartial; but he knew of no fairer tribunal than a Committee of Members of the House of Commons. If a charge were brought against him—if he were accused of getting drunk, or anything of that sort—he would trust himself to the hands of a Committee, even if they were all Tories or brewers. A Committee of English Gentlemen was quite as good as three Judges. But this was what *The Times* of that day said—

"The whole body of the charges and allegations contained in our articles must be probed to the bottom."

So it was no longer an inquiry into the character of one of their Members. To that he thoroughly objected. Now, on the ground taken by the Government the inquiry ought to be above suspicion. He had never gone before any of these Judges; he hoped he never should. But one of them had been voted against by no fewer than 190 Members on the ground of words quoted from him throwing contempt on the Irish people. Mr. Arnold Forster had complained of the attack made on Irishmen by this learned Judge in the Belfast Commission. It was, therefore, not a Commission to

inspire confidence. He, for one, believed —although he knew nothing about it— [*Ministerial laughter.*] Hon. Members opposite knew nothing about it either, or they would not want the Commission; but his opinion was that the Land League and the National League and other forms of Irish agitation had done a good deal that was not above suspicion. But was the Tory Party above suspicion? Was any Party above suspicion; were the Liberal Party above suspicion? Was there any political association pure? He did not believe that the Anti-Corn Law League was pure. He did not know that the United Kingdom Alliance was above reproach. They were making this Commission far too wide. It was a Commission to inquire into the whole history of Ireland in the last 10 years, and he doubted very much whether the history of England for the same period would bear investigation. But supposing all these charges against the Irish Members were proved, would it be supposed the Liberal Party was going to give up Home Rule for that? They had not taken up Home Rule because those men were good characters or bad characters. He should continue to support Home Rule, because 85 Members were returned from Ireland in its support; and what could the Government do when the Commission reported? Suppose all the charges were proved, did hon. Gentlemen opposite suppose they were going to give up Home Rule? On the other hand. Suppose it reported in favour of the Irish Members, and they were proved to be angels, were the Ministerialists going then to become Home Rulers? No; he knew them too well. They would maintain their support of the landlords and Orangemen of Ireland as before all along. The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) said two days ago, in a park in Kent, where he went to roast an ox and make a speech, that, so far as he was concerned, the case which he had made against the Parnellite Party would not be weakened if the charges made in *Parnellism and Crime* were proved to be baseless accusations, and he knew that that opinion was shared by Mr. John Morley, Lord Rosebery, and others of the Gladstonite Party. Well, then, what would be the use of this Commission? No one cared a rap what its Report was. It appeared to him that the proposal would prolong and embitter the controversy, and was unworthy of the House. This subject was very hateful, and it was unworthy of the House to go into it. It might be said, why did they not move the rejection of the Bill on the second reading? Well, they were not always wise upon the Opposition side of the House; but it must be remembered that they hoped the Government would be wise and sanction Amendments, but time and discussion had proved the contrary. He believed he spoke for a few Members of the House when he said that they would not feel comfortable if they did not oppose the third reading of a Bill which they thought was unfair to the Irish Members, unjust to the Commissioners, as imposing upon them an impossible task, and unworthy of the best traditions of the House of Commons.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House declines to appoint a Commission for inquiry into matters connected with political movements unless such inquiry be confined to definite charges of a criminal nature against specified individuals."—(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) confessed he could not vote for the Amendment, because, if carried, it would mean that the House agreed to appoint a Commission to inquire into matters connected with political movements, if such inquiry be confined to definite charges of a criminal nature against specified individuals. He should ask the House to negative the proposal for the third reading. He intended to state very briefly the reasons why he should oppose the third reading; but he could not join his hon. Friend, who was far too moderate a man for him under the circumstances.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he had no desire to put the House to the trouble of two Divisions; and if the course suggested by his hon. Friend was preferred, he should be happy to withdraw his Motion in favour of it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question again proposed.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he was not going into the history of the Bill, which

was begotten in injustice, conceived, hatched, and brought forth in injustice, and when it became law it would remain a perpetual monument of the sort of judicial tribunal that was established under political partizanship. He objected to it because the tribunal was a Court of political inquiry, a sort of Star Chamber and Inquisition, and because the Bench had been packed by a political partizan —the Lord Chancellor. He thought they had a right to challenge the names submitted to them, and they did challenge one name, but the challenge was not admitted. He objected in regard to procedure, because all the guarantees and safeguards which ordinarily environed the accused were suppressed in this Bill. He objected because the accused did not know the charges brought against them. He objected also because they understood the primary object was to look into the genuineness of certain letters. That had been set aside as a mere secondary question, and every effort had been made on the part of Mr. Walter to burke it and cover it up with a mass of matter more or less irrelevant. He objected because by this Bill *The Times* was protected from the civil remedy which hon. Members possessed at present. This tribunal had been forced down the throats of Members on that side of the House. He considered the Bill—*The Times* Protection Bill—a fishing Bill made to try to discover evidence against political opponents of Her Majesty's Government. He objected to it because it was not limited in any respect, but roamed over 10 or 12 years. If it were as just a Bill as it was otherwise he should object to it, because he thought a Select Committee would have been the proper tribunal. He considered that the Bill established a most dangerous precedent. Under these circumstances, he gave Notice to move the rejection of the Bill on the second reading; but the hon. Member for Cork would not authorize that course, because he thought the Government would consent to considerable alterations in Committee. But in Committee the Bill had been considerably extended. He had not on this occasion asked what the hon. Member for Cork and his Friends now intended to do; but he perfectly understood that they were actuated by a chivalrous desire to accept combat and clear their character on any terms; but the Radical Members were there to see that everything was done fairly between the contending parties, Her Majesty's Government and the Irish Members. The Radical Members were the assessors in the matter. They considered the conditions were unfair. He believed hon. Members from Ireland would prove their innocence notwithstanding those conditions; but, at the same time, he thought the House ought not to consent to them meeting their adversaries in that unfair and invidious manner. In order that it might not be thrown in their teeth that this Bill was read a third time *nemine contradicente*, he should certainly go to a Division.

MR. NEVILLE (Liverpool, Exchange) wished to say a few words to explain his reasons for voting against the third reading of this Bill when he had not voted against it on the occasion of its second reading. When the Bill was read a second time it was supposed on both sides of the House that the desire was the same—namely, that there should be a full and complete inquiry into the charges made against certain hon. Members below the Gangway, although there might be a difference as to slight details. For that reason he had abstained from voting against the second reading of the Bill; but since that time Amendment after Amendment had been proposed for the purpose of carrying out what on that side of the House they had supposed to be the common desire without the Government giving way, and it had become evident that the object of the Bill was not to deal with the charges against hon. Members of that House, so much as to open up an inquiry into the proceedings of the Land League and the National League. The inquiry which had been asked for and which had first been suggested was a totally different one. Again, he believed the proposed trial of hon. Members below the Gangway to be absolutely unfair. He called it trial, though he knew that hon. Gentlemen opposite did not regard it as a trial, but trial it was, and trial it must be; and regarding it as a trial it was impossible to say that it was to be carried on subject to the conditions of a fair trial. It had been stated, both inside and outside the House, that if hon. Members were innocent they would not be afraid of such an inquiry. That was a misunderstanding of the nature

of all trials and rules of evidence. Did hon. Members suppose that the rules governing the Courts of Justice when trying a person accused of crime were instituted and acted upon for the purpose of allowing a criminal to escape? It was admitted that in spite of all the safeguards that could be devised innocent people were sometimes convicted, and was there no chance of this happening in the present case? Assuming the innocence of hon. Members below the Gangway, if people had forged letters for the purpose of ruining the political character of hon. Members, was it inconceivable that persons would come forward and give false evidence? The present conditions made the inquiry absolutely unfair. The Government were subjecting these hon. Members to an inquiry to attend to which would go far to cripple and exhaust the resources of far richer men than the hon. Members accused were or pretended to be. This was not a question for the Irish Members, but for the whole House. It was not creditable to the character and honour of that House that any such inquiry should be allowed to go forth as coming from the House. It would, however, be known that it was the act of a majority alone, and that a considerable minority refused to coincide and protested against it. He thought that even from their own point of view hon. Members opposite would find that they had made a serious mistake, when, even if those who were accused were found guilty, they would be able to say that they had been denied that fair trial which had never been denied to any subject of the Queen.

MR. DILLWYN (Swansea, Town) observed that he had had very strong objections to the Bill upon Constitutional grounds, and his objections to it had been strengthened by the discussions which had taken place. From charges against persons it had passed to charges against a political movement, in order that the Party opposite might gain political capital against their opponents. He objected to allowing the power of dealing with the conduct of Members to pass from the hands of the House to that of an outside body. Inquiries into the conduct of Members of the House had been always conducted with perfect fairness, and the results had been invariably satisfactory.

MR. SEXTON: Sir, I do not intend to vote upon the Motion. If I were to vote against the Bill, such a vote, no matter how justifiable it might be, would be interpreted as evidence of a desire to evade inquiry, and inquiry has, from the first, been the desire of my Colleagues and myself, and inquiry has all through been our demand. But if I were to vote in favour of the Bill, it might be argued that I am satisfied with the Commission that has been set up. Sir, I call to mind that the Government declined to appoint a Select Committee, because they stated that a Select Committee would not be fair to us, seeing that it was certain to contain a majority of our political opponents. I cannot now be satisfied with a Commission which is wholly composed of adherents of the Government, which includes upon it a Judge who, from the Bench of Justice, has levelled an insult against the Irish people, and in regard to whom there is evidence before the House, from one of his own Colleagues on a Royal Commission, that he is inspired with a fanatical hatred of the Irish Leader and of the Members of the Irish Party, and that he has absolutely made himself the medium of malignant calumnies against them. I cannot be satisfied with such a Commission, nor can I be satisfied with such a Bill, for the Bill not only fails to include, but, on the other hand, by a sinister design, excludes, all the ordinary securities for individual self-defence, and all the necessary guarantees for the due, orderly, and speedy elucidation of important truths. Under the cover of enabling us to defend our characters you have plunged us into an unlimited and illimitable political inquiry which may extend for years, and which will probably subject every man of us to the loss of any means he has, to the ruin of his health, and to the withdrawal of him, perhaps for years, from the discharge of those public duties for the performance of which he was elected to this House. You are using your strength against our weakness. I look forward to the future with hope. Truth, they say, is great. I hope in this case it may prevail. I believe and I trust that our innocence will enable us to defeat all efforts and overcome all obstacles and plots laid against us. I say to our

enemies, wherever they may be—whether upon the Bench or in the office of *The Times*—I say to them that we defy them. I stand apart from this Motion. I say to the majority, pass your Bill, and may God defend the right!

Main Question put, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 180; Noes 64: Majority 116.

AYES.

Addison, J. E. W.
Ainslie, W. G.
Aird, J.
Ambrose, W.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Anstruther, H. T.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Baden-Powell, Sir G. S.
Baird, J. G. A.
Balfour, rt. hon. A. J.
Banes, Major G. E.
Barclay, J. W.
Baring, Viscount
Bartley, G. C. T.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bates, Sir E.
Baumann, A. A.
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-
Beadel, W. J.
Beckett, E. W.
Bigwood, J.
Blundell, Colonel H. B. H.
Boord, T. W.
Bridgeman, Col. hon. F. C.
Bristowe, T. L.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Bruce, Lord H.
Burdett-Coutts, W. L. Ash.-B.
Caldwell, J.
Campbell, J. A.
Carmarthen, Marq. of
Clarke, Sir E. G.
Coddington, W.
Coghill, D. H.
Collings, J.
Colomb, Sir J. C. R.
Cooke, C. W. R.
Corbett, A. C.
Corbett, J.
Corry, Sir J. P.
Cranborne, Viscount
Crossley, Sir S. B.
Curzon, hon. G. N.
Darling, C. J.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
De Lisle, E. J. L. M. P.
Dimsdale, Baron R.
Dugdale, J. S.
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Edwards-Moss, T. C.
Egerton, hon. A. J. F.
Elliot, hon. H. F. H.
Elton, C. I.
Ewart, Sir W.
Eyre, Colonel H.
Fergusson, right hon. Sir J.
Field, Admiral E.
Finch, G. H.
Finlay, R. B.
Fisher, W. H.
Fitzwilliam, hon. W. J. W.
Fitz-Wygram, Gen. Sir F. W.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Folkestone, right hon. Viscount
Forwood, A. B.
Fowler, Sir R. N.
Fry, L.
Gent-Davis, R.
Gilliat, J. S.
Godson, A. F.
Goldsmid, Sir J.
Goldsworthy, Major-General W. T.
Gorst, Sir J. E.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Granby, Marquess of
Gray, C. W.
Green, Sir E.
Grimston, Viscount
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G. F.
Hamilton, Lord E.
Hamley, Gen. Sir E. B.
Hartington, Marq. of
Havelock-Allan, Sir H. M.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hermon-Hodge, R. T.
Hervey, Lord F.
Hill, right hon. Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Hoare, S.
Hornby, W. H.
Howard, J.
Hozier, J. H. C.
Hughes, Colonel E.
Hughes-Hallett, Col. F. C.
Hunter, Sir G.
Isaacs, L. H.
Jackson, W. L.
Jennings, L. J.
Kelly, J. R.
Kenyon, hon. G. T.
Kerans, F. H.
Kimber, H.
Knowles, L.
Lafone, A.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, W. F.
Lea, T.
Lennox, Lord W. C. G.
Lethbridge, Sir R.
Lewis, Sir C. E.
Lewisham, right hon. Viscount
Llewellyn, E. H.
Long, W. H.
Lymington, Viscount
Macartney, W. G. E.
Macdonald, right hon. J. H. A.
Maclean, J. M.
Maclure, J. W.
Madden, D. H.
Maple, J. B.
Marriott, rt. hon. Sir W. T.
Matthews, rt. hn. H.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mildmay, F. B.
Milvain, T.
More, R. J.
Morrison, W.
Mount, W. G.
Mowbray, R. G. C.
Newark, Viscount
Norris, E. S.
Northcote, hon. Sir H. S.
Norton, R.
O'Neill, hon. R. T.
Parker, C. S.
Parker, hon. F.
Pearce, Sir W.
Pelly, Sir L.
Plunkett, hon. J. W.
Powell, F. S.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rasch, Major F. C.
Reed, H. B.
Ritchie, rt. hon. C. T.
Robertson, Sir W. T.
Robertson, J. P. B.
Rollit, Sir A. K.
Ross, A. H.
Round, J.
Russell, Sir G.
Sandys, Lt.-Col. T. M.
Saunderson, Colonel E. J.
Sellar, A. C.
Sidebotham, J. W.
Sinclair, W. P.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Spencer, J. E.
Stanhope, rt. hon. E.
Stanley, E. J.
Stephens, H. C.
Stokes, G. G.
Swetenham, E.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Tapling, T. K.
Taylor, F.
Temple, Sir R.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Townsend, F.
Trotter, Colonel H. J.
Watson, J.
Webster, Sir R. E.
Whitley, E.
Whitmore, C. A.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Wood, N.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wright, H. S.

TELLERS.

Douglas, A. Akers-
Walrond, Col. W. H.

NOES.

Anderson, C. H.
Asquith, H. H.
Balfour, Sir G.
Barbour, W. B.
Barran, J.
Bradlaugh, C.
Broadhurst, H.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Campbell, Sir G.
Causton, R. K.
Channing, F. A.
Cobb, H. P.
Cossham, H.
Craig, J.
Crawford, D.
Crawford, W.
Cremer, W. R.
Esslemont, P.
Evans, F. H.
Firth, J. F. B.
Foster, Sir W. B.
Gourley, E. T.
Graham, R. C.
Gully, W. C.
Hayne, C. Seale-
Hingley, B.
Howell, G.
Hunter, W. A.
Lawson, Sir W.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Arthur, W. A.
M'Donald, Dr. R.
M'Ewan, W.
Mappin, Sir F. T.
Neville, R.
Philipps, J. W.
Pickard, B.
Pickersgill, E. H.
Portman, hon. E. B.
Potter, T. B.
Provand, A. D.
Randell, D.
Rendel, S.
Roberts, J.
Roberts, J. B.
Robertson, E.
Roe, T.
Roscoe, Sir H. E.
Rowlands, J.
Rowntree, J.
Simon, Sir J.

Stanhope, hon. P. J.	Warmington, C. M.
Stewart, H.	Will, J. S.
Stuart, J.	Woodhead, J.
Summers, W.	Wright, C.
Sutherland, A.	
Swinburne, Sir J.	TELLERS.
Thomas, D. A.	Labouchere, H.
Wallace, R.	Dillwyn, L. L.

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

BAIL (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[BILL 286.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

New Clause—

(No fees exigible against accused in respect of application for bail.)

"No clerks' fees, court fees, or other fees or expenses shall be exigible from, or be awarded against, an accused in respect of his application for bail or of the appeal of such application to the High Court of Justiciary,"—(*Mr. Caldwell,*)

—*brought up,* and read the first and second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be added to the Bill."

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) moved that the debate be now adjourned. He said it had been arranged that that day should be devoted to Scotch Business, and the Government now proposed to go on with Scotch Business half-an-hour before the ordinary time for terminating the debates in the House on Wednesday. No Government ought to move to suspend the Stauding Orders without due Notice. Members had to make their arrangements, and those arrangements were not consistent with carrying on the Business of the House when the suspension of the Standing Orders was only moved at 12 o'clock the same day. He protested against what he ventured to call the scandal of Bills relating to Scotland—Bills which had never been debated at all—being taken at such a time. This Bail Bill had never been debated on the second reading. It contained great changes of the Law of Scotland. It revolutionized in some respects the procedure in regard to bail in Scotland. He was not going to discuss whether that was right or wrong. His sole point was that this was not a time upon which such an important measure should be discussed, and as a protest he moved the adjournment of the debate. His sole objection was that this was not the time when Scotch business should be taken.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Hunter.*)

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities) said, that the Bill now before the House could not admit of very much debate. The hon. Member said that the Bill had never been discussed. The reason of that was because its principle was accepted by the House.

MR. HUNTER: It was smuggled through the House.

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD denied that it was smuggled through by him, and he had charge of it. As a matter of fact, it was read a second time without the objection of any one.

MR. HUNTER: It was taken after 12 o'clock.

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD thought he might safely say there was no difficulty of getting anyone to object to a Bill after 12 o'clock, and, indeed, they had had great difficulty, on the other hand, in preventing objection from being taken. In these circumstances, he did not see how it could be said the Bill was smuggled through. The Bill was a short one, and would commend itself to the general sense of the House. Its object was to get rid of some anomalies in the ancient Law of Scotland which were inapplicable to the present time—in fact, to assimilate with the Law of England on the subject. In these circumstances, he hoped the Motion for the adjournment would not be persevered in.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.) remarked, that it was impossible not to sympathize with the remark of the hon. Member for Aberdeen that Scotch Members had been very badly treated this Session, and in his opinion the mode of conducting Scotch Business in the House urgently required reform. He could hardly trust himself to use the expressions which he thought applicable to their treatment; but with regard to this Bill he thought it was an erroneous representation of the case to say that it had not been properly con-

sidered, or that there was any legitimate objection to its having been read a second time without discussing it. He and others had always remained in the House when the Bill was on the Paper, for the express purpose of assisting in reading it a second time. It had been fully considered in the Grand Committee, and no measure could be more ripe for the consideration of the House. It dealt with a matter in respect of which the Law of Scotland most urgently required reform, and he thought it might easily be disposed of in a short time.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) agreed with the hon. Member for Aberdeen as to the neglect of Scotch Business; but even although there was not a debate on the second reading, they might have a second reading debate now, and then get through the Report stage.

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire) said, he would appeal to his hon. Friends not to prolong this discussion. If the hon. Member for Aberdeen really wished to ascertain the feeling of Scotch Members on the question whether this Bill should be proceeded with or not, it would be better for him at once to divide the House. The Bill could not be said to have been smuggled through, and Scottish Members would do well to take it at once and so maintain the character they had for the manner in which they conducted their Business. There was no doubt that the Scotch Members had been abominably treated by the Government. Nobody felt more strongly on that point than he did; but that was no reason why they should refuse to proceed with the consideration of a useful measure. The best way was to finish the Bill and to go home to dinner. He understood that the Government did not intend to go on with the Burgh Police Bill till the Autumn Session, and that they would then carry it *coûte que coûte*. In these circumstances, he hoped the Motion for Adjournment would be withdrawn.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he had a very strong objection to the principle of the Bill. It was a very important measure, quite revolutionizing the Scotch Law regarding bail. It might be doing so beneficially or otherwise, but there were certain novel principles in the Bill. In the first place, it abolished statutory bail.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The Question before the House is the adjournment of the debate.

DR. CLARK said, that hon. Members who had Amendments on the Paper were not present, and the Bill ought not, therefore, to be rushed through in a single night.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) said, he regretted that he could not accede to the request of his right hon. Friend on the Front Bench (Mr. Marjoribanks). As one of those who had taken a most emphatic part in the protest made two or three nights ago against the manner in which Scotch Business was conducted, he felt that he would be betraying the position he then took up if he failed to support his hon. Friend in his protest to-night. Most of the Scottish Members had already left the House and gone elsewhere, and they could not get the opinion of Scotland on this or any other subject. He had received a letter from a man of considerable political position in Scotland with regard to the protest they had made, in which he said—"Thousands and thousands of Scotsmen will to-day feel grateful to you for your protest against the shameful neglect of Scottish Business." They would not be doing their duty if they allowed the Government to reap the benefit of their shameful conduct. There were important Amendments standing in the name of the hon. Member for the College Division of Glasgow (Dr. Cameron). That hon. Member was not present, and nobody else could move his Amendments. He should have hoped that on this occasion, as on Monday last, they would be supported by the united sense of the Liberal Members for Scotland at all events. He was sorry to have heard dissentient voices, and believed they would be found to be the voices of backsliders. A good many of them had not been altogether true to the demands of their constituencies on this question. There had been too many conferences with the Lord Advocate; there had been too many caucuses; and it was partly owing to the encouragement which the Lord Advocate received from a section of the Liberal Members that the right hon. and learned Gentleman and the Government submitted Scotch Business in this improper and unworthy manner. If he should be left alone with his hon. Friend the Member for Aberdeen in supporting

the adjournment, he would go into the Lobby with him with perfect satisfaction.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) said, he failed to see that there was any great demand for this measure in Scotland. He was quite ready to answer to his constituents for claiming for every Scottish affair full discussion, even if it should be, as in the present case, of minor importance. He should vote for the hon. Member for Aberdeen.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) remarked that, notwithstanding the somewhat minatory attitude of the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson), he hoped the Motion for Adjournment would not be persisted in. He thought they ought to definitely understand whether it was the intention of the Government to proceed to-night with the Burgh Police Bill.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): No, not to-night. I have already stated that, having regard to the circumstances of the case, and the feelings expressed by Scottish Members generally, the Government would not persevere with the Bill in the present Sitting, but would take it in the Autumn Sitting.

MR. J. B. BALFOUR (Clackmannan, &c.) said, he would join in the appeal to his hon. Friends not to persevere in the Motion for Adjournment. He disapproved very strongly of the manner in which Scottish Business had been treated in the House; but he thought it was the part of wisdom to make the most of what they regarded as a very inadequate allowance of time; they might perfectly well get through their Bill now. He assured his hon. Friend the Member for Lanarkshire (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) that there was great need for reform, the present Law of Bail being in a most anomalous position, and this Bill was calculated to remedy its defects.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) hoped that the hon. Member for North Aberdeen (Mr. Hunter) would withdraw his Motion. They had nothing left now but to relegate Scottish Business to the Autumn Session. He felt greatly humiliated by the rebuke of the Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson), but they could stand their own in Scotland as regarded their interest in Scotch Business, the hon. Member for Dundee notwithstanding.

MR. SHIRESS WILL (Montrose, &c.) thought the hon. Member for North Aberdeen ought to be satisfied with the protest he had made. Scottish Members naturally protested against the way in which Scottish Business was treated in that House; but he did not see how they could add to the force of their protest by refusing to take advantage of the opportunity of passing a short Bill.

MR. A. SUTHERLAND (Sutherland) said, the Scottish Members had constantly been obliged to take any crumbs that might be offered by the Government in the way of legislation. He had decided objections to the principle of this Bill, and the popular will of Scotland had never been expressed in favour of it. He hoped, under the circumstances, and as a protest against the way in which Scottish Business was treated, that his hon. Friend would press his Motion to a Division.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) said, he would not have supported the Motion for Adjournment but for one circumstance. There was a very important Amendment down on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for the College Division of Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), and it could not be moved in the hon. Member's absence. His hon. Friend had all along taken such an important part in the discussion of this question that he (Mr. Caldwell) was exceedingly sorry that the Bill should go on in his absence. He would be perfectly prepared to go on with the Bill now but for the unfortunate absence of his hon. Friend, who had no reason to suppose that the Bill would be taken at this period of the Session. The great majority of the Scottish Members had left town in the belief that Scottish Business would not be taken up before the adjournment. If the hon. Member for North Aberdeen went to a Division, he would vote with him, although personally he was quite prepared to go on with the Bill.

MR. C. S. PARKER (Perth) wished to protest against the idea that the House was not to go on with legislation because a particular Member who had an Amendment on the Paper was absent, or even because a considerable number

of Members were absent. The theory that they did not expect Scottish Business to be taken at this period of the Session was inconsistent with the complaint they had so often heard from hon. Members that Scottish Business was not proceeded with. They expected they would get some share of the time of the House. The hon. Member for the College Division of Glasgow had left the House; but in his absence they had passed through a very useful Bill of his, and he (Mr. C. S. Parker) thought on this occasion they might very properly go on with this Bill.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, that night after night when this Bill was brought on at an hour when, objection being taken, it could not be considered, he was always willing to withdraw the objection if he had been requested to do so by the Scotch Members. But the Scotch Members had not asked him not to object to the Bill, and he understood that the sentiment of Scotland was against its passing.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 46; Noes 162: Majority 116.—(Div. List, No. 269.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *added.*

Clause 2 (All crimes to be bailable except murder and treason).

MR. CALDWELL moved to insert words with the object of securing that after apprehension and before commitment an accused person should be entitled to apply for bail. That power was given under the Criminal Procedure Act of last year, and he wished that, in this new Bill dealing with the Law of Bail, it should be made perfectly clear that that power would not be interfered with.

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD opposed that Amendment, the object of which was provided for in an Act of last year.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 14, after the word "who," to insert the words "has been apprehended or who."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. J. B. BALFOUR said, they were all agreed that it was right that the benefit given by the Act of last year of bail prior to commitment should continue, but he could not find anything in this Bill which gave the least countenance to the idea that that benefit was to be taken away. Indeed, Clause 3 almost declared that that right should survive. The Amendment would, therefore, be duplicating legislation, and so far as they did that, they gave rise to a doubt as to whether other parts of the beneficial measure of last year were or were not to stand. He thought it would be dangerous to introduce the words proposed.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD thought the Amendment would do a decided injury to the Bill, for under last year's Bill the discretion of the magistrate to give or refuse bail before commitment was absolute and final, with no appeal to the High Court of Justiciary, and this Amendment would introduce an element of the utmost confusion.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. CALDWELL said, that the next Amendment on the Paper in his name was that the words "or refuse to admit" should be omitted from Clause 2. The clause would enable a magistrate, on the application of any person who had been committed until liberation in due course of law for any crime or offence except murder or treason, and after opportunity had been given to the prosecutor to be heard thereon, to admit, or refuse to admit, such person to bail. He objected to the words "or refuse to admit." According to the Law of Scotland, every accused person, except in regard to certain grave crimes, had a right to demand bail, and there also existed a statutory limit as to the amount of bail. By that Bill the Lord Advocate would withdraw both of those privileges from accused persons, and it was proposed that they should no longer have the right to demand bail, and also that there should be no limit to the amount of bail to be exacted from them. If it was left as a matter of discretion for the Judge to admit or to refuse to admit him to bail, then they placed the accused person in a very different position from that which he occupied when his legal right to demand to be admitted to bail existed, because he would have to go as a suppliant and ask to be admitted to bail.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, line 18, to leave out the words "or refuse to admit."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'or refuse to admit' stand part of the Bill."

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD said, the Amendment raised really a question of principle, the power to refuse bail. If they were to have an unrestricted amount of bail, it was exactly the same thing as if they were to refuse a person bail by fixing a prohibitive amount of £20,000. There was some crimes the persons accused of which ought not to be admitted to bail; and that was the reason why, under the present law, there were four charges that were not bailable, because formerly all were capital crimes. It was very undesirable that a magistrate should be put to the alternative of choosing between the giving of prohibtive bail or preventing the proper procedure of justice. It was far better—a reasonable and proper thing—to leave the question of bail to the discretion of magistrates, giving the accused an appeal against the refusal of the Supreme Court.

DR. CLARK said, that no sufficient reason had been given for changing the principle of the law as it had existed for centuries.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the Bill would assimilate the law of Scotland to that of England, which was more adapted to modern ideas than the old law of Scotland. The acceptance of the Amendment would drive such a wedge into the Bill that the Government could scarcely care to pass it.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL objected to copying England, but thought the Bill a good one on the whole, and believed it would be contrary to the interests of justice that magistrates should not have the power to refuse bail, and therefore he could not support the Amendment. He thought they might rely on the discretion of the Sheriff, subject to an appeal to the Court of Session.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 8, after the word "bail," to insert the words "before or."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question proposed, "That the words 'before or' be there inserted."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

On the Motion of MR. CALDWELL, Amendment made, in page 2, line 20, at end, by adding "failing which the accused shall be forthwith liberated."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Right of appeal to High Court of Justiciary).

DR. CLARK proposed to amend the clause which gave a right of appeal to the High Court of Justiciary by striking out the words—

"And where an application for bail is granted by any magistrate whether before or after commitment until liberation in due course of law. the public prosecutor, if dissatisfied with the decision allowing bail, or with the amount of bail fixed, may appeal in like manner, and the applicant shall not be liberated until the appeal at the instance of such prosecutor is disposed of, except as hereinafter provided."

He submitted that this provision imported a new principle into the law of Scotland. He held that they ought not to allow the present Procurators Fiscal, so long as they might be the agents of private persons, to have any such right of appeal.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 12, to leave out from the word "advocate," to the word "provided," in line 19.—(*Dr. Clark.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD pointed out that the right of appeal in question would not be exercised by the Procurators Fiscal in their discretion. When a prisoner was committed for trial in Scotland, the right to deal with the case passed out of the hands of the Procurator Fiscal, who could then do nothing except under direction of the Crown counsel. If the Amendment were accepted, the result would be a tendency on the part of the Sheriffs to fix too high bail.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 21, after the word "shall," to insert the words "within seventy-two hours of its presentation."—(*Mr. Caldwell.*)

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

On the Motion of MR. CALDWELL, Amendment made, in page 2, line 23, after "just," by adding—

"And in the event of an appeal of the Public Prosecutor being refused, the Court may award expenses against the appellant."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Liberation of applicant when appeal by Public Prosecutor).

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 28, to leave out the words "seventy-two," in order to insert the words "forty-eight."—(*Dr. Clark.*)

Question, "That the words 'seventy-two' stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

DR. CLARK asked the Lord Advocate not to make this a Coercion Act altogether. This clause introduced an entirely new principle, by which the Procurator Fiscal was enabled to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and keep a man in prison for six days after the Sheriff had decided that he should be liberated. He asked the Lord Advocate whether he intended to press the clause without any modification whatever?

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD said, it had occurred to him, after the Bill left the Grand Committee, that a modification might be made on the clause by substituting 96 hours for 144. He moved accordingly.

DR. CLARK urged that this arbitrary power should not be allowed to remain in the hands of the Procurator Fiscal, and that 48 hours was quite long enough for a man to be kept in prison after he had been liberated by the Sheriff.

MR. ESSLEMONT suggested that it should be 72 hours in every case.

MR. J. H. A. MACDONALD said, he could not consent to make a further reduction of the time.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause *added* to the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

DR. CLARK moved the rejection of the Bill as a protest against the 6th clause, which, he repeated, introduced an entirely new principle, and one that ought not to be adopted by the House. For the first time in Scottish law, they were creating a functionary who would have the power of keeping people in prison for four days after they had been ordered to be liberated. He protested against such a right being given.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (MONEY) BILL.—[BILL 352.]

(*Mr. Jackson, Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. BAUMANN (Camberwell, Peckham) said, that as this was a measure empowering the Metropolitan Board of Works to spend £3,000,000, it was his duty to make some comment upon its contents. The debt of the Board in December, 1887, was £17,000,000, and the debt-charge upon the Metropolitan rates for the year 1888 was £1,369,128. Towards this charge the Coal and Wine Dues, the interest from Local Authorities who borrowed, and rents from lands and premises contributed £618,000, leaving a debt-charge on the Metropolitan rates for 1888 of £750,000, or 5·86 pence in the pound. But until the expiration of six months of 1889 the Coal and Wine Dues were hypothecated for the bridges. All this pointed to a considerable increase in the rates, which was now upwards of 8*d.*, and would probably soon be 10*d.* It was the duty of the House to scrutinize the rates very carefully. This Bill proposed to give the power to the Board of spending £75,000 on the Metropolitan Fire Brigade. The raising of that money had not only not been sanctioned by Parliament, but had been refused by the failure to pass two Bills which were introduced for a similar purpose. He admitted that the protection from fire afforded by the Brigade was grossly inadequate, and he would not oppose the clause, though he must protest against this attempt to get Money for the Fire Brigade by means of a money Bill, when a similar attempt by other Bills for the special purpose had failed to receive the sanction of Parliament. He was not, however, satisfied that the Board of Works was the best authority for controlling the Fire Brigade. It would be far better to adopt the recommendation of the Committee of 1876

to incorporate the Brigade with the police, and to make every police-station also a fire-station. Such an arrangement would be at once economical and efficient. The two recent fires in Edgeware Road and Wigmore Street would have been far less disastrous than they were if the police-stations which were close at hand had also been fire-stations. Then there was the question of local indebtedness with which the Bill was concerned, and of which the House ought to know something. The Board had lent upwards of £10,000,000 to the School Boards, Vestries, Boards of Guardians, and other Local Boards, and the Bill proposed immensely to increase this indebtedness. The School Board alone had borrowed about £3,500,000, and the Asylums Board £1,200,000. He found that many of the Vestries had borrowed money, in some cases in excess of and in others nearly equal to their total rateable value. The Boards of Guardians had also borrowed very largely. The School Board for London now asked for £300,000. It had already a debt of nearly £7,000,000, and it had pledged the rates of the Metropolitan ratepayers for the next 50 years, so that in 1937 it would have spent over £12,000,000 out of the rates of the Metropolis. The amount of school places was largely in excess of the number of children. In these circumstances he thought that they were justified in asking for what the School Board was borrowing this money. The School Board had been considered above suspicion, but lately it had appointed a Commission of its own, which had naturally acquitted itself.

COLONEL HUGHES (Woolwich) said, that the £75,000 for the Metropolitan Fire Brigade was not wanted for the maintenance of the Brigade, but on the capital account for buildings and stations; the sum had nothing to do with any increase in the income for maintenance, which remained as it was. With regard to the 10*d.* rate, that rate had been estimated for next year before the passing of the Local Government Bill, under which there would be a considerable contribution which, it was hoped, would more than make up for the loss caused by the lapse of the Coal Dues. The loan powers were given to the Board by existing Acts of Parliament, and loans had to be sanctioned by the Treasury or the Local Government Board, as the case might be, and in the case of loans to the School Board, by the Education Department. The reason why the money was borrowed from the Metropolitan Board was that it could in that way be got at a less rate than was otherwise possible. Last year the School Board had put down the sum of £300,000; but they had only borrowed £200,000, and, therefore, £100,000 was unexpended balance. He admitted that Metropolitan finance did not receive the attention it deserved; but this Bill was formal, and he hoped it would pass.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) regretted that the Bill had been brought forward at such a time, when it could not be adequately discussed. This was not an appropriate time to give increased borrowing and spending powers to the Metropolitan Asylums Board, which rested under as dark a cloud of suspicion as that which hung over the Board of Works.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham) said, that if the ratepayers did not know what the School Board had done with the £6,000,000 it had borrowed in the past 17 years they ought to know; for in the last three years, at any rate, everything had been done to place the finances of the Board before the public in a popular and intelligible manner. The Board had built 400 school-houses—scattered all over London—many of them being among the finest elementary schools in Europe, for the accommodation of about 400,000 children. As to financial management, the Board paid not only interest, but also a sinking fund every year. With respect to all their transactions with the Metropolitan Board of Works, he was bound to say that they had found that Board most business-like and satisfactory, and he was glad to be able to take the opportunity of paying it this public tribute. With regard to the £300,000, he had merely to remark that, in his opinion, it was about the smallest annual sum ever asked for on this account.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, it must be obvious that if the Coal and Wine Dues were not renewed, it would largely add to the rates levied within the Metropolitan area. The only sound reason which could be advanced for not

renewing these dues was that it was better not to renew them, and that the money could be raised quite as easily, perhaps with less hardship in some cases, by putting it on the rates. Some of the money taken under the Bill would go to supplement what had been described by an hon. Gentleman as the grossly inadequate provision for dealing with fires in the Metropolis. As to the powers to lend to Local Authorities, it was evident that to give a power of this kind to a Body like the Metropolitan Board of Works, which had to set aside and accumulate every year a large sum for a Sinking Fund, was advantageous both to the Board to lend on adequate security and to the School Board, the Metropolitan Police Fund, and other Public Bodies to borrow at a lower rate of interest than could be done in the open market. As to the question raised by the hon. Member opposite, none of the money could be borrowed by the Metropolitan Asylums Board without the express sanction of the Local Government Board.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.

(*Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

[BILL 355.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he must protest against large sums of money drawn from the taxpayers of the country being placed at the disposal of the Irish Board of Works to be expended on such bad specimens of work as the Ballycotton and Rosscarbery Piers.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, that the Ballycotton and Rosscarbery Piers were not constructed by money taken under this Bill. The £1,000,000 which was to be advanced to the Irish Board of Works was to enable them to lend to Local Bodies from time to time; but that could not be done without the distinct sanction of the Treasury. Money would be advanced for useful purposes, as in the case of Limerick, to which £25,000 was to be lent to improve its waterworks.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) thought that lending money to Ireland was throwing good money after bad. While it was proposed to give Great Britain only £2,000,000, Ireland was to get £1,000,000, Scotland's share being a beggarly £30,000. Every one of the advances proposed to be written off were Irish advances. He did not think, after what we had lately seen, that we should be very sure of being able to recover our money from the Limerick Corporation.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

EXPIRING LAWS CONTINUANCE BILL.

(*Mr. Jackson, Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

[BILL 353.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked, whether the Government would not consent to postpone the second reading of this Bill until the Autumn Session, as it was desirable the policy of the Scotch Education Commissioners should be discussed? Every one of the schemes of the Commissioners had been opposed in that House by a majority of the Scottish Members.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, that the hon. Member would have a full opportunity of raising the question upon the Scotch Education Vote during the Autumn Session.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) thought that the various Irish measures which the Bill proposed to continue ought to be discussed before the Bill was read a second time.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

SEA FISHERIES REGULATION BILL.

(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Baron Henry de Worms.*)

[BILL 350.] CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Clause 1 (Establishment of sea fisheries districts and sea fisheries committees).

On the Motion of Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, words were inserted having the effect of extending the operation of the measure to Wales.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Appointment and powers of fishery officers).

On the Motion of Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, Amendment made, in page 5, after line 3, by inserting—

"(5) A local fisheries committee may, with the consent of any board of conservators acting under the Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Acts, 1861 to 1886, appoint as an officer of the committee any officer of the board; and a board of conservators acting under the Salmon and Freshwater Fisheries Acts, 1861 to 1886, may, with the consent of a local fisheries committee, appoint as an officer of the board any officer of the committee."

Further Amendments made.

Bill *re-committed* in respect of an Amendment to Clause 8.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

(Mr. JACKSON in the Chair.)

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 21, leave out all after "require" to end of Clause, and insert—"Provided that any expenses which the local fisheries committee may be required by the Board of Trade to incur in the collection of statistics shall be borne by moneys to be provided by Parliament." —(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he might, personally, be allowed to express his gratification at seeing the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jackson) in the Chair, but he might also be allowed to say it was a very extraordinary fact that the First Lord of the Treasury, sitting on the Bench and passing a money clause in a Government Bill, should put his Financial Secretary to the Treasury in the Chair. It was an unprecedented proceeding.

THE CHAIRMAN: I may remind the hon. Member that the provision in this clause has already been sanctioned in Committee of the Whole House.

DR. TANNER: Very irregular, all the same.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, *considered.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

MR. MAC INNES (Northumberland, Hexham) said, that anything like a multiplication of Local Authorities was greatly to be deprecated, and considerable apprehension was being expressed as to whether there would not be, as the Bill now stood, a certain amount of intersecting and interlapping of areas. He pointed out that owing to the difference which existed in the laws on the Scotch and English side of the Solway respectively a general fear prevailed that friction would arise. He understood that the same feeling prevailed with regard to the Severn. He wished to know whether the Bill was not to be pressed further in the present Session, but was to stand over to the autumn before being sent to the House of Lords; and, if so, whether the right hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill would, during the Recess, consider the point now mentioned?

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) said, that while he thought the Bill was a step in the right direction, he, at the same time, considered it had certain defects. One great defect was that it did not vest in the Fishery Councils the harbours of the district. That especially in regard to fishing harbours was the most important part of the question. He suggested that the Government should introduce and pass a Bill in the Autumn Session conferring this power, and also a measure dealing with the fishery harbours of Scotland.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.) said, that he had been in communication with the representatives of the Salmon Fishery Conservancy Boards throughout England, and in consequence of that fact he had placed Amendments on the Paper, which had now been inserted in the Bill, which would, he thought, remove the most important objections taken to it by those Bodies. He did not know what course the House of Lords might take in respect to the Bill; but if there was any general feeling that it still required further consideration in the country, it might perhaps be postponed by their Lordships till the Autumn Session.

However, it was well that they had been able to deal with the measure that day, because the result of what they had done had been to pass the Bill in the state in which he thought it ought to be, and in which he believed, if it became law, it would prove a very valuable measure. The great object of the Bill had been to constitute local Fishery Commissions; and he was unwilling to impose on those Bodies at first more duties than were necessary. As to the point that had been mentioned by the hon. Member in relation to fishery harbours, the question was, he thought, one for the future rather than for the present time.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed* with an amended Title.

COPYHOLD ACTS AMENDMENT [STAMP DUTY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to impose on every copy of memorandum of enfranchisement, and every receipt for compensation, which may be given under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to amend the Copyhold Acts, the same Stamp Duty as is charged on a deed of conveyance.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

PARLIAMENT—ADJOURNMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) thought it would be right that he should now move the Adjournment of the House. It was understood that he should do so at the conclusion of Government Business. He wished now to give Notice that at half-past 3 o'clock to-morrow he would move the suspension of the 12 o'clock Rule with regard to the Government Orders of the Day, which it was necessary should be advanced before the adjournment in order that Bills on the Paper should proceed to the other House. The Motion of which he had to give Notice for to-morrow was to the effect that until the Government Orders of the Day were disposed of, so much of the Standing Order on the Business of the House as related to the interruption of Business at midnight should be suspended. He should state then what were the Bills which it was proposed to proceed with.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) asked whether facilities would be given for taking the Liability of Trustees Bill—a very important measure which had been considered by a Grand Committee?

MR. W. H. SMITH could not undertake to make that Bill a Government Bill. It might stand for Friday with the possibility of being brought on; but there were objections to certain parts of the measure.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) pressed for an indication of the probable Business for Friday.

MR. W. H. SMITH said that the Business on Friday would be first of all the consideration of the Lords' Amendments to the Local Government Bill and the County Courts and the Mortmain Bills. They would put forward the further stages of Bills which had to go up to the other House.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether the right hon. Gentleman could state that the Sittings of the House would be concluded on Saturday?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he had great hopes of that, but he could not venture to give an assurance as to it.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) asked what would be done in regard to the Libel Law Amendment Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that Bill was not in the hands of the Government; it was not a Government measure.

MR. ANDERSON asked whether a Bill would not be brought in during the Autumn Sitting in regard to Scotland, framed on the lines of the Sea Fisheries Bill they had just passed?

MR. W. H. SMITH was hardly able to answer that question. The hon. and learned Member should give Notice of it.

COLONEL HUGHES (Woolwich) appealed to the First Lord of the Treasury to afford facilities for the passing of the School Board for London Election Bill, to which there was practically no objection, and the non-passing of which would seriously prejudice candidates at the elections in November next.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) said, that as a Member of the Committee which sat on this subject two Sessions ago, he

took objections to the Bill which were not at all of a technical nature, and it was unreasonable to expect that so contentious a Bill should be passed without any discussion whatever.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham) desired to assure the House that the interests of their Catholic fellow Christians were considered by the present School Board, and he believed they would be by the future Board.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, at all events the Bill could not be regarded as a non-contentious Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at Eight o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 9th August, 1888.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—St. Giles Restoration (Scotland) Act Amendment * (261); Consolidated Fund (No. 3) *; Bail (Scotland) * (262); Members of Parliament (Charges and Allegations) * (263), Sea Fisheries Regulation * (264); Sale of Goods * (267); Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * (268); Public Works Loans * (269); Expiring Laws Continuance * (270); Hawkers * (271); Oaths * (272).

Report — Third Reading — Local Government (England and Wales) (257), and *passed.*

Third Reading—Fishery Acts Amendment (Ireland) (246-266), and *passed.*

ST. GILES RESTORATION (SCOTLAND) ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

LORD BALFOUR: I desire to present a Bill for the purpose of amending an Act passed in the year 1879 concerning the restoration of St. Giles' Cathedral Church, Edinburgh. The circumstances under which this Bill is presented are as follows:—The late Dr. William Chambers offered in 1879 to restore St. Giles' Cathedral Church, provided the congregation worshipping in one part of it were provided with another church elsewhere. £10,000 was subscribed for that purpose, and the congregation of West St. Giles' had another church built for them. The sum of £500 was also set aside in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Scotland for the upkeep of the fabric of St. Giles', but in the Act a clause was inserted for the purpose of preventing, as it was then thought, the use of St. Giles' Church for secular purposes. Under that clause the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, acting, I believe, from the purest motives and in pursuance of what they thought to be their duty, have claimed the right to draw seat rents from the part of St. Giles' Church formerly occupied by the West St. Giles' congregation, in spite of the fact that a new church has been furnished in lieu of it. The object of this Bill is to declare what we believe to have been the real intention of the Act of Parliament, as carrying out the bargain between the late Dr. William Chambers and the public. The only other purpose of the Bill I am now presenting is to make a slight increase in the managing Board of St. Giles' Cathedral. I should like to add that in this matter I am acting on behalf of the representatives of the late Dr. Chambers and members of the Committee who got this £10,500 from the public; and I may further say that there is no intention of attempting to proceed with the Bill until the Autumn Session. I hope before long it will be printed and circulated, so that if anybody objects, which I do not anticipate, no one will have reason to say he has been taken an undue advantage of.

Bill to amend an Act to make provision in regard to the restoration of the ancient church of St. Giles' in the city of Edinburgh—*Presented* (The Lord BALFOUR).

Bill read 1ª (No. 261).

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE LATE GERMAN EMPEROR.

ANSWER TO ADDRESS. [JUNE 18.]

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) read to the House the following translation of a letter from the German Ambassador expressing the thanks of His Majesty the German Emperor, King of Prussia, for the special Resolution of sympathy passed by the House of Lords with the sorrow of the Imperial family of Germany on the occasion of the death of the Emperor Frederick:—

"German Embassy, London,
"July 31, 1888.

"My Lord,—On the occasion of the decease of His Majesty the Emperor and King Frede-

rick, my gracious Sovereign, the two Houses of the English Parliament sent expressions of condolence to Her Majesty and Empress-Queen Frederick, the House of Lords and the House of Commons both in the form of resolutions dated June 18. Besides this, the House of Lords expressed by a special resolution of the same date their deep sympathy with the sorrow of the Imperial family, of the Government, and of the people of Germany. Although I may remark that the thanks of Her Majesty have already been conveyed to the two Houses of Parliament for the resolutions of sympathy addressed to Her through the British Ambassador at Berlin, I am instructed to express the thanks of His Majesty the Emperor and King for the second resolution of the House of Lords, and I beg your Lordship to inform the Upper House of the fact.

"I have, &c., "V. Hatzfeldt.

"The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G."

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE.

OBSERVATIONS.

Lord COLERIDGE said, he wished to call attention to a recent case in which a young woman named Catherine Morgan was arrested and charged with the murder of her infant child. Some comments had been made upon the statement of the Judge who tried the case that the conduct of the police towards the prisoner had been cruel and inhuman. He fully justified the criticisms of the learned Judge. The girl was arrested by the police late at night, and examined at once by a medical man in the presence of a female searcher. After a lengthy experience he could say that there was no class of evidence which required more careful watching than that given by the police.

The LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord Halsbury) said, he did not quite follow his noble and learned Friend in his statement of what had occurred. The evidence given by the police was amply corroborated. The facts appeared to be that the girl was secretly delivered of a dead child, and, for the purpose of concealing her shame, she placed the body in a tub. If that was for the purpose of concealment, she was guilty of a misdemeanour and ought to have been found guilty of it. The police appeared to have been under the impression that there was some evidence which justified them in suspecting, at all events, that the child was murdered. Consequently they were bound to act as they did. The girl, who denied altogether the birth of the child, assented to the examination by the doctor, and immediately afterwards she was placed in the infirmary. Neither the girl nor her friends made any complaint whatever of the conduct of the police. He only said this much upon the facts as stated before them. There might or there might not have been an error of judgment on the part of the police in not waiting till the next morning for the examination, but he thought the young woman, who had been so near to committing an offence against the law, had not very much reason to complain. Occasionally the police failed. Like other men they were at times guilty of error of judgment, but this was a failing to which all, from the highest to the lowest, engaged in the administration of justice, were equally liable. He certainly could not agree with the implied censure of the police, for after a very lengthy experience in the Courts of Justice he maintained that a finer or more respectable body of men it would be difficult to find anywhere.

Lord BRAMWELL said, he was very glad the Lord Chancellor had spoken out in the way he had, and he certainly did not in any way agree with the remarks of the Lord Chief Justice. The police, not merely in London, but in the provinces, gave their evidence as well as any set of men who came before the Courts. They had a most difficult duty to perform. They had no right whatever to question a prisoner, but very often the kindest act they could render him was to put a question to him. In the case mentioned, had the girl's statement been confirmed by a medical man, she would have been at once liberated.

Lord HERSCHELL said, he entirely concurred in what the noble and learned Lord had just said about the high character and the general good conduct of the police both in London and throughout the country. He thought they were subject to very great temptations, and it was not remarkable if at times they deviated from the course which calm judgment would dictate. Without in the slightest degree wishing to cast discredit on the evidence given by the police, it must be remembered that the evidence of any body of men ought to be carefully scrutinized. There was a natural temptation to men in the position

of the police which might lead them sometimes to exaggerate. Considering, also, the rate of pay given to the police, it was not marvellous that occasionally they acted improperly. The wonder rather was that they could get a body of men to discharge their duties so well. It was owing to the temptations to which they were subject that proper caution—he did not mean unreasonable caution—should be attached to the evidence they gave.

LORD COLERIDGE was understood to say that he did not desire to make any general charge against the police. A body of men engaged in the pursuit of crime were naturally sometimes over zealous, and their evidence required to be watched.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS) BILL.

FIRST READING.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY), in moving that the Bill be now read a first time, said, I wish to say a word in respect to our proceedings with regard to this Bill. We propose to read it a second time to-morrow, but we are much in the hands of the House as to what the further proceeding shall be. If the House accepts the second reading, we propose to take the Committee stage on Saturday, and if there is no objection, which seems to be entirely reasonable to suppose, we will take the third reading on Saturday also. That, however, is not a method which I should like to use with the power of a majority. It must be entirely a question for noble Lords opposite as to whether they think that is a reasonable course or not.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 1ª." —(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I have, of course, no objection to the Committee being taken on Saturday, but I should not like to give a decided opinion now as to the third reading.

Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 1ª; to be *printed;* and to be read 2ª *To-morrow.* (No. 263.)

PRIVATE BILLS.

Moved to resolve

"That the following be made a Standing Order: A copy of every Local Bill, if amended in Committee, shall, as so amended, be deposited at the Office of Her Majesty's Treasury and at the General Post Office three days before the Bill is read a third time: *Agreed to;* and the said resolution ordered to be added to the Roll of Standing Orders, to be numbered 143A, and to be *printed.* (No. 265.)

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order) and dispensed with during present sittings of the House.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.—(No. 257.)

(*The Lord Balfour.*)

REPORT OF AMENDMENTS.

Order of the Day for receiving the Report of Amendments read.

Moved, "That the said Report be now received."—(*The Lord Balfour.*)

LORD DENMAN, in moving that the Report of Amendments be received that day six months, said, that the rejection of Lord Basing's Amendment for selection of County Councils out of magistrates only was a condemnation of Lord Lieutenants, who, especially in Derbyshire, had nominated Justices of the Peace without any bias as to Party. The noble Lord (Lord Balfour), who piloted the Bill so ably, admitted that they had conducted the financial business of each county with economy and ability; but it was proposed to transfer this important duty to a Council, the election for which—only partly admitting women—had to be registered in a most complicated manner, and the election would be far more disturbing than a General Parliamentary Election—a step which he wished to see put off until the new electors had a more thorough knowledge of the great questions of the day. When cloture was first proposed by another Government, he (Lord Denman), at a meeting to celebrate the return of a Conservative Member for South Derbyshire, held at Ashbourne, said he should look with great suspicion on any Bill from "another place" which might not have received orderly consideration; but this Bill was passed by suspension of the Standing Orders, in a late Sitting in the House of Commons, and hastened by the right hon. Gentleman the junior Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), and read a first time in their Lordships' House on the same night. What was its origin? A talented M.P. had

said that, "whichever Party might be in Office, a Local Government Bill would be framed." But this Bill did not satisfy the Opposition, who wished to carry it much farther; and it was rumoured that a like Bill was to be proposed for Scotland, whilst the noble Lord the late Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Randolph Churchill), as well as the right hon. Members for Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Birmingham, wished to adopt a similar Bill for Ireland; but their Lordships knew how much the views of the last two were distrusted in Ireland, whilst the noble Lord had not gained their confidence. The grant of part of the Probate Duty and of the Licensing Duties might be invalid through a change of Votes in Supply. The abandonment of the Licensing Authority disappointed the temperance advocates, and the withdrawal of the Compensation Clause took away the attempt to satisfy the licensed victuallers. The only place of distinction he (Lord Denman) had in the county was as Chairman of the Committee for conferring or rejecting new licences. He had attended all meetings where a quorum was requsite for 34 years. He had often gone 12 miles to Buxton and Chapel-en-le-Frith, and had often given up a day's hunting to do so. The noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) had been told that his speech should have been against the second reading. The same was said as to the Irish Land Bill by the Earl of Derby—the advocate of Life Peerages—and of this Bill, of which he is to be the head. His Lordship said—"You should have voted against the second reading of a Bill confessedly a failure." He (Lord Denman) was sure that great confusion would arise if this Bill were to become law. The new elections were to begin in January, 1889, and business to commence not earlier than 1st of April. He could not hope to see the effect of this measure, for he ought to say, like Prospero—

"Every third thought shall be my grave."—(*Tempest*, Act V., Scene I.")

On third reading, passed by suspension of Standing Orders, it was said they were creating a rival power which no Local Government Board would be able to control.

Amendment *moved*, to leave out "now," and add at the end of the Motion, "this day six months."—(*The Lord Denman.*)

LORD STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL: My Lords, I do not rise to enter into any general discussion such as the Notice of the noble and learned Lord (Lord Denman) is framed to open, but to make one or two remarks upon the London Clauses which could not well be made at any former moment, so great was the desire on Monday to go at once into Committee, and then to get through all the work of the Committee in one evening. I desire merely to support the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (Earl Fortescue) who has twice spoken in the sense which I approve of. He ought not it seems to me to be alone. Beyond this House, indeed, he is not. Mr. Bowles, who has brought much ability to bear upon the subject, in an elaborate arraignment of the Bill contributed to *The Fortnightly Review* of April last, decidedly sustains him. Mr. Baumann, a Metropolitan Member, in *The National Review* of June, as regards the London Clauses, has unanswerably backed him. He has a yet more powerful supporter in the country. It is the most authoritative organ of the Party which the Government belong to, in an article intended to explain the Bill and recommend it. What is the language of *The Quarterly Review* in a recent number? Although I hardly ever read an extract, your Lordships ought, I think, to be possessed of it.

"It would have been wiser to have postponed the Metropolitan portion of the Bill till another Session. The Bill is rural in its essence. The scheme for London government set out in the Bill would depend for its success on a healthy and influential public opinion which exists in country districts but does not exist in the Metropolis. The impossibility of getting more than a small percentage of voters to exercise the franchise, which has been demonstrated in a long order of various Metropolitan elections, proves that there is no such common interest in London government as would result in a strong and able County Council. But looking to the state of affairs which had been reached in this month, they might have been dropped without disadvantage. They are admittedly imperfect. And it is far better that London should wait a while for some more comprehensive and well-worked out system of government, than that valuable time should have been consumed in the discussion of temporary proposals, which must be amended in another Session."

Such is the language of *The Quarterly*

Review, although so very far from hostile to the measure. For anything we know, it is an emanation of the Cabinet. For anything we know, it comes directly from the Minister. But we are not to fathom the anonymous. One thing is manifest. In the course of these discussions, no vindication of the London Clauses has been offered. The noble Lord who introduced the Bill with so much mastery of detail seemed to pass them over altogether. The noble Marquess did not say a word on their necessity or policy. No answer either was attempted to the speeches of the noble Earl on the Cross Benches. The ground I take is that London must be separately handled, and cannot be disposed of parenthetically. Opinion is exceedingly divided between the plan of an immense municipality like that presented by Sir William Harcourt and the plan of many corporations which was urged by Mr. S. Mill, by Mr. Buxton, and, I believe, by Mr. Torrens. The subject is one which merits long debate and long deliberation. The partizans of neither scheme ought to be contented with this precipitate arrangement. To create a London Council suddenly and blindly, while the mind of Parliament is not directed to that topic, would be a sacrifice of prudence. A London Council may always be a great political organization, full of menace and embarrassment to Cabinets and statesmen. Even the City was so in the last century, as you may see by merely glancing at contemporary pages. At this moment, unless I am wholly misinformed, every French Government is more or less engaged in a struggle with municipal authority in Paris. There are two or three grounds on which Her Majesty's Government might well accede to the omission of these clauses without the faintest loss of dignity. They form a specimen of tacking which the Government would have been certain to expose if it had come from any other quarter. It is much as if in some measure to reform one House of Parliament, a few sections to reconstruct the other had been surreptitiously injected. Again, when legislation has been active for more than 50 years, its material must be inevitably circumscribed. It is not expedient to consume by mixing in one Session the problems upon which two Sessions would be legitimately exercised. In this very year the noble Marquess delivered an anathema against large and comprehensive measures, in which he pointed out with emphasis that separate enactments are more prudent. Indeed, on two questions—the adjustment of tithes and the alteration of this House—he has conspicuously acted on the view which he put forward. Why is it now to be abandoned? Does this Bill emerge from quarters independent of the Government? There has seldom been one more large, more comprehensive, more heterogeneous, or, therefore, less in accord with the principle the noble Marquess had laid down for his direction. If any defence is given, it is that the Metropolitan Board ought at once to be superseded. How do we know that a London Council suddenly created will be less corrupt or more effective. If the Metropolitan Board of Works has not turned out well, there cannot be too much deliberation in replacing it. It is not likely that for many months the Metropolitan Board of Works will be hurried into error. It is now under the vigilant control of the Press, the public, and the Chairman is thoroughly awakened. There is no tendency more common or less prudent than to be full of caution against evils which have recently appeared, and full of blindness as to those which may emerge from the securities adopted. On that point illustrations might be given from history and from private life, if I was not reluctant to detain your Lordships any longer. What I suggest is, that without any adverse vote Her Majesty's Government should from their own initiative eliminate these Clauses 40 to 45 inclusively—under the shelter of the friendly counsellor whose language I have brought before them. By such a course the Bill might be retarded, but if it is there will not be a national calamity. Delay will be no injury to them nor to the public.

On Question, that ("now") stand part of the Motion? *Resolved* in the *Affirmative.*

Amendments *reported* accordingly.

Lord THRING was understood to appeal to the Prime Minister to allow the matter as to the division of Suffolk to be an open question.

The PRIME MINISTER and SECRETARY of STATE for FOREIGN

AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY) could not assent to this, as it might lead to a conflict between the two Houses.

Clause 2 (Composition and election of council and position of chairman).

EARL FORTESCUE: My Lords, having forborne, with a view to your Lordships' convenience, moving an Amendment in Committee, I venture to ask your kind indulgence for the few remarks with which I shall have to trouble you with regard to the Amendment which I have placed on the Notice Paper. On the advantages of the collection of votes given by the electors of voting papers instead of at polling booths, of sending the few collectors round to the many electors instead of the many electors to the few clerks at the polling booths, whether to vote by ballot or otherwise, I have long had strong convictions—indeed more than 30 years ago I wrote a private memorandum upon it for the then President of the Poor Law Board, who asked my leave to lay it before the House of Commons, and moved for it accordingly, as some Peer did soon after in this House. And, though I individually, after repeatedly risking my seat by opposing the ballot for Parliamentary elections, became a convert to it shortly after being called up to this House, I did so, retaining my preference for the system of voting long in use for the election of Guardians. But it should be remembered that the County Councils which the Bill creates are not at all analogous to the House of Commons. They will not decide the fate of Ministries. They are to be purely administrative, not legislative; and it is desirable, therefore, that the Councillors should be elected with a view to their business-like rather than oratorical qualities, and that the votes for and against them should be given calmly, and under the influence of quiet conviction, not of political excitement. The ballot—according to an American statesman in *The Contemporary Review*, in 1880—has in the United States failed to suppress either intimidation or bribery. In England, as the Election trials after the Dissolution of 1880 proved, the ballot has not prevented, though it has much shielded, electoral corruption. The difficulty is, as it always has been, to get ordinary voters to vote without payment; and that will, of course, be greater in the rural districts, where they have much further to go for that purpose than in urban districts, where the polling booths are comparatively close to the voters' houses. In the two last General Elections, a large proportion, doubtless of the newly-enfranchised electors, voted for the pleasure of exercising their new right twice within a year, and with exaggerated hopes of the happy result to themselves of doing so. The proportion voting then should therefore not be taken as probably normal. But, reverting to elections taking place under more ordinary conditions, we find that even in the larger boroughs, with their numerous polling booths, the proportion who did not take the trouble of voting was very large. There were contests in each of the 24 largest boroughs in Great Britain in 1874, when less than two-thirds of the electors in them voted. In 1880 there were contests again in 23 out of the 24, when only half could be got to vote in spite of the great exertions made and the great amount of money spent. Nor was this a new feature, for only 55 per cent of the electors were found to have voted at the General Election in 1852 in 12 very large boroughs. But there was an opportunity of testing the working of the two systems in connection with elections for local as distinguished from Parliamentary purposes, given at St. Pancras, in consequence of a legal mistake made by the Poor Law Commissioners, who erroneously thought themselves empowered to issue the same election order to that as to other parishes. An election by voting papers accordingly took place there in 1837, at which more than half the electors voted. Shortly after that, in consequence of a decision of the Courts, the elections there had to be conducted again under what was known as Hobhouse's Act, and under that a more than usually exciting contest took place in 1853. But only about one-seventh of the electors could be got to vote at it. In 1879, after the parish had been divided into wards, there were contests in four of them, when nearly half voted with voting papers. Mr. Rendle, a Medical Officer of Health, told the Committee of the House of Commons on the Metropolis Local Management Act, that he himself was elected as a vestryman by about 12

votes, but as a Guardian by voting papers by some 1,200 votes; and that that proportion was not at all unusual in his parish. I do not contend that under the voting paper system no voter is bribed or coerced into destroying or making void his voting paper, or into filling it up contrary to his convictions. I only maintain that a far greater number of electors being thus induced to vote, the general result of an election gives a much truer representation of the real, deliberate feeling of the whole body of electors than does going to the poll, whether publicly or under the ballot. Moreover, the abstention from voting is not that of the least desirable electors. Of course, the very best men take a part in elections from a sense of duty, religious or patriotic, or both. Then a certain number, placing a just value on their time—namely, a very small one, take a part in them from a love of the excitement, the conviviality, and the gossip attending them, to say nothing of any hope of possible personal future advantage. There is, however, a large number of men of good average industry and character who, caring much for their own interest and their families, cannot be persuaded—however decided their preference or however clear their convictions—to sacrifice for any public cause or any candidate by going to vote at a polling-place, the time and labour which they value so highly and know so well how to turn to good account. If the opinions of Committees of Inquiry are to be regarded, it should not be forgotten that one, of which Mr. John Stuart Mill was a Member, unanimously recommended the adoption of the system of voting by voting papers in use for the election of Poor Law Guardians, not as being without disadvantages, but as being on the whole the best. I have to thank your Lordships for the kind patience with which you have listened to my arguments in favour of an Amendment to which I am not sanguine enough to expect you to assent; and I will only repeat in this late stage of the Bill that, notwithstanding my objections to its mode of dealing with the Metropolis and with the mode of voting, I hail this measure as on the whole being not only comprehensive but satisfactory.

Amendment *moved*, in page 1, line 18, at the end of the line insert ("The councillors shall be elected in like manner as guardians of the poor").—*(The Earl Fortescue.)*

Lord BALFOUR said, he must resist the Amendment, which was utterly inconsistent with the whole scheme of the Bill, and for all practical purposes, if it were insisted upon and inserted, the House might just as well have accepted the Motion of the noble Lord on the Cross Benches (Lord Denmam) and stopped the Bill. Therefore, he hoped at this stage the House would not accept the Amendment.

Amendment *negatived.*

On the Motion of Lord Balfour, the following new sub-section was inserted at the end of the clause:—

"The county council may from time to time appoint a member of the council to be deputy chairman, to hold office during the term of office of the chairman, and, subject to any rules made from time to time by the county council, anything authorized or required to be done by, to, or before the chairman may be done by, to, or before such deputy chairman."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Powers as to police).

On the Motion of the Marquess of Salisbury, Amendment made, in page 6, line 17, at end of line, by inserting—

"Nothing in this Act shall affect the powers, duties, and liabilities of justices of the peace as conservators of the peace, or the obligation of the chief constable or other constables to obey their lawful orders given in that behalf."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 32 (Adjustment of financial relations between counties and boroughs).

On the Motion of the Lord Balfour, Amendment made, in page 24, line 13, after Sub-section (2), by inserting as a separate sub-section—

"In the adjustment regard shall be had to the considerations that the county is not to be placed in any worse financial position by reason of the boroughs therein being constituted county boroughs, and that a county borough is not to be placed in a worse financial position than it would have been if it had remained part of the county."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 76 (Application of Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, to county councils and this Act).

On the Motion of the Lord Balfour, Amendment made, in page 69, line 14,

at the end of line, by inserting as a fresh sub-section after sub-section 13—

"The quorum of the council shall be one-fourth of the whole number of the council, and one-fourth shall, for the purposes of this section, be substituted for one-third in paragraph ten of the second schedule to the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882."

"'Ten days' shall be substituted for 'five days' in section thirty-four of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, as the time within which a person elected to a corporate office is to accept that office, and twelve months shall be substituted for six months in section thirty-nine of the said Act as the period of absence which disqualifies an alderman or councillor."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Further Amendments made.

Bill read 3ª with the Amendments; further Amendments made; Bill *passed* and sent to the Commons.

EARL GRANVILLE said, he desired to say a few words on the passage of this great measure. He wished to say one word as to the intimate knowledge of the subject displayed by the noble Lord (Lord Balfour) who had charge of this complicated Bill, and the ability with which he had conducted it, and he was sure that the noble Lord would be ready to acknowledge that he had received valuable assistance from his noble Friends sitting behind him (Earl Granville). The Bill contained a very valuable principle for the country generally and for the Metropolis. He gathered from what the noble Marquess was reported to have said yesterday that he regarded this Bill as a final measure. If so, that would very much diminish his own satisfaction.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that in using the word final he merely meant that it was final with respect to the matters with which it dealt. He did not mean that no supplementary provisions would be necessary. In fact, there was a whole branch of the subject which had been left out of the Bill on account of the impossibility of passing it, owing to the lapse of time.

LORD BALFOUR thanked the noble Earl for the more than kind manner in which he had spoken of himself. He cordially concurred in the remark that he had had valuable assistance, not only from noble Lords on the Front Bench opposite, but from all sections of the House. He desired to add that he was quite certain that the Bill could not have been dealt with by the House with the ease with which it had been were it not for the intimate knowledge of the subject shown and the excellent work done by the permanent officials of the Local Government Board, to whom also he wished to express his thanks for the services rendered to him.

SALE OF GOODS BILL.

BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

LORD HERSCHELL said, he rose to call attention to the expediency of codifying certain branches of the Criminal Law, and to present a Bill for codifying the law relating to the sale of goods. Whatever opinion might be entertained as to the practicability of the general codification of our law, experience had proved that the codification of certain branches of it was both possible and desirable. Their Lordships and the country had had experience of a code passed some years ago of the laws relating to bills of exchange and negotiable instruments. That code, he believed, had worked in the most satisfactory manner, and it had been adopted by more than one of our own Colonies. He believed, also, that a proposal had been laid before the Congress of the United States for the adoption of a precisely similar code. It was desirable that the same principle of codification should be applied to other branches of the law. He had, therefore, brought before their Lordships a Bill codifying the law relating to the sale of goods. If anything could be done to codify the law at all, it could only be effected by taking special subjects and devoting to them that minute care and attention which was only possible when isolated subjects were dealt with. The Bill had been drafted by the same learned Gentleman who was now the County Court Judge of Birmingham, and who was the author of the Bill codifying the law relating to bills of exchange. He had sufficiently examined it to be able to say—though he could not pledge himself to every detail—that the work was very satisfactorily done, and well worthy of the consideration of Parliament. He introduced it now, not because he proposed to proceed with it during the present Sittings, but for the purpose of making it public and obtaining that criticism of the Profession which was a most import-

ant aid to the satisfactory passing of a measure of this description. After the Bill had been read a first time, he hoped that the assistance of the Profession, which, on such a matter, was never asked in vain, would enable their Lordships during the ensuing Session to make a practical effort to pass the Bill into law.

LORD FITZGERALD said, your Lordships should be thankful to the noble and learned Lord for the care he has taken in relation to a very difficult, and, in some particulars, an obscure branch of the law. The noble and learned Lord has wisely adopted the plan of codifying the law on one subject at a time. The more ambitious plan is unsuited to our legislative requirements, and consequently fails. I may mention that it is to the noble Lord we owe the successful Code of the law as to bills, notes, cheques, and other negotiable instruments; and I anticipate that his present attempt will be equally successful.

Bill for codifying the law relating to the sale of goods.—*Presented* (The Lord HERSCHELL).

Bill read 1ª. (No. 267.)

House adjourned during pleasure at 6.10 P.M.

House resumed by The Lord KINTORE (*E. Kintore*) at 3.31 A.M.

Several Bills brought from the Commons.

House adjourned at a quarter before Four o'clock, A.M., till half past One o'clock, P.M.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 9th August, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE — *Report* — Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons) [No. 343].

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Divisional Magistrates (Ireland) * (374).

Second Reading — Imperial Defence * [346]; Solicitors * [347]; Local Bankruptcy (Ireland) * [344].

Second Reading — Committee — Report — Third Reading—Marriages Validation [370], and *passed.*

Report of Select Committee — Lloyd's (Signal Stations) [No. 344].

Committee—Report—National Defence * [235]; Municipal Funds (Ireland) * [371].

Committee—Report—Third Reading—Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * [354]; Public Works Loans * [355]; Expiring Laws Continuance * [353]; Hawkers * [360], and *passed.*

Third Reading—Oaths [7-319], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

—o—

SECURITY AGAINST FIRE (METROPOLIS)—INQUIRY BY COMMITTEE.

MR. AIRD (Paddington, N.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he will cause a special inquiry to be made by an independent Committee to consider whether the Metropolis can be placed in a state of greater security against the contingencies of fire and its frequently fatal consequences?

MR. BAUMANN (Camberwell, Peckham) asked, Whether the Government had considered the Report of the Select Committee which was appointed in 1876 to inquire into this subject; and whether they were prepared to take steps to carry out any of the recommendations contained in the Committee's Report?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Government are fully alive to the importance of this matter, and would have no objection to a special inquiry; but, considering the time of the year, and the fact that the Fire Brigade is about to be transferred to another authority within a few months, it does not seem expedient to appoint a Committee now.

POST OFFICE—PRICES OF POST CARDS.

MR. R. POWER (Waterford) asked the Postmaster General, Whether, during the recess, he will take into his serious consideration the great desirability of arranging for the sale of post cards at post offices, if not at the face value of the stamps, as is done on the Continent, at all events at a price per dozen equal to that at which the same articles are now supplied by stationers—namely, 7*d.* instead of 8*d.*?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): A few days ago I stated, in the answer which I made to the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson), that the sale of post cards at their face value entail a loss of Revenue of upwards of

£77,000; and there is, I fear, no prospect of any reduction of the present price so long as the existing contract remains in force.

MR. R. POWER asked, whether the contract would be renewed?

MR. RAIKES said, it would not.

NEW SOUTH WALES—THE CHINESE IMMIGRATION — SPEECH OF SIR HARRY PARKES.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he can say whether a pamphlet purporting to contain the speech of Sir Harry Parkes, Premier of New South Wales, in moving the Second Reading of the Chinese Restriction Bill, and a preface by that gentleman, is genuine; whether he has noticed that Sir Harry Parkes used the following words in his speech, and set them forth again in his preface:—

"Neither for Her Majesty's ships of war, nor for Her Majesty's Representative on the spot, nor for the Secretary of State for the Colonies, do we intend to turn aside from our purpose, which is to terminate the landing of Chinese on these shores for ever, except under the restrictions imposed by the Bill, which will amount, and are intended to amount, to practical prohibition;"

also, that Sir Harry Parkes distinctly avowed that—

"The Government had been acting illegally in refusing to allow the Chinese to land;"

whether the Bill so proposed was passed, and contained an indemnity for the illegal acts committed by the New South Wales Government; whether the Act so passed has been assented to by the Governor, acting for Her Majesty, not being reserved for Her Majesty's pleasure; and, whether the Secretary of State satisfied himself that the refusal to allow the Chinese to land in New South Wales and the provisions of the Bill are in accordance with Her Majesty's Treaties with the Emperor of China, and with our amicable relations with that Power, before he allowed the Governor to give the Queen's Assent to the Act?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham) (who replied) said: The Secretary of State has no reason to doubt the authenticity of the pamphlet referred to by the hon. Member; and he has seen the two statements quoted, which are explained in the preface. The Bill has passed, and is understood to contain a clause preserving to any person who feels aggrieved the right of redress for losses in Courts of Law, but indemnifying the Members of the Ministry personally. The Bill has been assented to, but without prejudice to Her Majesty's power of disallowance should its provisions be found inadmissible. The Act has not yet been received; but its provisions will be carefully considered. I may add that laws imposing restrictions on Chinese immigration have been in force for many years in the Australian Colonies.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) gave Notice that he would call attention to the subject on the second reading of the Imperial Defence Bill.

PERSIA—TRADING COMPANIES—PROCLAMATION OF THE SHAH.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with reference to the Proclamation of the Shah of Persia issued in May last, encouraging the formation of Companies and promising them protection, Whether that promise was put forth in any degree at the suggestion of Her Majesty's Government or Her Majesty's Representative; and, whether the formal communication of the Proclamation to Foreign Powers will give them any claim to interfere on behalf of Companies or capitalists who may choose to embark in speculations in Persia?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Representative at Teheran was aware beforehand of the intentions of the Shah to issue the Proclamation, and encouraged it. Her Majesty's Government have themselves repeatedly urged the Shah to throw open the Karun River to steam navigation, and to encourage the construction of railways and carriage roads from the Persian Gulf. The formal communication of the Proclamation to the Foreign Representatives constitutes, in effect, an assurance on the part of His Majesty to which a Foreign Government might appeal; but that the right of interference on behalf of British subjects who may embark in commercial or in-

dustrial enterprizes in Persia is founded on Article IX. of the Treaty of 1857, insuring most-favoured nation treatment to British subjects and their trade, and, consequently, extended to them the provisions of the Treaty of Commerce between Russia and Persia, signed at Turkmantchai in 1828.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL gave Notice that on an early opportunity he should call attention to the subject.

AFRICA (CENTRAL)—THE SLAVE TRADE.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the Secretary of State will cause to be prepared and presented to Parliament, after the coming Recess, a *précis*, showing in brief the information obtained by the Foreign Office as to the extent and character of the Slave Trade now carried on in the interior of Africa; also as to the number of slaves exported, the parts of the coast from which they are exported, the countries to which they are exported, and the way in which they are dealt with in those countries; the persons by whom, and the means by which, the traffic is carried on; and the degree to which repressive measures are effectually used or fail of effect?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The Foreign Office already give all the information possessed by them on the subject in the Annual Report on the Slave Trade, which is presented to Parliament; the further details asked for by the hon. Member are plainly impossible to furnish, and any such statistics could only be founded on speculation.

POST OFFICE—THE CHANNEL TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Postmaster General, If he can now say that the monopoly of a private Telegraph Company across the Channel to the Continent will not be renewed on its expiry?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that the monopoly will not be renewed.

RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES (IRELAND)—PLUMBER AND CONNELL, EMERGENCY MEN.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to the case of two Emergency men, named Plumber and Connell, who, being in charge of a farm at Killeenagalline, County Tipperary, whilst returning on Wednesday the 1st instant, from Emly, in a state of drunkenness, fired several shots from revolvers, when two young girls had a narrow escape from the bullets; whether, having been arrested by the police, they were brought before the magistrates at Tipperary Petty Sessions, and fined £1 and 7*s.* 6*d.* respectively for being drunk only; whether Constable Falvey swore the revolver found on Plumber had the appearance of being discharged; and, whether the authorities are investigating the case of firing, and intend taking any action against these men for the grave offence?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Constabulary Authorities report that the caretakers referred to are not connected either with the Emergency Committee or the Property Defence Association. Plumber was fined £1 for being drunk while in possession of a loaded revolver, and Connell 5*s.* for being drunk only, his revolver not being loaded when he was arrested. It does not appear that the two girls had a narrow escape from being shot. One of them said Connell pointed his revolver at her, but made no attempt to discharge it; nor did he say anything to her. Her companion said she did not see Connell do anything. The constable's evidence related to Connell's (not Plumber's) revolver; and it appears that a man states that he saw him discharge it into a field where there was no person.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether the authorities will inquire how these men are able to fire revolvers in the open air without being prosecuted?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have not got the exact terms of the charge before me. There will probably be an investigation into the matter of the licence.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: That is not what I asked. Will the authorities take any steps to investigate the matter?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have stated all I know in reply to the Question.

NATIONAL DEFENCE — POSSIBILITY OF INVASION — LANDING IN SUFFOLK.

MR. QUILTER (Suffolk, South) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is aware that the beach in the vicinity of Shinglestreet, in Hollesley Bay, Suffolk, is peculiarly well adapted for the landing of a hostile expedition, having deep water alongside and being undefended except by Martello towers; and if he will take the necessary steps to establish a telegraph office in the immediate neighbourhood, the nearest available one at present being Woodbridge, 10 miles distant?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The locality referred to is fully recognized as a possible landing place; and in the scheme for the defence of the country provision is made for its being duly watched. In time of emergency communication will be established with the nearest military centre.

WAR OFFICE—THE MOTTO OF THE WELSH REGIMENT.

MR. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he is aware that no meaning attaches to the words "*Gwell augau neu chwilydd*," the motto given in the official Army List as that of the Welsh Regiment, there being no such word as "augau" in the Welsh language; whether it is correct that the expression "*Gwell angeu neu chwilydd*" (Better death or shame), appears on the caps of the men in the regiment, and is a source of annoyance to them as well as their friends; and, whether he will cause to be substituted in both cases the old Welsh motto "*Gwell angeu na chywilydd*" (Better death than disgrace), the one clearly intended?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): In April last the officer commanding called attention to an alleged inaccuracy in the motto of the Welsh Regiment, and the matter was referred to a very competent authority for decision. Orders have now been given that the necessary correction shall be made.

THE INQUEST AT MITCHELSTOWN ON THE LATE MR. MANDEVILLE—DR. RIDLEY AND DR. BARR.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) (for Dr. FITZGERALD) (Longford, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will lay upon the Table of the House the correspondence which passed between the late Dr. Ridley and Dr. Barr's mother-in-law bearing upon the subject of the treatment of the late Mr. Mandeville in Tullamore Prison?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): If any such correspondence exists (of which I have no knowledge), and if it should be produced at the inquest, it will, of course, be included in the Report of the proceedings which will be presented to the House.

DR. TANNER: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether this correspondence has not been alluded to at the inquest?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: If so, I presume it is in the power of any of the parties concerned to have it produced. If it is produced in evidence it will be laid before the House.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): Will the right hon. Gentleman ask Dr. Barr how his mother-in-law comes into the question?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I have informed the House I have no knowledge of this correspondence at all.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn): Will the right hon. Gentleman produce the shorthand writer's notes on the inquest on Dr. Ridley and lay them on the Table?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had promised to lay them on the Table, and had alluded to his promise several times in the House.

LUNACY — THE DINSDALE PRIVATE LUNATIC ASYLUM — ACTION FOR LIBEL.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to a report of a trial at Leeds on Friday last, before Mr. Justice Cave, in which Dr. Eastwood, the

proprietor of the Dinsdale Private Lunatic Asylum, an establishment kept for private gain, claimed £2,000 damages from *The Northern Echo*, which published an extract from another paper reflecting on Dr. Eastwood's treatment of his patients; whether is is the fact that he has already recovered damages from two other papers for the same libel, and when apologized to in the fullest manner by *The Northern Echo* intimated through his solicitor that he—

"Could not think of being satisfied without a monetary compensation;"

whether he is aware that the charges consisted mainly of the bad quality of the food; that Dr. Eastwood employed the patients to work on his farm of 120 acres on the plea of giving them exercise; that there is in the asylum

"A strong dark room set apart for solitary confinement when patients become refractory and unmanageable;"

that the writer saw "many acts of violence to the patients;" and heard "awful screams" from time to time; whether, considering the very painful nature of the charges, the Lunacy Commissioners have of their own accord inquired into the truth or falsehood of these grave charges; and, if not, will he call upon them to do so; and, whether the Government will next Session re-introduce the Lunacy Amendment Bill, and put a clause into it providing for the total abolition of private lunatic asylums kept for personal profit?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Lunacy Commissioners that they have no knowledge of the actions for libel brought by Dr. Eastwood beyond that contained in the newspapers. The asylum is visited twice a-year by two Commissioners; four times a-year by the Visiting Justices and Medical Visitor appointed by Quarter Sessions, and twice by the Medical Visitor alone. Defects have, from time to time, been detected and pointed out; but no such grave abuses as those specified in the libel. As far as the Commissioners are aware the allegations are unfounded; and having regard to the result of the litigation they do not consider any inquiry on their part to be necessary. It will be observed that no attempt was made to justify the libel. The Government hope to be able to reintroduce the Lunacy Bill next Session; but cannot undertake to insert such a clause as is suggested.

POOR LAW (SCOTLAND)—CHARLES SMITH.

MR. ANSTRUTHER (St. Andrew's, &c.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been directed to the case of Charles Smith, an old man, of weak intellect and infirm health, who was turned out of his dwelling-house in the parish of Monimail, in Fife, in May, 1887, and who was then, and still is, refused any parish relief except within the workhouse; whether the said Charles Smith has since lived in a cave in the earth without fire or protection for five months; whether he has been prevented by the Board of Supervision from bringing his case before the ordinary Courts; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will take steps to limit the authority of the Board of Supervision to prohibit inquiry in such cases by the ordinary tribunals?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): The man in question, though of weak intellect, is not a suitable person for confinement as a lunatic, and is able to take care of himself. He is a nuisance to the neighbourhood, being very abusive with his tongue. The case was fully considered and not thought suitable for ordinary outdoor relief. The Board of Supervision has no power to prohibit inquiry; but it has a responsibility to decide whether the relief offered is adequate, which in this case it undoubtedly is.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—PUPIL TEACHERS IN NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that of the 155 pupil teachers examined in July, 1887, only 33 were appointed teachers in National schools in Ireland during the year 1887; and, whether Rule 151 of the Board of National Education excludes pupil teachers from appointment as teachers in National schools; and, if so, whether he will suggest to the Commissioners the advis-

ability of altering this Rule in favour of pupil teachers?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Commissioners of National Education inform me that of the 155 pupil teachers examined in July, 1887, a large proportion were only in the first year of their course and the remainder in the second, the whole course lasting two years. They also state that Rule 151 does not exclude from appointment as teachers pupil teachers who have satisfactorily finished their course, because such pupil teachers then come under the category of classified teachers.

RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES (IRELAND) —UNLAWFUL ASSEMBLY, DUNDALK —MR. GEORGE PHILLIPS.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that in the case of Mr. George Phillips, summoned for unlawful assembly at Dundalk on the occasion of Mr. Dillon's appeal there on June 20 last, at the hearing of the case on July 27, Police-sergeant M'Barren having proved that defendant made use of the following expressions, "to —— with Balfour" and "the police are blackguards," and Mr. Adams, counsel for the defendant, having argued that

"Evidence must be given of some circumstance of actual force or violence, or at least of such apparent tendency thereto as are calculated to strike terror into the public,"

and no such evidence having been given, Captain Preston, the Resident Magistrate, held that the language above quoted brought the meeting within the following definition of an unlawful assembly—namely—

"Persons assembled to sow sedition and to bring into contempt the Constitution;"

and, whether, considering the extreme difficulty of connecting the phrases used by the accused with "sedition" or with "contempt of the Constitution," he will instruct Crown Prosecutors in future not to pursue such cases unless there is evidence of at least some kind of tendency to violence?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Constabulary authorities report that while the sergeant's evidence incidentally showed that the expressions referred to were made use of by some of the members of the crowd, it was proved by him and several witnesses that the expressions, demeanour, and actions of the mob, of which Phillips was the ringleader, was such as to put law-abiding persons in fear and dread, and to bring the administration of the law into contempt. I do not see any ground for instructions of the nature referred to in the concluding portion of the Question.

RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES (IRELAND) —VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION AT DUNDALK.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that summonses have been issued at Dundalk against Michael Joseph Carroll, Henry Cooper, and Joseph Michael Johnston—

"For wrongfully, and without legal authority, using violence and intimidation to and towards Robert Emerson, Esquire, Solicitor, in consequence of his having done an act that he had a legal right to do—namely, having acted as agent and solicitor for and on behalf of the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Massereene;"

whether this violence and intimidation consisted of anything else than "booing" at Mr. Emerson at the Dundalk Railway Station on June 20 last, after the hearing of the appeal of Mr. John Dillon, M.P., unaccompanied by any acts of violence or threatened violence; whether he can explain why these summonses were not issued till more than a month after the event complained of; and, whether he will intimate to the Crown Prosecutor to withdraw the charge?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Constabulary authorities report that the men named have been summoned for intimidation towards the gentleman referred to. One of them, however, absconded, and has not up to the present been traced. The intimidation consisted not merely of booing, but of inciting a hostile and excited crowd to attack the gentleman, who was a stranger to the place. No unavoidable delay has, I understand, taken place in instituting the proceedings, summonses having been issued in the first instance for June 29, when these cases with others were adjourned. The fresh summonses were issued about July 21.

EDUCATION ACTS—THE DAY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS, MANCHESTER.

COLONEL SANDYS (Lancashire, S.W., Bootle) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What provision is being made for the instruction in religion of the Roman Catholic children in the Day Industrial School now being built in Manchester by the school board of that city; has the consent of the Home Office been given for the erection of a separate department, and for the provision of separate teachers for these children; if so, under what provisions of the Education Acts, or of the Industrial Schools Acts, or the Orders of the Privy Council have these arrangements been made; how can such actions be reconciled with the fundamental principle of the Education Acts that no denominational formulary is to be taught in an elementary school under a school board; and, if separate provisions can be made for the instruction of Roman Catholic children in their religion, are other Religious Bodies entitled to similar provision?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Home Office Regulations will require that due provision be made for the religious instruction of the Roman Catholic children attending the day industrial school now being built in Manchester. These arrangements will be under the Order in Council made on March 20, 1877, concerning day industrial schools. A separate department will not be required; the question of separate teachers will rest with the school board. No attempt will be made to detach children from the denomination to which they belong. Other Religious Bodies are entitled to similar provisions—that is, at the option of the parents, provision can be made, with the approval of the Board, for children to attend religious instruction or services conducted by ministers of their respective creeds.

PUBLIC HEALTH—OUTBREAK OF SMALL-POX AT MANCHESTER.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to the outbreak of small-pox in St. Joseph's Certified Industrial School, Manchester; whether it is a fact that three sisters, five attendants, and 58 children have been attacked by small-pox, and have been removed from the school to the Monsall Hospital for Infectious Diseases; whether the outbreak has been traced to a child named Conley, committed to this school from York on July 6 last, while suffering from small-pox; whether the child Conley is 12 years of age, and is certified to have been vaccinated; and, whether he can inform the House what are the Regulations at St. Joseph's Industrial School as to the vaccination of the sisters, attendants, and children placed in the school; what are the numbers of the vaccinated and unvaccinated respectively among the 66 small-pox patients removed from the school to the hospital; what is the number of the pupils who have not been attacked by small-pox; and whether any of the pupils who have escaped are unvaccinated? In asking this question, I wish also to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman can state if there have been any fresh cases of small-pox at the school; and also, seeing that the child who is alleged to have brought small-pox to the school was certified by a medical man at York to be at that time free from cutaneous disorder, whether the right hon. Gentleman or the Home Secretary can take steps to make him responsible.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): It is quite impossible for me to answer the Question which the hon. Gentleman has just addressed to me without Notice. The Local Government Board are going to inquire into the whole of the circumstances of the case. In answer to the hon. Gentleman's other Question, I have to say that the Mayor of Manchester has furnished me with information as to the outbreak of small-pox in St. Joseph's Certified Industrial School, Manchester. It is the case that three sisters, five attendants, and 58 children have been attacked by small-pox, or by symptoms suspected as being premonitory of small-pox. All the cases, including some who have no eruption, have been removed from the school to the Monsall Hospital. The Lady Superintendent of the school states that the Rule is that every girl is vaccinated before she enters the school, and that a certificate of having had cow-pox or small-pox is sent with her. It is also the Rule that every sister is vaccinated before entering on her duties. No certificates are required with the

attendants. Dr. Oldham, of Monsall Hospital, has reported as regards the vaccination of 67 of the number removed to the hospital. Of this number he returns seven as not vaccinated and 60 as vaccinated. On August 5 he informed the Board that seven of the cases were in unvaccinated persons, of whom one had died; that nine cases of various degrees of severity were in vaccinated persons; and that the remaining 51 (vaccinated) cases—that is to say, four-fifths of the entire number—have either not had small-pox, as in some few instances, or else have suffered from nothing more than subjective symptoms followed by the appearance of from one to 12 spots. Two re-vaccinated persons, and only two, were sent to Monsall Hospital; but neither of these had any small-pox eruption. The facts of the outbreak, especially as to its origin, are in many respects obscure. The disease is supposed to have been introduced by a girl admitted on July 6; but this girl was certified on July 3 to be free from cutaneous disorder, and does not appear to have been kept in bed after her admission, or, indeed, to have been regarded as in any way out of health. The number of children who have not been attacked by small-pox is 88. These are certified to have been vaccinated. The Board have directed a fuller inquiry by one of their Medical Inspectors.

MR. CHANNING asked, whether from the numbers at school it did not appear that very nearly 40 per cent of the pupils at the school referred to have taken small-pox from the introduction of this case?

MR. RITCHIE: No doubt the case has had a very serious effect; but I am not quite sure of the proportion of pupils that have been affected.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby) said, the right hon. Gentleman had not stated whether the child that introduced the disease had been vaccinated or not.

MR. RITCHIE: I have given the hon. Member all the information I have. As I have already stated, we are going to make a full inquiry.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked, if the right hon. Gentleman would inquire how far the Rule requiring vaccination previous to admission had been carried out?

MR. RITCHIE: Every circumstance in connection with this outbreak, which is of a very lamentable character, will be inquired into.

MR. CHANNING asked the right hon. Gentleman if his attention had been called to the Report of the Sanitary Committee of the Manchester Town Council, in which it was stated that—

> The child, when admitted on July 6, admits to having had at the time some spots on her arms and legs, and on Friday, July 27, when examined, the scales from recent small-pox were still found to be on arms and legs."

MR. RITCHIE: No; I have not seen that statement.

RIVER THAMES — THE LANDING PLACE AT DATCHET.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether it is proposed to let a piece of land on the banks of the Thames at Datchet on terms which will enable the tenant to fix any rate of charges for landing, or to prohibit any persons from landing; whether the piece of land has hitherto been used as the only public landing place at Datchet, the adjoining piece of land being used by the parish for landing ballast; and, whether he will consider the advisability of letting this small piece of land to the Local Authorities at a peppercorn rent, so that it may be in future used by the public as a free landing place?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) (who replied) said: The piece of land in question, which is to be let by tender, is not used at present as a public landing-place; and therefore no stipulation has been made in the conditions of tender as to a maximum landing fee. Under the Land Revenue Acts the Commissioner of Woods has no power to let the land as suggested in the last paragraph of the Question.

INDIA—MEDICAL INSTRUCTION AND EXAMINATION.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the course of special instruction and ultimate examination, which is preposed "to be given better and at less expense" in India, will be afforded in each or in a selected Presidency; (2) what existing hospital or hospitals in India will be selected; (3) what will be the estimated cost of providing such selected teaching centre or centres with a

teaching staff, teaching plant, hygienic laboratory, and museum, &c., such as has been supplied at Netley; (4) whether, at present, India pays only her share of the cost of the Army Medical School, according to the number of men under tuition, the War Office being charged with the remainder; (5) whether the advice of Sir Joseph Fayrer, physician to the Council of India, has been asked on the proposed change; (6) whether future entrance examinations for the service in question will be conducted by the same staff and in the same place as heretofore; (7) whether the intended hypothetical economy will entail an immediate and continued increase of expenditure, and whether any corresponding advantage will be attained; and, (8) whether such expenditure is proposed to be imposed on the already overburdened taxpayers of India?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Questions (except 4 and 5) relate to matters upon which, as I informed the House on July 26, no decision has yet been arrived at. The answers to 4 and 5 are in the affirmative.

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—PAY AND FINES OF CLERKS.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) (for Mr. CRILLY) (Mayo, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that clerks employed in the office of the Commissioners of National Education, in Dublin, are fined at the rate of 6*d.* for every five minutes they are late in attendance in the morning; whether these same clerks are frequently called upon to give considerable attendance, in addition to the ordinary office hours, without additional pay; and, whether such a Regulation exists in any other Government Department, so far as he knows?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Commissioners of National Education inform me that the office hours are from 10 A.M. until 4 P.M. No clerk is fined whose attendance is not later than 10.15. Any clerk absent after 10.15 o'clock is fined 6*d.* for every five minutes up to 11 o'clock, unless he can give the Secretary a satisfactory reason for his absence, in which case he is excused. Absence later than 11 o'clock is specially considered. Whenever the pressure of business renders such a course unavoidable, extra attendance is required without additional pay; but, in consideration of it, a half holiday on Saturday is given to all clerks who are not in arrear with their work, and when much extra attendance is given by an individual his annual leave may be extended. I am not aware whether such a Regulation exists in any other Government Department.

SIR PATRICK KEENAN, RESIDENT COMMISSIONER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND).

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) (for Mr. CRILLY) (Mayo, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the hours which Sir Patrick Keenan is expected to devote to the work of the National Education Office, Dublin, run from 1 or 2 o'clock in the afternoon to about 6 o'clock in the evening; whether the meetings of the Privy Council usually take place between those hours; and, whether Sir Patrick Keenan's attendance at those meetings consequently interferes with the proper discharge of his duty as Resident Commissioner of National Education?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): Sir Patrick Keenan gives whatever time is necessary for the discharge of the duties of Resident Commissioner of National Education; and I have already stated, in answer to another Question, that his being a Privy Councillor has in no way interfered with the discharge of his official duties.

INDIA—THE IRRAWADDY FLOTILLA COMPANY.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he will communicate to the House the tenour of the telegram recently received, showing the payments made by the Government of India to the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company for hire of flats and for demurrage, the cost of such flats if built, and the cause of the demurrage?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Government of India has telegraphed that—

"No flats are under hire at present. Last trooping season four flats hired at about Rs. 5,000 each *per mensem*. Flats can be built at Calcutta Rs. 30,000 each. Demurrage paid for half-year ended December 31 last, about Rs. 22,000; for half-year ended June 30 last, Rs. 7,800."

THE MENAI BRIDGE—THE TOLLS.

MR. J. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he is aware that the present lessee of the tolls of the Menai Bridge levies tolls upon private carriages on each journey, and not once a day as was always the case until the last few weeks; and, whether this practice of the lessee is legal; and, if not, will he enforce its discontinuance?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Wigton) (who replied) said: We have had one complaint of this kind some six weeks ago, and we then informed the complainant that—

"The Board had granted a lease of the tolls to Mr. James Percy, and had no control over their collection."

We have, however, called the lessee's attention to Section 77 of the Act 4 *Geo.* IV., c. 74, under which the tolls are collected. That section provides that—

"No more than one toll shall be demanded or taken from any person or persons for passing and re-passing on the same day and with the same horse, beast, cattle, and carriage."

If the lessee collects tolls in violation of this provision, it is open to the person or persons wrongly charged to take proceedings against him. The matter is not one in which this Board can intervene further than they have already done.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE, DUBLIN.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether it is a fact that the necessary fittings, such as tables, stools, racks, and cupboards, required in connection with the extension of the drawing school of the Royal College of Science, Dublin, have not yet been supplied, although orders were sent to the Board of Works for them more than two years ago; and, whether immediate attention will be paid to the demand?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford), in reply, said, he would take what steps he could to have the fittings referred to supplied by the Board of Works as soon as possible.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—KILLARNEY DISTRICT ASYLUM.

MR. SHEEHAN (Kerry, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Who appointed the Clerk of Works to the additional building, Killarney District Lunatic Asylum, and if said appointment has been sanctioned by the Board of Works or by the Lord Lieutenant; whether the person appointed is already acting in the capacity of engineer to that institution; what training has he received to qualify him for either of those positions, and on whose recommendation have the appointments been made; and, whether these two appointments can be held by the same person so as to faithfully discharge the duties appertaining to the offices?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) (who replied) said: The Clerk of Works for new buildings at Killarney Lunatic Asylum was nominated by the Board of Governors, and the appointment was approved by the Board of Control. The sanction of the Lord Lieutenant for such an appointment is not necessary. The person so appointed is the engineer in charge of the steam machinery at the asylum. His appointment was recommended by the architect for the new building, who has full knowledge of the qualifications of this engineer, and the duties to be performed by him as Clerk of Works. There is no reason why both duties should not be satisfactorily performed by the same person, and the arrangement is an economical one.

INDIA (BOMBAY)—THE DOCK.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty have at last settled the controversy with the Government of India respecting the construction of the promised dock at Bombay for first-class iron-clads; and, if so, when the proposed dock will be commenced, and the probable date of its completion, and at what cost, as recommended by various Commanders-in-Chief for many years past on the Indian Station?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing), in reply, said, the Government were of opinion that the dock should be constructed, and orders had been given for the preparation of the necessary plans.

BANKRUPTCY—FAILURE OF MESSRS. GREENWAY, WARWICK—ISSUE OF BANK NOTES.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he is aware that Messrs. Greenway, the bankers of Warwick and Leamington, possessed by law the right of issuing notes to the extent of £30,504; and that a large number of persons who held their notes when the bank stopped payment will incur a heavy loss; whether his attention has been called to the Report of the Official Receiver in Bankruptcy, from which it appears that the whole capital of the bank in 1862 was only £898, and that the bankrupts had been carrying on business for many years after they knew that they were insolvent, and using the monies of their depositors for purposes of personal expenditure and speculation; and, whether, having regard to these statements and to the fact that last week another private bank with the right of issuing notes stopped payment, he will consider the desirability of amending the law next Session, with a view of instituting an official and efficient audit of the accounts of all banks having the monopoly of issuing notes, so as to protect the public against similar losses in the future.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): My attention has been called to the failures of two banks issuing notes. I am not prepared to deny the desirableness of considering the position of banks sharing in the monopoly of issuing notes; but I doubt whether that consideration will take the direction of instituting an official audit of the accounts of such banks.

PRISONS BOARD (IRELAND)—WARDER OULAHAN.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the case of Warder Oulahan has, in accordance with the promise of the late Parliamentary Under Secretary, been re-considered by the Prisons Board; and, if so, will he state the decision arrived at?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The general Prisons Board report that the warder referred to has not as yet made any application to be promoted to the position of head warder.

LAW OF COPYRIGHT—LEGISLATION.

MR. SUMMERS (Huddersfield) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, in accordance with their recognition in the autumn of 1886 of the necessity for legislation in the matter, Her Majesty's Government intend to bring in a Bill next Session to consolidate and amend the Law of Copyright?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, he would consider the subject. He would, however, not be so rash as to promise to bring in a Bill.

COAL MINES, &c. REGULATION ACT, 1887, CLAUSE 80—CERTIFICATE OF RICHARD WIGLEY.

MR. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has favourably considered the application of Richard Wigley, of Aberdare, for a certificate of service under Clause 80 of the Coal Mines, &c. Regulation Act of last year?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir; I have decided to grant a certificate to this applicant.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—RAILWAY FROM DELAGOA BAY.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is true, as stated in a telegram from Amsterdam in Monday's *Times*, that—

"Owing to the friendly intervention of the Transvaal Government, the British Government had declared that it would never seek to obtain paramount influence over the railway from Delagoa Bay to the Transvaal Frontier in any way,"

and that—

"A like understanding had been given by the Cape and Natal Governments?"

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.)

(who replied) said: What took place was this. The High Commissioner has declared to the President of the South African Republic that Her Majesty's Government have no intention to buy or acquire the Portugese Delagoa Bay Railway, nor the controlling power in the Company to which it belongs. The President has stated, on the other hand, that the South African Republic has no intention to impose duties on imports by Colonial routes other than those imposed by the Delagoa route. The Secretary of State has no knowledge of "anything like understanding" said to have been given by the Cape and Natal Governments; but it is believed that those Governments have no intention of taking any action to buy or obtain control over the railway.

PUBLIC HEALTH—POLLUTION OF THE REGENT'S CANAL.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to the pollution of the Regent's Canal by the sewage from the Zoological Gardens; whether the Canal is, by section 20 of "The Rivers Pollution Act, 1876," a "stream" within the purview of that Act; whether complaints have reached him that the sewage so discharged is slowly conducted through a succession of locks into the Thames at Limehouse; whether he is aware that repeated applications have been made in vain to the St. Pancras Vestry to obtain an abatement of the nuisance; and, whether, failing the action of the Local Authorities, he will take means to enforce the law?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): No complaint has been made to the Local Government Board that the Regent's Canal is polluted by the sewage from the Zoological Gardens, or that the sewage, as discharged, is conducted through a series of locks into the Thames at Limehouse. The term "stream" in the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act, 1876, includes canals; and I presume, therefore, that the Regent's Canal would be held to be a stream within the purview of that Act. I understand from the Medical Officer of Health for the parish of St. Pancras that no complaints have been received this year from any source of a nuisance caused by the Canal. The medical officer states that he has repeatedly examined the effluent water from the Zoological Gardens, and has always found it brighter and clearer than the water of the Canal. The Local Government Board are not empowered to take proceedings under the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act in respect of pollutions caused by sewage; but such proceedings may be instituted by any person aggrieved by the commission of the offence.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—THE REV. J. M'FADDEN.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) (for Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR) (Donegal, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that a private inquiry affecting the Rev. J. M'Fadden was recently held in Derry Gaol; whether Father M'Fadden was allowed to be present at it, or made acquainted with the fact that the subject matter was being investigated; whether the reverend gentleman has since been deprived of facilities for writing letters; and, what was the substance of the complaint, what was the nature of the evidence, and what was the substance of the Report made?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The General Prisons Board reports that the inquiry recently held in Derry Gaol was to ascertain whether any officer of the prison was in any way responsible for a letter having been passed out of the prison, and which the Rev. J. M'Fadden had previously admitted was sent out by him surreptitiously. He was not present at the inquiry, inasmuch as he was not personally concerned in the result. The deprivation of the facilities previously accorded him was not the result of this inquiry, but of an independent inquiry by the Visiting Committee, before whom, it was stated, he declined to appear.

MR. SEXTON: Was not Father M'Fadden's offence merely the writing of a letter declaring to be false the charge of the Chief Secretary that he had boasted that tenants able to pay their rents had not paid them; and for this offence was he not prohibited from writing letters, and forced to exercise in the disgusting hole which I described to the House the other evening, and was

not the window of the cell blocked up so that not a breath of fresh air should get in?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am afraid I have no information on these points. The offence was not in the contents of the letter, but in getting it passed out of the prison surreptitiously.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman inquire whether the punishment is not greater than the offence warranted?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I shall be perfectly ready to inquire if the hon. Gentleman will put another Question on the Paper. The information which I have relates only to the Question of which Notice was given, and that I have answered fully.

POST OFFICE—INCREASED FACILITIES FOR GREAT HOLLAND.

MR. ROUND (Essex, N.E., Harwich) asked the Postmaster General, If he will grant further postal facilities to the residents in Great Holland, so that its increased population may be able to obtain stamps and money orders in their own parish?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I regret that I am not prepared to sanction further postal facilities to the residents of Great Holland, inasmuch as the cost of maintaining the post as it stands is already in excess of the revenue derived from the correspondence. I will consider the practicability of granting to some suitable person in the village a licence for the sale of stamps.

BORNEO—THE TREATY OF 1824.

MR. F. S. STEVENSON (Suffolk, Eye) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any communications have passed at any time between Her Majesty's Government and the Dutch Government with reference to the affairs of Borneo, and the different scope assigned in the two countries to the Treaty of 1824?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): If the hon. Member will refer to the Papers laid on the occasion of the grant of a Charter to the British North Borneo Company, he will find in "Netherlands, No. 1, 1882," the Correspondence with the Dutch Government with reference to the affairs of Borneo.

INLAND REVENUE — INCOME TAX—SCHEDULES A AND B—ALLOTMENTS TO COTTAGERS.

MR. STANLEY (Somerset, Bridgwater) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Income Tax is rightly charged on Schedule B, as well as Schedule A, to landowners for land let as allotments to cottagers?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): It is not the practice to charge Income Tax under Schedule B on land let in allotments to cottagers; and if in any case the tax has by inadvertence been left in charge on such land, it will at once be discharged upon particulars of the case being given.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—POSTMASTERSHIP OF DUNGLOE, CO. DONEGAL—MAURICE BOYLE.

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether Maurice Boyle, a publican, is an applicant for the Postmastership of Dungloe, County Donegal, which is now vacant; whether he has received a protest against the appointment of the said Maurice Boyle, signed by 400 householders resident in Dungloe Post Office District; and, whether, pending the investigation of the matters alleged in this protest, he will postpone the temporary or final appointment of Maurice Boyle to the Postmastership?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): No appointment has yet been made to the vacant Postmastership of Dungloe, nor is it my intention to make one until after the fullest inquiry as to the qualifications of the candidates. I am not aware that any protest against the appointment of Maurice Boyle has been received, unless the hon. Member refers to a Memorial in favour of another person in which the appointment of Boyle is deprecated.

MR. MAC NEILL asked, whether certain very grave allegations were made against Boyle in that Memorial?

MR. RAIKES said, certain allegations had been made against Boyle, and he should inquire into them before making any appointment.

RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES (IRELAND)—INCIDENT NEAR ENNIS.

MR. CAREW (Kildare, N.) (for Mr. JORDAN) (Clare, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the statement is true that Colonel Turner, Mr. Cecil Roche, and another, when about six miles from Ennis, met a car loaded by men returning from the fair of Clonroad, who shouted derisively, and that thereupon Colonel Turner and friends drew their revolvers and followed in pursuit; that Colonel Turner ordered a horseman, who was also returning from the fair, to go back or he would shoot him, frequently using the words, "I'll shoot you," and keeping the revolver presented at his head; that, after an unsuccessful attempt to overtake the car, Colonel Turner, Mr. Roche, &c., kept their revolvers presented at the individuals on another car whilst passing them; and, if he will inquire into this transaction, and, if true, will he take steps to prevent such action on the part of the magistrates in the future?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The account I have received of the incident differs wholly from that given in the Question; but if the hon. Gentleman will supply me with the names of the men to whom he refers, I will endeavour to have the whole transaction sifted to the bottom.

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.): Is not Colonel Turner, as a Divisional Magistrate, authorized to require the attendance of Mr. Roche at evictions?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am at a loss to understand how that arises out of the Question on the Paper; but I believe the general arrangement of the duties of the Resident Magistrates is left to the Divisional Magistrate.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): Could not Colonel Turner say whether he presented a revolver at any man, then, if he did not know his name?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: That implies that Colonel Turner may have presented a revolver at a man who threatened him; but I do not gather that that is the allegation in the Question on the Paper.

POST OFFICE—BILLS (HOUSE OF COMMONS)—EXTENSION OF TIME.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether arrangements can be made to permit Members to use the free post for Bills up to 7 p.m. instead of 5 p.m., the hour at which that post is now closed?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I am glad that the hon. Member has called my attention to this matter, as I find, upon inquiry, that the time for the free posting of Bills can be extended to 6.45 p.m. on and from to-day.

THE CIVIL SERVICE BREAD COMPANY, LIMITED.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the action of Mr. Barstow in the summons against the Civil Service Bread Company, Limited, heard at the Clerkenwell Police Court on July 6, when he imposed a fine of 5*s.* on the Company for selling bread without weighing it, and on July 13 dismissed a summons against the Company for the same offence, and mulcted the complainant in 10*s.* costs; and, whether he can state which of these decisions of the magistrate was in accordance with the law?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have obtained a Report from the magistrate, who informs me that in the first case the defendants failed to prove their case, and he accordingly fined them. In the second case the magistrate, in the exercise of his discretion, considered that the defence was proved and that the summons was captious, and he dismissed it, as he had power to do. I am not a Court of Appeal from the decision of magistrates.

RUSSIA (ASIATIC PROVINCES)—MILITARY COLONIES.

MR. PRICE (Monmouth, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have in their possession any Reports as to the measures adopted by the Russian Government in establishing Colonies of soldiers, belonging to the

Reserve, in the Asiatic Provinces of Russia, and the economic results of such settlements, and also as to the system of State-aided emigration to the Usuri region; and, whether there is any objection to the procuring and publishing such Reports?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): We have no official information except such as is contained in a Report on the Provinces of Semirechinsk and Kars, laid before Parliament in March last, but will ascertain whether any Reports are obtainable which could usefully be published.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—KILKENNY.

MR. CHANCE (Kilkenny, S.) asked the Postmaster General, What is the cause of the delay since May, 1887, in opening a suitable post office for the City of Kilkenny; and, whether complaints have reached him that the present temporary post office is in a most inconvenient place on the outskirts of the city?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The delay in altering the premises required in August—not in May—last year for a post office at Kilkenny has been due mainly to pressure of business at the Office of Public Works. The work is now in hand, and is expected to be completed by about the end of the year. No complaints have been received during the past year of the inconvenient situation of the temporary office, which, I am informed, is reasonably central.

INDIA — INLAND EMIGRATION ACT, 1882—COOLIES—MORTALITY IN TEA GARDENS.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the attention of the India Office has been drawn to a Memorial addressed to the Government of India, dated Calcutta, April 12, 1888, from the Secretary to the Indian Association of Calcutta, requesting the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the working of the Inland Emigration Act of 1882, and the unrepealed Act XIII. of 1859; and giving grounds, based on the actual treatment of the coolies in the tea-gardens of Assam, for the appointment of that Commission; whether the India Office has received a copy of this Memorial; and, what practical steps are contemplated for granting the prayer of the Memorial and for putting an end to the abuses indicated?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): If the hon. Member will refer to an answer given by me on the 6th instant to the hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith), he will find that it replies to this Question.

INDIA — INLAND EMIGRATION ACT, 1882—COOLIES.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he is aware that the following, among other provisions, exist in "The Inland Emigration Act, 1882;" that persons male and female of 16 years of age are held by this Act to be competent to make a contract, practically selling their liberty for a period of five years; that after a coolie has been registered he has no liberty to change his mind, but is liable to imprisonment if he refuses to proceed to or remain in the tea garden, to which he can be brought back on arrest without warrant; that the coolie, in many instances, may be transferred from one tea garden to another, without his consent; that in case of illness, if his absence from work is longer than 30 days, the time he is absent beyond the 30 days is added to the term of his contract; that a system of fines and imprisonment for absence from work, which may much exceed the amount of his wages, is imposed under the Act; whether the Government of India contemplate the amendment of any of these provisions; and, whether he is aware that, as a fact, the provisions of the Act for the protection of the coolie, whereby he ought to be individually examined as to his willingness to make the contract, before registration, and other protective provisions are often neglected?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The epitome which the hon. Member has made of Sections 11, 121, 142, 150, 162, 170, and 171 of the Act is not in all respects accurate. The Secretary of State is not aware of any Bill amending the Act being at present before the Legislative Council of India. The Secretary of State is not aware of the provi-

sions of the Act for the protection of the coolie being often neglected.

INDIA—THE CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS—THE CANTONMENT REGULATIONS.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he has any further information to communicate to the House with respect to the action of the India Office, or of the Government of India, in consequence of the Resolution of this House of June 5 last; and, whether he can inform the House if the Cantonment Regulations as to Prostitution are still in force or not in the various Military Stations in India?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Secretary of State has no further information to communicate to the House with reference to the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act and amendment of the Cantonment Acts. The Secretary of State has given such Executive directions to the Government of India as will prevent the revival of the regimental system, which has already been wholly abolished; and the Cantonment Regulations hitherto in force are to be so revised as to put a stop to the objectionable incidents in their administration.

ORDNANCE INQUIRY COMMISSION (WARLIKE STORES)—MR. DUNN, A WITNESS.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the two men who, since Mr. Dunn gave evidence before the Judge Advocate General disclosing certain scandals which the superior officials had failed to notice, have been promoted over his head to the post of viewer, were so promoted on the ground of better qualification for the post; whether, on promotion, they were both found to be fitted for it; whether the Judge Advocate General reported that Mr. Dunn lately worked as a viewer (though without viewer's wages)

"for 11 months, and did his work very well. No complaint whatever was made against him. Having seen him examine a variety of articles, and give his opinion upon them, I am convinced he understands his business thoroughly. When I come to deal with the hides, pack saddles, bags, and other articles, it will be found that their opinions (those of Mr. Dunn and two others) are supported by the independent experts more than even those of Mr. Spice himself,"

the Inspector who had refused them the post of permanent viewers; whether the Inspector of Saddlery is Captain Horton, an ex-Riding Master, who reported in August, 1887, that a large number of saddles were serviceable which in September were condemned by the experts called in by the Judge Advocate General in consequence of the objections of Mr. Dunn; and, whether, having already intervened to prevent any undue punishment of another workman, Hawkins, described by the Judge Advocate General as "utterly unreliable," and "not a man fit for a place of responsibility and trust," the Secretary of State will, under the peculiar and exceptional circumstances of Mr. Dunn's case, again intervene to prevent a workman who has rendered at some risk a great public service from being denied that promotion for which the Judge Advocate General himself specially reported his capability and fitness?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): In answer to the first two Questions, the men promoted were better fitted for the position, and I am informed that they have so far worked satisfactorily. As regards the third Question, I have more than once expressed my acknowledgments to the Judge Advocate General for his very careful inquiry; but the responsibility for promotions in the Department rests with myself alone. The selection will be made by merit. As regards the fourth Question, it is not the fact that in the Judge Advocate General's Report a large number of saddles passed by Captain Horton were condemned. Captain Horton is a most competent officer. As regards the fifth Question, I do not admit the argumentative portion. I have always stated that full justice shall be done to Mr. Dunn; but his promotion will depend upon his application to the work which he has to do.

MR. HANBURY inquired, whether the right hon. Gentleman still refused to intervene and prevent Mr. Dunn being punished?

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that he had never refused to intervene. He would take care that full justice was

done to this man. More than that he could not say.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF MR. LATCHFORD, J.P.

SIR WILLIAM EWART (Belfast, N.) (for Mr. MACARTNEY) (Antrim, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has inquired as to the grounds of the decision of the Court of Exchequer as regards Mr. Latchford, J.P.; and, whether he adheres to the statement that the facts and merits of the case were not gone into, but that the decision turned solely on an error in the form of the order?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): No information which I have received leads me to doubt in any respect the accuracy of the statements which I have made to the House.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether it is true that not only was Mr. Latchford convicted by the "Removables" of a "riot contrary to the statute in that case made and provided," although there is no statute making riot an offence, but also that Mr. Latchford was convicted alone of creating a riot, the other persons who had been charged having been acquitted, or the prosecution against them withdrawn; and that it appears, both in substance and in fact, from the proceedings in the Court of Exchequer, that Mr. Latchford was convicted by the "Removables" of an impossible offence—namely, the riot by one man?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir. The hon. Gentleman appears to be entirely under a mistake. Such a conclusion cannot possibly be drawn from the proceedings in the Court of Exchequer, for the Court never went into the evidence at all.

MR. SEXTON: Is the right hon. Gentleman so ignorant of the proceedings as not to be aware that Mr. Baron Dowse stated—["Order!"]—I am simply giving facts without colour—that Mr. Baron Dowse declared in his Judgment that "it is impossible for one man to commit a riot?"

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The ignorance, I think, is not on my side. The Judgment of the Court of Exchequer related only to the form of the order of committal. The Court was of opinion that the order should have contained a more particular account of the riot. They, therefore, objected to it as informal, and on that ground, and that ground alone, the conviction was quashed.

MR. SEXTON: I must refer to the Solicitor General for Ireland on the question of law. I wish to ask him whether it is not a fact that all the other persons who were charged on the same occasion with riot were acquitted, or the charges against them withdrawn, and that Mr. Latchford, therefore, stood alone on the charge of making a riot; and whether it is possible to sustain such a charge against one person only?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): Yes, Sir; it is quite possible to sustain such a charge against an individual—a charge of having partaken with other individuals who are not charged in a riot. There is no legal difficulty in the matter at all. The observations of Baron Dowse were not upon the facts of the case, which were not before the Court—the depositions were not before the Court in any shape or form—but upon the form of the order which was made by the magistrates.

MR. SEXTON: Just one other Question. I must ask whether it is possible to convict one man of having partaken with other persons in a riot when it is shown that, in the case of every one of the other persons charged with that riot, the charge was withdrawn, or the accused acquitted?

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.): May I ask whether there was any evidence that there was a riot?

MR. MADDEN: That would be going into evidence which was not before the Court, and I am not bound to express an opinion upon it. It is perfectly possible to convict one man of taking part in a riot with other persons who were not charged with that riot, or against whom the prosecution was withdrawn. However, the only question before the Court of Exchequer was the sufficiency of the order taken by itself as an order, without any reference whatever to evidence which was not before the Court.

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN asked, whether they were to understand that

there was evidence of riot because Mr. Latchford was convicted?

MR. MADDEN: Certainly, Sir. I think the hon. Member misunderstood what I said. I said there was no evidence before the Court of Exchequer. By that I meant that the evidence which was taken below of a riot was not brought up before the Court of Exchequer in the habeas corpus proceedings, which related solely to the order.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to give Notice that on the Motion for the Adjournment of the House for the Recess I shall again bring up this case, and shall endeavour to convince the House that Mr. Latchford was convicted by "Removables" of an offence which, so far as the circumstances of the case show, it was impossible for him to be legally convicted of.

CUSTOMS—OFFENSIVE SEARCH OF A DOCK LABOURER AT SOUTHAMPTON — CONVICTION OF A CUSTOM HOUSE OFFICER.

MR. EVANS (Southampton) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If his attention has been called to a case in the Courts at Southampton, when a man, named Robert Woodcock, in the employ of the London and South Western Railway Company for 30 years, and a daily attendant at the docks for a period of 40 years, had been stopped at the dock gates and searched by a Custom House officer, named Nathaniel Johnson, under circumstances so unnecessarily painful and offensive as to cause the Bench to inflict a fine of £5, or one month's imprisonment, upon this Custom House officer; whether he will cause a searching inquiry into the matter; if the Customs have the power to fine persons with smuggled goods a fine equal to double the value thereof without taking the matter before the magistrates; and, if the Customs still retain in their employ this officer who has been found guilty of such misconduct?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): The attention of the Board of Customs has already been directed to this case, and they considered that the extra man in question, who is not on the established staff, had shown great want of discretion in the examination of the dock labourer, and gave directions that he be no more employed at the dock gates at Southampton, where the alleged assault took place. The Customs have no legal power to inflict fines for smuggling without the intervention of a Court of Law; but, in practice, it has been found that the persons who have been detected in attempts to avoid payment of duty on goods brought by them to this country prefer to pay a sum equal to the amount of the legal penalties rather than be taken before the magistrates. The Board see no reason for discontinuing the employment of Johnson.

LAW AND JUSTICE — THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR — CASE OF EDWARD ROBINSON, A BANKRUPT.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN (Oldham) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, in the case of Edward Robinson, of Warder, near Rochdale, dyer and finisher, a bankrupt, the Oldham County Court, on May 15, 1888, issued an order that the bankrupt should be prosecuted under Section 166 of the Bankruptcy Act for the following offences:—First, the offence of forgery, in having forged the signature of his brother to a document addressed to the manager of the Oldham Joint Stock Bank (Limited); and, secondly, the offence of perjury in his public examination, in having sworn that this signature was in his brother's handwriting; whether the Public Prosecutor has disobeyed this order; and, whether the Board of Trade has taken, or will take, any steps to compel the Public Prosecutor to do his duty in this matter?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, an order was made as stated; but the Public Prosecutor considered there was not sufficient evidence to justify a prosecution, which the Board of Trade had no power to undertake. He had, however, intimated his opinion that the Public Prosecutor ought to institute a prosecution under the decision of the County Court.

INDIA—THE NIZAM OF HYDERABAD —COLONEL MARSHALL.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been called to an article in *The St. James's Gazette* of July 16 last, entitled *Another Hyderabad Scandal*, which gives a quota-

tion from *Stubb's List* of June 30, showing that in the bankruptcy of H. Wathen and Son, wholesale tea dealers of Fenchurch Street, E.C., Colonel Marshall, Hyderabad, India, is put down as an unsecured creditor for £5,250 in the Schedule of the separate estate of William Hulbert Wathen; whether *The St. James's Gazette* is correct in stating that Colonel Marshall is private secretary and confidential adviser to the Nizam, and that William Hulbert Wathen is Colonel Marshall's brother-in-law; that, last year, when the Hyderabad Prime Minister was in this country, representing the Nizam at the Jubilee ceremonies, Colonel Marshall became, for the time being, virtually Minister of Hyderabad; that, in that capacity, he took upon himself the responsibility of appointing Mr. Wathen Agent of the Hyderabad State; that with the appointment a new procedure was instituted, Mr. Wathen being supplied with funds in advance; that £6,000 were thereupon remitted to Mr. Wathen from the public and private funds of the Nizam, of which amount Mr. Wathen only expended £750, dealing with the whole £6,000 as an unsecured loan to himself, personally, for the balance of which—namely, £5,250, as above shown, Colonel Marshall is now ranked on his separate estate as a creditor; whether he is aware that the unsecured debts of the firm are put down at £26,121 6*s.* 4*d.*, and of the separate estate of Mr. Wathen at £6,250 11*s.* 8*d.*, while the net assets of the firm are quoted at £3,177 0*s.* 7*d.*, and of the separate estate as £512 10*s.* only; whether the above allegations and facts were known to the India Office, or to the Government of India, when it was arranged that Colonel Marshall should accompany or precede the Hyderabad Minister on his visit to Simla, to meet the Earl of Dufferin about the 19th of last month; and, whether he will state what steps will be taken by Her Majesty's Government, or the Government of India, in dealing with Colonel Marshall?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Secretary of State has no means of knowing whether the statements in *The St. James's Gazette* are correct. The matter is one which it is the function of the Viceroy to deal with in the first instance.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked, whether he was to understand that when such a charge was made against an officer in the position of Colonel Marshall the Secretary of State did not consider it his duty to call attention to it?

SIR JOHN GORST said, that the Secretary of State was not in the habit of calling the attention of the Viceroy to paragraphs in the newspapers.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) asked, whether the Government were not sending Colonel Marshall back to Hyderabad?

SIR JOHN GORST said, that question was a matter which was entirely within the functions of the Viceroy, and a matter with which the Secretary of State had, in the first instance, no right to interfere.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked, was he, then, to understand that when a serious charge was made against a public official the fact was not considered by the Secretary of State a sufficient reason for ordering an inquiry or suggesting such an inquiry to the Viceroy?

SIR JOHN GORST said, he did not think the hon. Member understood the principle on which India was administered. The person responsible for the administration of India and for the conduct of Indian officials was the Viceroy; it was only the Viceroy who could take such a matter into consideration and pronounce a decision upon it; and it was not in accordance with the practice of the Government of India that the Secretary of State should interfere.

LAW AND JUSTICE—THE CALENDAR AND LIST OF PREVIOUS CONVICTIONS.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, prior to his accession to Office, the practice had obtained at Courts of Quarter Sessions and other Criminal Courts of supplying the presiding Justices, Recorders, and other Judges with a list of those prisoners who had suffered previous conviction on a document separate and distinct from the calendar which contained the names and other particulars of all prisoners; whether, recently, an order has been issued and acted upon by which, on the calendar so supplied, the list of previous convictions appears, and thus the presiding Judge becomes acquainted

with the antecedents of prisoners prior to their trials; with what object has that change been made; and, whether he will cause directions to be given whereby the old practice may be reverted to?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed that the old practice was to print the previous convictions on that copy of the calendar which was delivered to the Judge, except in a few cases in which the particulars of previous convictions were supplied to the Judge on a separate paper, or more frequently written in the Judge's copy of the calendar. The present practice is to write the list of previous convictions on one copy of the calendar, which is supplied to the Judge alone. The Judge has always had the previous convictions in his hand before the trial, and the change makes no difference in that respect. The Judge can now, if he wishes, use the ordinary printed calendars in which no previous convictions appear. I have not received any complaints of the new system; and it does not appear to me to call for alteration.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)—MR. HUGH FERGUSON, OF NEWTOWNARDS.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the report in *The Freeman's Journal*, of the 8th instant, of the proceedings before Lord Chief Baron Palles, in an action for the recovery of rent brought by the Lord Lieutenant against Mr. Hugh Ferguson, of Newtownards; whether he is aware that the amount sued for by the writ of summons is £93 18*s.* 3*d.*, being one and a-half year's old rent due on May 1 last; whether Mr. Ferguson, having served his originating notice to fix fair rent before November 1 last, was entitled to the benefit of his fair rent from May 1, 1887; whether the Lord Chief Baron decided to put a stay on the action if the tenant lodged within a week £56 7*s.*, which was considered to be an *interim* fair rent; and, whether it is now his intention to appoint a number of additional Sub-Commissions, in order to enable the tenants to avail themselves of the benefit of the fair rent without exposing themselves to the cost and inconvenience of defending actions for the recovery of the old rents?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): A report of the proceedings does appear in the newspaper named. The answers to the second and third paragraphs are in the affirmative. With regard to the fourth paragraph, I have to say that the substance of the paragraph is true. The Chief Baron, however, is reported to have said that the reduction offered by the agent was nearly equivalent to what a reduction of 20 per cent on the old rent would give. The agent was willing to accept, and, in fact, only pressed for one year's rent, and would have reduced it to £1 per acre—£53, while the Court has now ordered payment within a week of £56 7*s.*, but whether as the equivalent of a year's rent or not is not reported.

MR. M'CARTAN inquired, whether Ferguson did not offer to the Lord Lieutenant's agent to leave the amount of the rent to arbitration pending the fixing of a fair rent, and whether the offer was not refused; whether, with reference to the last paragraph, the right hon. Gentleman was aware from the recent Return of the Land Commissioners that there were 60,000 cases still remaining undisposed of; and that according to the rate at which cases were heard from November to June last it would take upwards of four years before they could all be disposed of; and whether, in the meantime, the tenants were to go on paying the old rent?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, the example the hon. Member had given him of tenants being called upon to pay impossible rents was not a happy one. The agent offered, as far as he could judge, extremely fair terms to the tenant. He was aware that the number of arrears before the Sub-Commissioners was large; but it was somewhat smaller than it was a short time back. He hoped the arrears would be greatly reduced if the Treasury would consent to the arrangement he proposed.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION — ADDITIONAL SUB-COMMISSIONERS.

MR. MAURICE HEALY (Cork) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is yet prepared to make his promised announcement as regards the further appoint-

ment of Sub-Commissioners by the Irish Land Commission?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): Power was taken during the period ending with the 23rd of August to appoint 13 Commission Courts. As a matter of fact, 10 only have been at work; and for the part of the year succeeding August 22 it was originally contemplated only to continue the same number. In view, however, of the fact that the Land Law (Ireland) (Land Commission) Bill has not been as yet passed by the House, I have requested the Treasury to allow the Lord Lieutenant to appoint 10 additional lay Sub-Commissioners. It is proposed to distribute these in pairs among the existing Sub-Commissions. If the course of events in the Autumn Session suggest the necessity of different arrangements, there will be no difficult in carrying them into effect at that time.

THE NAVAL MANŒUVRES—BOMBARDMENT AND CAPTURE OF TOWNS AND PORTS.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, as "Lord High Admiral of the Firth of Forth," took any steps to defend the port of Leith against the recent attack by a hostile fleet on the occasion of its visit to the waters of the Forth; and, whether it is true that the Fort on the Island of Inchkeith was silenced, the Forth Bridge destroyed, and the City of Edinburgh bombarded; and, if so, whether the office of "Lord High Admiral of the Firth of Forth" may be forthwith abolished, as implying responsibility without power?

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox): Before the Lord Advocate answers the Question, I wish to ask him whether, as Colonel of the Volunteer Brigade at Edinburgh, he did not consider it his duty——

MR. SPEAKER: Order! If the hon. Gentleman likes to ask the Question of a Minister of the Crown, it would be in Order for him to do so.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I am not aware what steps were taken by the Lord High Admiral of the Firth of Forth on the occasion in question; but I may inform my hon. and gallant Friend that, as far as I am aware, that distinguished naval officer has only a phantom fleet under his command, and probably acted wisely in keeping it out of sight. I cannot say that the Fort of Inchkeith was silenced, as I believe it never spoke. I am glad to say that my native city was not bombarded, as I, being here, was unable to do anything in its defence. If the only reason for abolishing the office of Lord High Admiral is that it involves responsibility, I am unable to approve of its abolition on that ground, as I have no reason to believe that it has responsibility. I must, however, admit that it has no power.

MR. CALDWELL: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, whether it was the duty of the Lord Advocate, as Colonel of the Volunteers at Edinburgh, to be in command of his regiment in view of any attack that might be made on the city?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I am quite sure my right hon. and learned Friend discharges his duties as Colonel of the Edinburgh Brigade with such distinguished value to the public service that he will always be there at the call of duty. But I think the hon. Member must be aware that in the course of the naval manœuvres now going on, the land defences, including submarine mining, are not taking any part whatever in the operations.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—RESIGNATION OF PATRICK MURRAY, A POLICE CONSTABLE.

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that a man, named Patrick Murray, engaged in driving a Home Rule van about the country, is described in placards and advertisements as having "left the Royal Irish Constabulary rather than take part in evictions;" and, whether he can state the date and circumstances attending the resignation of Patrick Murray, and the character he bore while in that Force?

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): Mr. Speaker, I wish to ask you whether it is in Order to put a Question containing an aspersion of this kind on the private character of an individual, and thus to attempt to deprive a poor man of his employment?

MR. SPEAKER: I am afraid if I were to rule that the Question is out of Order, I should have to rule a great many Questions out of Order.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Inspector General of Constabulary reports that no man of the name of Patrick Murray appears to have resigned from the Royal Irish Constabulary for many years, nor does it appear that any man of that name left it rather than take part in eviction; but that three men of that name appeared to have ceased to belong to the Force in recent years—one in June, 1885, who deserted, taking with him a comrade's watch; he was arrested and sentenced to six months' imprisonment; another in June, 1886, who was discharged for drunkenness and absence; and another in August, 1887, who was discharged from ill-health on gratuity. These are the only men of the name who appear to have left the Force in recent years.

MR. SEXTON: Is not the man referred to in the Question the third man referred to by the Chief Secretary—namely, the Patrick Murray who was discharged in consequence of ill-health; and ought not the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Sir John Colomb) to be ashamed of himself for putting such a Question?

SIR JOHN COLOMB: Sir, I rise to Order. I wish to ask whether it is in Order, when one hon. Member puts a Question, for another hon. Member to ask whether he is not ashamed of himself for doing so?

MR. SPEAKER: It is clearly out of Order. The expression did not reach me, or I should have taken notice of it; but it is an improper and un-Parliamentary expression.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) wished to ask the hon. and gallant Member whether, before putting a Question calling for an answer which involved the statement of a serious charge against a man named Murray, he had had the means of ascertaining the identity of the Patrick Murray mentioned in the Question; and whether the right hon. Gentleman thought it fair to bundle together two Patrick Murrays, with the result that a slur must be cast upon an innocent man?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I do not know what the hon. Member means by casting a slur upon an innocent man. I have been asked a Question, and I have answered to the best of my ability. I do not know any other way that I could have answered it but by giving the facts. So far as I can see, the man to whom the Question referred cannot be a very estimable character, as he is going about the country under false pretences.

MR. MACNEILL (Donegal, S.) asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman would undertake not to raise the defence of Parliamentary privilege if legal steps were taken against him by the man whose interests were involved with a view to clear his character?

MR. SPEAKER: Order! order!

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES ACTS—DEFAULTERS.

MR. AINSLIE (Lancashire, N., Lonsdale) asked Mr. Attorney General, If it is a fact that, under Jervis's Act (11 & 12 *Vict.* c. 43, s. 11), summonses against a defaulter in the case of Friendly Societies must be taken out within six months, and that, in cases where the audit does not take place within six months, such a defaulter may escape; and, if so, if he will consider how an amendment of the law may, in this respect, be effected without unnecessary delay?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): In answer to the hon. Member, I beg to say that it is the fact that under Jervis's Act a summons must in the case of proceedings under the Friendly Societies Acts be taken out within six months of the misconduct complained of. It is possible that, in consequence, defaulters may in some cases thereby be enabled to escape punishment; but the remedy by indictment would, I conceive, in most instances be still open to a prosecutor. It is worthy of consideration whether the law in respect to offences of this description does not require amendment, and I will give my most careful consideration to the matter.

SOUTH AFRICA — STATE-DIRECTED COLONIZATION—IMMIGRATION INTO NATAL.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention, and that of the Chancellor

of the Exchequer, have been called to the fact that the Colony of Natal has accepted the principle of the mode of State colonization suggested in this House last Session, communicated to the Colonies by Government despatch in September last—namely, of the funds necessary to be raised for the purpose being guaranteed as to the interest by the co-operation of the Colonial and Imperial Governments, the former undertaking and guaranteeing the administration of the capital and the collection of the interest from the settlers, and the Imperial Government lending its guarantee by way of endorsement of the Colonial security, to enable the money to be raised at the lowest possible cost; and to the fact that the said Colony has made a definite proposal based thereon, offering 200 acres of land (already surveyed, and recommended by the Immigration Board of Natal), and £200 in money advances, for each of 72 families or groups of five persons each; whether they are aware that this offer involves a liability on the part of the two Governments of £432 per annum only, and this secured by 14,400 acres of land with 71 homesteads and the industry of 360 persons upon it working with a capital of over £10,000; whether the Government will accede to the request of the Natal Immigration Board, that steps be taken forthwith to ascertain the number of immigrants of the classes desired which the Colony could obtain on a basis of the above proposal, having regard to the fact that the Board express their opinion that such immigration "would prove a success and benefit to the Colony;" whether the Government will, on the occasion of the discussion of the Supplemental Estimate for Crofter Emigration, or on some other convenient occasion during this or the adjourned Session, afford an opportunity to the House for considering the relative advantages of eleemosynary emigration, and self-paying State colonization, and the importance of the latter from commercial and strategic points of view, especially in South Africa, and whether they will give effect without delay to at least a tentative experiment, such as that now offered by Natal; and, whether the Government will consent to the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the question of State colonization, as a matter of general Imperial interest and concern, on a scale commensurate with the demand which the increase of population makes for increased development of the great natural resources of the Empire?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): My right hon. Friend and I have seen the replies from the Colony of Natal. These replies were to a Circular sending over the hon. Member's scheme for colonization, and were the only favourable replies from the Colonies that have answered. It cannot be said that the Colony of Natal has as yet given its approval to the proposals of the hon. Member, though the Resolutions of the Land and Immigration Board are favourable, and Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to pronounce an opinion in favour of giving the necessary guarantee. Her Majesty's Government do not propose at present to take such steps as are indicated in the third paragraph of the Question, and for this reason—that a further scheme containing the proposals of the Colonization Committee of both Houses of Parliament has been forwarded to Natal, as well as to the other Colonies, and that the replies from Natal or the other Colonies will be awaited before anything further is done. It is thought desirable to learn how the further scheme is received before dealing with an isolated case, like Natal, under the scheme of the hon. Member. It is the intention of the Government to move for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the question of State colonization, and opportunity will then be afforded to my hon. Friend for discussing the whole subject.

CIVIL LIST PENSIONS — FURTHER RETURN.

MR. SUMMERS (Huddersfield) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is aware that on June 26, 1861, a Return was ordered by the House of Commons—

"Of all pensions granted and charged upon the Civil List, in accordance with the Act, 1 *Vict.* c. 2, with the grounds upon which such pensions have been granted (as in Returns annually presented to this House), distinguishing the pensions which have lapsed, and showing the total sum now payable on account of existing pensions;"

and, whether any sufficient reason can be advanced why another Return should

not be granted which would bring down to date in a single Parliamentary Paper the information contained in the aforesaid Return?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am aware that a Return in the terms mentioned by the hon. Member was presented in 1861. Since that date considerable progress has been made in reducing the number of unnecessary Returns presented to this House; and seeing that all the particulars required by the hon. Member are already available through Annual Returns and the Finance Accounts, I see no reason for altering the decision already conveyed to the hon. Member that the Return would be refused.

MR. SUMMERS said, that he should move for the Return in the Autumn Session.

CIVIL ESTABLISHMENTS—REPORT OF THE COMMISSION.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Civil Establishments will be laid upon the Table before the House adjourns?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am informed that the Chairman of the Commission fears it will be impossible to lay the Report on the Table before the House adjourns; but he hopes to submit the Report to the Queen very shortly, and to lay it on the Table on the first day of the Autumn Session.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE — SUSPENSION OF THE STANDING ORDER.

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire): I wish, Sir, to put a Question to you on a point of Order. Yesterday, at the commencement of Business, the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury moved the suspension of the Standing Orders which apply to Wednesday Sittings with regard to all Bills on the Order Book. After you, Sir, had put the Question, I rose to make a few remarks on the course proposed by the right hon. Gentleman, when I was met by ejaculations of "No debate." I am sorry to say that some of them came from this side of the House as well as the other. In response to those ejaculations I sat down, thus showing that I was rather wanting in confidence in my own argument. What I wish to ask you now, Sir, is whether the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman was one which could be decided without debate, under the New Rules, or whether I was not entitled to continue my remarks if I had persisted in doing so?

MR. SPEAKER: Under the circumstances specified by the right hon. Gentleman he would have been perfectly entitled to make any remarks, or to move an Amendment. The Rule which applies to the suspension of the Standing Orders has reference to the Business which stands on the Paper at 12 o'clock, and not to an ordinary Wednesday Sitting.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—POSTPONEMENT OF BILLS.

MR. WARMINGTON (Monmouth, W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government will postpone the further stages of the Liability of Trustees Bill [*Lords*], Mortmain and Charitable Uses Bill [*Lords*], Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Bill [*Lords*], and Solicitors Bill [*Lords*], until the Autumn Sittings?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Liability of Trustees Bill is, no doubt, a very important Bill, as it will make a very serious alteration in the law; but, on that very ground, it would not be right to take it in the course of the present Sitting. I hope, however, that there may be an opportunity afforded for considering it in the course of the Autumn Session. As regards the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Bill and the County Court Consolidation Bill, the Government are of opinion that those two measures ought to be passed before the Recess, and they will be set down for consideration to-morrow. It is important that those two Bills should be passed without any further delay, seeing that the Revised Edition of the Statutes has been kept back for some months, in order that they may be included in that edition. We hope to read the Patents and Trade Marks Bill a second time to-morrow; but we shall not press the Solicitors Bill in the course of the present Sitting if there is any objection to it.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) asked, whether it was proposed to pro-

ceed with the Court of Session and Bill Chamber (Scotland) (Clerks) Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the Government could only undertake to afford facilities for Bills which had passed a Grand Committee, or the corresponding stage in that House. It was not in their power to make arrangements for the progress of private Members' Bills, even although they might have come down from the Standing Committees. The Court of Session, &c. Bill would not be produced with in the course of these Sittings, because there was objection to it.

In reply to Mr. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.),

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that the Report of the Royal Commission on Civil Establishments would be in the possession of the House at the beginning of the Autumn Sittings.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked, whether the Government intended to proceed with the National Defence Bill, the Irish Drainage Bills, and the East India Officers Bill after 12 o'clock?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, it might be convenient if he stated what Bills the Government proposed to go on with that night. They would first proceed with the Oaths Bill, the Indian Budget, the Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill, the Public Works (Loans) Bill, the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, the Imperial Defence Bill, and the National Defence Bill. With regard to the latter, he hoped that after the Secretary of State for War had made a statement to the House the Bill would not be further opposed. The Land Law (Ireland) (Land Commission) Bill, the Bann Drainage Bill, the Barrow Drainage Bill, and the Shannon Drainage Bill would be postponed until November 15th. The Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Bill would be taken to-morrow, and he hoped the House would agree to the second reading of the Hawkers Bill and the Committee stage of the Municipal Funds (Ireland) Bill to-night. The School Board for London Election Bill, not being a Government measure, would not be proceeded with in view of the opposition to it. There was a Bill down which, though not marked as such, was in reality a Government measure, and which proposed to validate certain marriages which had been performed by unqualified persons who were not clergymen. The individuals affected by the Bill were at present in a peculiar position, from which the House should lose no time in relieving them. He, therefore, proposed to proceed with that Bill also.

MR. HUNTER asked, with regard to the National Defence Bill, whether the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War was in a position to say that the Government would not proceed with Clause 2 of that measure, in so far as it varied the present status of Volunteers with respect to being called out? If the Government abandoned the clause, all opposition to the measure would probably be removed.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle) said, he proposed to amend the National Defence Bill so as not to interfere with the present status of Volunteers in respect to being called out; but he would bring that provision forward again at a subsequent period.

COLONEL SANDYS (Lancashire, S.W., Bootle) asked, whether the First Lord of the Treasury would not consent to postpone the Marriages Validation Bill until November?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Certainly not, Sir. The Bill is intended to validate marriages which have been invalidated in consequence of being performed by a clergyman who was not properly qualified. It is quite impossible to allow the persons affected to remain any longer in the very serious circumstances I have indicated.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) asked, if the right hon. Gentleman had enumerated all the Bills which he proposed to deal with before the Recess, and if he could now inform the House of the day on which it was expected to adjourn?

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire): I suppose we may assume that no Scotch Government Bill will be taken during the present Sitting?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): None.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked as to the intentions of the Government with regard to the High Courts in India Bill and the East India Officers Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he was not able to give absolutely the assurance that the right hon. Gentleman asked for. There might, however, be some other Bills of a purely formal character, such as Lloyd's (Signal Stations) Bill, that it would be necessary to proceed with. The High Courts in India Bill and the East India Officers Bill would not be proceeded with now. It was hoped to take the Suffragans Nomination Bill. He had, he thought, stated all the important measures which the Government proposed to proceed with. It was impossible to say absolutely when the Adjournment would take place. That must depend on the proceedings in the House of Lords. He hoped, however, they might be able to conclude the serious Business of the present Session on Saturday; but he must reserve to himself the power to take further Sittings if it were necessary.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) asked, whether the Government would move the Adjournment of the House after all the Government Orders had been disposed of, for there were several very mischievous Bills on the Paper?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he would move the Adjournment after the 24 Government Orders had been disposed of, and the 43rd Order—namely, the Marriages Validation Bill, which, though not marked as such, was in reality a Government Bill.

MR. SPEAKER said, as it appeared to have been a slip not to have put the Marriages Validation Bill down as a Government Order, it might be now set down as such after Order 24.

COLONEL HUGHES (Woolwich) said, he must ask the Government not to move the Adjournment until he had been able to bring forward the School Board for London Election Bill, which was the next Order. He was prepared to abandon the whole Bill, save Clause 6, and that would, he felt sure, disarm all opposition, even that of the hon. Member for West Cavan (Mr. Biggar), who, he knew, objected to the measure.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) said, he trusted the Government would not consent to so unusual a course with regard to this Bill.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) also urged that the Bill should be taken at the present Sittings.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER said, if they interfered with the present arrangement to allow of one private Member's Bill being taken, they would have to do so in favour of a great many.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he quite felt the force of the observation of the right hon. Gentleman, and although he believed that it would be to the public advantage that the Bill should be passed it was not a Government measure, and did not come within the category of Bills for which he had asked for facilities. It was impossible for him to pick out one Bill and deal with it as a Government measure, or give preference to it over other private Members' Bills. He regretted, therefore, that he could not reply favourably to his hon. Friend.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked, in reference to the Marriages Bill, if it was not intended to validate the marriage of persons who gave no reasons to doubt their *bona fides?*

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he wished to call attention to Order 42, the Local Bankruptcy (Ireland) Bill. That was really a Government measure, and he would be glad to know whether the Government included that?

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) said, there was a very wide difference of opinion with regard to the Bill. He would suggest its postponement.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) contended that the preponderating sentiment was in favour of it.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.) said, it was perfectly true that it was a Government Bill; but it could not be expected to pass through the House without some controversy, and therefore he was afraid it was impossible to deal with it.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked, if facilities would not be given for passing the Libel Law Amendment Bill, particularly as the hon. Baronet in charge of the measure was willing to adopt the Amendment made by the Lords?

SIR CHARLES LEWIS (Antrim, N.) said, that there were other Amendments to the Bill which would lead to very wide differences of opinion.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the Bill was not a Government Bill, and it was not for the Government to press it on the consideration of the House. As had

been said by the hon. Member (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), the House had given a great deal of time and trouble to the Bill, and it would be well if time could be found for disposing of it during the present Sitting; but it was not for him to make provision for that. He would feel it his duty to press the Marriages Validation Bill.

MOTION.

—o—

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (SUSPENSION OF THE STANDING ORDER).

RESOLUTION.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, until the Government Orders are disposed of, so much of the Standing Order No. 1, Sittings of the House, as relates to the interruption of Business at midnight, the right of objection after midnight, and the Adjournment of the House at One o'clock, be suspended this day and To-morrow."—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he thought there should be a distinct understanding as to the arrangement. As he understood it, the right hon. Gentleman proposed to proceed that night with the first seven Orders on the Paper—namely, the Oaths Bill, the Indian Budget, the Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill, the Public Works Loan Bill, the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, the Imperial Defence Bill, and the National Defence Bill, and also with Orders 20, 21, and 23—namely, the Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Bill, the Hawkers Bill, and the Municipal Funds (Ireland) Bill, and that then the right hon. Gentleman would move the Adjournment of the House. To-morrow (Friday) the Lords' Amendments to the Local Government Bill would be taken as the first Order, and after that the County Courts Consolidation Bill and the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Bill. Assuming that those Orders were gone through that night and to-morrow night, the right hon. Gentleman would not take any further Business, but on Saturday would move the Adjournment of the House.

In reply to Questions by Mr. MUNDELLA and Mr. MARJORIBANKS,

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, that with the exception that he would be obliged to reserve to himself the power of delaying the Motion for the Adjournment to a later day than Saturday, if it were necessary to do so, the statement of the right hon. Gentleman was correct. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that he should be glad to make the Motion for the Adjournment on Saturday, if it was in his power.

COLONEL HUGHES (Woolwich) said, he did not see why a private Member's Bill dealing with the question of Oaths was more urgent than a Bill for putting the London School Board in a proper condition as to its numbers and electoral areas. Because one or two Members said they had an objection to the Bill, why should they absolutely prevent it from coming on? He was appalled at his own audacity in pressing this matter so much upon the amiable Leader of the House; but he hoped the Government would give facilities for the School Board for London Election Bill, inasmuch as the Board spent £1,000,000 out of the rates every year, while the existing 55 members were not sufficient to conduct its business. Accidents happened from overwork in all departments, and financially something might happen if more help were not given to the School Board. The electoral districts were absurdly large. There were only 11 of them.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman is now rather going into the details of the Bill than urging reasons why it should be proceeded with.

COLONEL HUGHES said, he must protest against a matter of that great importance to the education of the young being put back; for if the Bill were not passed then, London would have to go on under the old *régime* for another three years. He should throw the responsibility of the delay with the measure upon the House itself, and begged to move that the School Board for London Election Bill be part of the specified Business to which the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman would apply.

Amendment proposed,

After the words "Government Orders," to insert the words "and the Order for the Second Reading of the School Board for London Election Bill."—(*Colonel Hughes.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) said, he was in favour of the Bill, but

he objected to its being included in the list of Orders to be dealt with that night, many of which were of the utmost importance. If the Representatives of the School Board were so anxious for the passing of this measure, why had they not introduced it two years ago? He objected to the measure being taken after 12 o'clock that night.

MR. BYRON REED (Bradford, E.) said, he greatly objected to the Government giving special facilities to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) for carrying a Bill which was generally regarded as being most objectionable and unnecessary. He could not understand why many measures of general importance and interest should be set aside in order to enable the Oaths Bill to be read a third time. He should vote for the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Woolwich as a protest against the action of the Government.

MR. ISAACS (Newington, Walworth), in supporting the Amendment, said, it was most unfair to call the School Board for London Election Bill a private measure. There was an urgent necessity for the Bill, and it would be a great mistake to allow the existing state of things with regard to the election areas of the School Board to remain as it was for another three years.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that he wished to intervene at once to prevent an unnecessary prolongation of the debate. He entirely denied that the Government were giving undue facilities to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) for carrying his measure. The Government were simply keeping faith with the House and with hon. Members who had attained a certain position on the Paper for their measures on certain occasions, and who had surrendered their advantages at the request of the Government. It would have been a most serious breach of Parliamentary understanding if he had placed the hon. Member for Northampton at a disadvantage, after he had assured the House that it would be the duty of the Government to provide facilities for measures promoted by private Members which had reached a certain stage. He greatly regretted that the hon. and gallant Member for Woolwich had not been fortunate enough to get his measure advanced to the necessary stage; but the Government could not undertake to distinguish between the importance of measures which were in the hands of private Members. He was sorry that the matter had not been brought under the notice of the Government sufficiently early to have permitted them to have introduced a measure in relation to it themselves, for it was one which should have emanated from them, rather than from a private Member. He trusted that the House would now proceed with the Business before it.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, he could assure the hon. and gallant Member for Woolwich that, even if his measure had been placed upon the Paper as the first Order of the Day, it would not have been passed that night, as it was certain to meet with the most serious opposition from the Irish Members. There was not the least probability of the Bill being carried through before the Adjournment.

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) said, he would support the appeal to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) to modify his programme in favour of the Bill. In view of the fact that the School Board Bill concerned the welfare and the education of the young, representing one-seventh of the total population of the United Kingdom, he should support the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Member for Woolwich (Colonel Hughes).

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) said, he would ask the Government for a distinct promise that they would deal with the question of the electoral areas for School Boards. He hoped they would take the matter up and deal with it themselves.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 27; Noes 201: Majority 174.—(Div. List, No. 270.)

Main Question again proposed.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he found that, owing to the state of feeling amongst his constituents, he must press upon the Government the importance of taking the Local Bankruptcy (Ireland) Bill at the present Sitting. That really was a Government Bill. It had been brought in by a Member of the Cabinet,

the Irish Lord Chancellor, in the House of Lords, had passed through that House, and now awaited a second reading. It proposed to give the Lord Lieutenant power to establish certain Local Bankruptcy Courts, and the principle had been approved and accepted by all Parties. It was a principle that had long existed in England, and which it was desired to introduce into Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had said a few evenings ago that the Bill was a Government Bill, and perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would explain how it was that it now appeared among the Private Bills? He (Mr. Sexton) himself introduced a Bill on the subject last year. He had it passed through a Select Committee, and it reached the Report stage. There, however, it stopped, and did not proceed further. In the North and South and also in various parts of the Provinces there was a very strong feeling against the system, which obliged cases of the smallest estates in bankruptcy to be brought to Dublin and to be swallowed up in law costs. It was a simple reform of the most obvious utility, and he did not think he was making an unreasonable claim when he simply asked that it should be properly distinguished upon the Paper as being a Government Bill, and that, if possible, it should be taken before the Recess.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) said, that there was a wide difference of opinion in different parts of Ireland, not only whether such a Bill should be passed, but as to the scope of the present measure. Not a single Member representing the City of Dublin, which he understood was very much opposed to the Bill, was present. Nothing material could be lost by allowing the Bill to stand until the November Sitting, and then if the Government were disposed to give facilities for the Bill, and not only facilities for it, but to give time for Amendments to be discussed, he had not the slightest objection to their doing so. But, as an old trader and an inhabitant of Belfast, he had formed very decided opinions regarding what the Bankruptcy Laws of Ireland ought to be, and he thought it unreasonable to press on the Bill in the last two days of the Session, when it could not be properly discussed.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that the Bill would appear on the Paper to-morrow with an asterisk attached, thereby intimating that it would be treated as a Government Bill. It might be possible to pass it in the course of the present Session; but, if not, it certainly would be passed during the Autumn Sitting.

MR. FLYNN contended that the opposition to the Bill was confined to the hon. Member for West Cavan (Mr. Biggar) alone.

MR. SEXTON said, he would like the opinion of the House upon the question he had raised.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he must appeal to the right hon. Gentleman not to press for a Division.

MR. SEXTON: If I find I can be of no use to my constituents in relation to a Government Bill materially affecting them, I shall have no alternative but to resign my seat.

Main Question put.

Ordered, That until the Government Orders are disposed of, so much of the Standing Order No. 1, Sittings of the House, as relates to the interruption of Business at midnight, the right of objection after midnight, and the Adjournment of the House at One o'clock, be suspended this day and To-morrow.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

OATHS BILL.—[BILL 319.]

(*Mr. Bradlaugh, Sir John Simon, Mr. Kelly, Mr. Courtney Kenny, Mr. Burt, Mr. Coleridge, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Richard, Colonel Eyre, Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Bradlaugh.*)

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) said, he wished to explain the course he intended to take on this occasion. He voted for the second reading of the Bill, and now he found he could not support the third reading. He recognized that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had acted with perfect *bona fides* throughout the discussion of the Bill, and he had not a word to say against the course which the hon. Member took, beyond this—that the Amendment which he succeeded in carrying by a very small majority deprived the Bill of its principal value in his (Mr.

Hunter's) opinion. There could be no objection to that Amendment as respects those persons in England and Scotland in whom the hon. Gentleman was particularly interested—those who had no religious belief at all; but with respect to the other and, he believed, larger class, who strongly disliked the taking of an oath, but who were not in a position to say they had no religious belief, this Bill was most unsatisfactory, because, before a person was entitled to make an affirmation under this Bill as it now stood, he must say that the taking of an oath was inconsistent with his religious belief. When the Report stage was reached his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson) put down an Amendment, which was the last desperate effort to save the Bill, but the Bill was taken at a time when neither he nor his supporters understood it would be taken, and the Amendment consequently was not considered. It had been suggested, he believed, that in "another place" the purpose of the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend, which was that those who had some religious belief should be allowed to say, not that the taking of an oath was inconsistent with their religious belief, but that they had conscientious objections to taking an oath, would be carried out; but when the Bill left this House it passed beyond their control. He would not, therefore, vote on the Motion.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) said, he also wished to clear his conscience in reference to this Bill, and explain the course he intended to take in reference to the third reading. The course he had determined to adopt was not the course indicated by the hon. Member for North Aberdeen (Mr. Hunter), who had left the House. To the Bill as it at present stood he entertained objections so strong that, unless he received an assurance which he was not likely to receive, he should be compelled to vote against the third reading. The only thing which would be likely to deter him from taking such a course was the fact that he should have to go into the same Lobby with hon. Gentlemen opposite who were opposing the Bill on the grounds which he utterly detested. The Bill in its present shape was to his mind a very different Bill to that which was originally introduced by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). This was entirely due to the obscure and certainly ill-understood covenant entered into between the hon. Member for Northampton and the hon. and learned Solicitor General (Sir Edward Clarke). The hon. and learned Solicitor General was understood to threaten that the opposition to the Bill in "another place" would kill the measure if the hon. Gentleman did not agree to certain modifications, and the result was the introduction of the most objectionable Amendment which had been referred to by the hon. Member for North Aberdeen. He so little realized the nature of the compromise that he had voted for the second reading of the Bill. What the hon. and learned Solicitor General insisted upon as a condition to the withdrawal of opposition in "another place" was a provision that a person making an affirmation should say either that he had no religious belief, or that the taking of an oath was contrary to his religious belief. Those words and the grounds on which their insertion was defended involved a stigma on opinion to which he for one could not consent. He could never consent to vote for any Bill leaving that House which imposed on opinion in matters of religion any such stigma. The Bill when it was introduced was called a relieving Bill. It was now a stigmatising Bill and a branding Bill. He acknowledged the great service the hon. Member for Northampton had rendered to the cause of religious liberty, but he hoped the hon. Gentleman would not contend that he was entitled to dictate to the Liberal Party what course they should adopt on this important Bill. The hon. Member would do well to bear in mind that the vast majority of the Liberal Party went into the Lobby against him in opposition to this critical clause. The assurance to which he (Mr. E. Robertson) had referred as the only condition upon which he could vote for the third reading of the Bill could only be given by some one higher in authority than the hon. and learned Solicitor General, and that assurance was that when the Bill went to the House of Lords it would be amended in accordance with the terms of the Amendment which it had been his intention to propose on the Report stage of the Bill. If this could not be given—and he did not believe it

could—he would be compelled to vote against the third reading as a protest against the most objectionable and insulting principle which the Bill embodied.

MR. SYDNEY GEDGE (Stockport) said, that if the Bill touched only the question of giving evidence in Courts of Justice, he might have been content to let it proceed without objection or with a mere protest; but it went far beyond that, and dealt with juries and with promissory oaths, taking away the religious sanction from them without substituting any other sanction for it, and this he objected to. He recognized the fact that in a Court of Justice you must get the best evidence you can, and wrong may be done if any be excluded; there was, therefore, reason for admitting testimony not given on oath, provided only that the jury knew why no oath was taken; and further, as regarded witnesses in Courts of Justice, a person who affirmed instead of swearing, could be prosecuted for perjury if he gave false testimony; but an indictment for perjury would not lie with regard to the violation of oaths by juries, or to promissory oaths, as it lay against persons who swore falsely in Courts of Law. The result, therefore, of this Bill was that you took away the religious sanction, and gave no other. Was England to set the example of permitting men to undertake important offices or duties without requiring them to give a solemn promise, either under a religious sanction or subject to legal penalties? No other nation had ever yet done that, and he hoped that England would not do it.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) said, if anything would induce him to vote for the third reading of this Bill it would be such speeches as they had just heard from the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Sydney Gedge); but, notwithstanding the strong ground afforded by the speech of the hon. Member for supporting the Bill, he (Mr. Picton) was afraid that he could not see his way to vote for the measure in its present shape. Therefore, as he had not in that House offered any explanatien of the course he had taken in regard to the Bill, he thought he ought to do so now, especially as he had been called upon to express his opinion. Therefore, on that, the final stage of the Bill, he might be permitted to say a few words by way of explanation. His strong conviction was that the State had nothing whatever to do with the theological opinions of any man, and he declined to be a party to justifying any legislation in that direction. The Bill did little to alter the law in that respect; it would continue very much the same wrongs as already existed. He regarded all oaths as ancient superstitions, which were only suitable to inferior and ill-informed minds. He was not going to support any such ancient abuses, and if he could not do anything to remove them, he would not vote for the Bill before the House. The Bill enabled a Judge or Magistrate to inquire into the religious belief of a person about to affirm under the Bill. That was what was done now in the Magistrates' Courts, and in other Courts of superior authority. But "religious belief" was a vague phrase, and might mean anything or nothing. The ordinary idea seemed to be that it meant the belief in a personal Deity and in the existence of hell. This was exemplified in the case of children when before the Courts as witnesses. They were asked, "Do you know what the Almighty will do to those who tell lies?" and if the answer was that the child would in that case go to hell, that was regarded as perfectly satisfactory. He declined to give any sanction whatever to so barbarous a superstition. Such a practice was nothing else than a gross, barbarous, and heathenish superstition, and it ought to have been abolished in this country years ago. Did not the founder of Christianity himself say, "Swear not at all?" It might be argued that this had reference to the ordinary use of oaths in conversation, but anyone who looked at the occasion when the words were uttered would come to a different conclusion. If he believed in the infallibility of the New Testament he should consider himself debarred from taking an oath, because its highest injunctions were against the practice. He might be allowed to point to the absurdity of Clause 1 of this Bill now under consideration. He could not, if called upon to take an oath, say that it was contrary to his religious belief, nor could he say that he had no religious belief. He did not care to take the oath, yet if called upon, and he declined, he would be expected to accept one of these alternatives before he

could be allowed to affirm. He did not regard the Bill as affording any relief from the present system; therefore, he could not support the Bill. But out of his profund sympathy with the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), and for all he had endured, he could not vote against the Bill, and, lest his action might be misunderstood, he would take no part in the Division.

MR. DE LISLE (Leicestershire, Mid): Sir, I rise to move that this Bill be read a third time this day six months. I do not propose to repeat any of the arguments which I have urged against this Bill on previous occasions, both in speech and in writing, in treating of the fundamental questions involved in this unhappy piece of legislation. But I should feel that I had failed in my duty to the electors of Mid Leicestershire who have sent me here to represent their political convictions, to the great Tory tradition which is about to be shattered, and to this ancient and illustrious House of Commons which still inscribes upon the Bar of the House *Numini et patriæ asto*, "Stand true to the godhead and your country," if I hesitated to protest emphatically and irrevocably against the great injury which I conceive is about to be done to the sound natural reason and to the religious faith of the people of the United Kingdom. I regard this Affirmation Bill as deplorable in its origin and its history; deplorable in the circumstance if it shall pass into law under the auspices of a Conservative and a Unionist Government; deplorable also in the results which I fear are likely to follow. I have no wish to pose as a prophet of evil; nevertheless, when I consider the alleged necessity of conferring a legal sanction upon that absolute unbelief and ungodliness which I have been taught to consider inexcusable as a symptom or a cause, I can only read in the majority of 100 votes by which the second reading of this measure was passed in a House of 400 Members a symptom of decay and a cause of decomposition. The Amendments of the Committee do not appear to be substantial. I hope therefore that even now the vote of the 14th of March last, when the Bill was read a second time, may be reversed. Sir William Blackstone, in his immortal *Commentary upon the Laws of England*, has left us these words of warning. They are said to have been constantly upon the lips of the great Lord Treasurer Burleigh, "England can only be destroyed by her Parliament." Sir, in moving the Resolution which stands in my name, I feel confident that we who are determined to oppose this Bill to the end are supported by the sympathy and approval of many millions of the people.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. De Lisle.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, he must appeal to hon. Members on both sides of the House to allow the Bill to pass. After the debate on the second reading, the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson) had a little startled him. The words to which the hon. and learned Member had objected were the form of words in the Act giving relief from the obligation to take an oath to Moravians, Quakers, and Separatists. In all the legislation on this subject the foundation of conscientious objection to an oath had been the declaration that it was contrary to religious belief, and it was a little too late now to take objection to the form of words. He could not understand how anyone claiming to be a Liberal could vote against it, considering the large number of persons it would enfranchise. He had tried to put himself in the position of those whose standpoint was not his own; and he had fully and strictly carried out the understanding arrived at on the second reading, and he appealed especially to the hon. Members whose objections he had endeavoured to meet to vote for the third reading. He hoped that many of those who would not otherwise have voted for the third reading would support that stage now that it was about to be opposed by a combination of men with specially refined notions about the meaning of words, and men who made a point of obstructing any reform whatever, and whose grievance it would take away.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth) said, he regretted to have to differ very strongly

from the judgment of the Bill formed by the hon. Member who moved its rejection (Mr. De Lisle). He hoped the general body of the House would show itself wiser than the extremists on either side, and that the measure would be accepted as a substantial and a reasonable amendment of the law. It had been said by one hon. Member that a great Tory tradition was about to be shattered. That statement he repudiated with his whole heart, for there was no Tory tradition in antagonism to this Bill, and the allegation that the measure would confer a legal sanction on ungodliness was quite unfounded. The Bill introduced no new test at all; it adjusted the test to the requirements of the different positions in which persons were who were called upon to take an oath. He wished to remind the House that the Bill merely aimed at removing objections which were strongly and justly felt in the present state of the law. At the present moment a man might take an oath, and, if it was afterwards proved that he had no religious belief, his oath would be held in law to be a nullity, and the evidence given upon it might be held worthless. That was a blot in our system of jurisprudence, and the Bill proposed to remove it. He trusted that the House would vote in favour of the third reading, for there was no Party triumph involved, and the passing of the measure would settle the vexed question of oaths for at least many years to come, if not altogether. ["No, no!"] He maintained that it would. It had been alleged that threats had been made that should not the Amendments suggested from the Ministerial side of the House be accepted, the Bill would be thrown out in the House of Lords. He denied that; he had spoken for himself alone, and had made no reference to the House of Lords; but he believed that if hon. Members opposite who were now opposing the Bill had had their way, the Bill would have no chance of passing during the present Parliament. He had long been anxious that the law with regard to oaths should be made uniform and intelligible, and that object was met by the Bill now before the House. He hoped, therefore, that it would be allowed to pass. If the framing of the Bill had been entrusted to him, he should not have put into it anything in addition to what it now contained. It would, he felt convinced, be a very useful addition to our Statute Book.

Mr. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) said, that he should vote for the Bill because it was a step in the right direction. He must dissent altogether from the last statement of the hon. and learned Solicitor General, that the present Bill would settle the controversy as to oaths; for that controversy could only be settled by the disappearance of the oath altogether. He must resent, as an insult, the statement which had been made in that debate, that a man's word was unworthy of credit who objected to take an oath. The Quakers strongly objected to taking the oath, and there were none more truthful in the entire community.

Colonel SANDYS (Lancashire, S.W., Bootle) said, he felt bound to support the Motion for the rejection of the Bill, for he believed it was his duty to oppose it as unjust to his constituents and unjust to the interests of the Christian English people. The omission of the words of imprecation or calling God to witness, compelled him to vote against this measure; for he believed the country agreed with him that when the Almighty was called to witness there was a third person present at the taking of the oath. The Bill was the first attempt in the history of Parliament to thrust out of our Courts of Justice all recognition of the authority of Almighty God. He called upon the House, which had hitherto been an Assembly largely composed of Christian men, to reject a measure which would allow the people of Great Britain to omit to recognize the authority of Almighty God in the transaction of the affairs of the country.

Mr. W. P. SINCLAIR (Falkirk, &c.) said, he thought that the religious faith of the country would not be undermined by anything in the four corners of the Bill. It was founded on something a great deal more solid. The Bill was simply and truly a relieving Bill. It would remedy a very serious grievance which still existed in the North of Ireland. Many people there were in favour of swearing by the uplifted hand, considering that form of oath more Scriptural than the ordinary form. Fifty years ago an Act was passed to enable them to take the oath in their own way; but it was a defective measure, and

many magistrates now thought it necessary to ask—"Do you consider swearing by the uplifted hand to be binding upon your conscience?" That state of things they considered insulting, and it constituted a grievance which one of the clauses of this Bill would remove. It was therefore a relieving Bill, and he hoped that it would be agreed to as such by the House.

MR. DARLING (Deptford) (who rose amid great interruption) said, the change proposed by the Bill was really very small, and there was no reason for saying that the country was in a state of decomposition and decay. It was an error to suppose that they were now for the first time about to sanction the omission from the oath of all reference to the Deity. The chief innovation which the Bill would introduce was the extension to the House of Commons of the form of affirmation which had been permitted for some considerable time in every Court of Justice. He thought it right to say, before sitting down, that the objections originally raised to parts of the measure on his side of the House had been most fairly met in Committee by those in charge of the Bill, and most especially by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh).

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 147; Noes 60:—Majority 87.—(Div. List, No. 271.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

EAST INDIA REVENUE ACCOUNTS.

COMMITTEE.

MATTER—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): Mr. Courtney, perhaps it will be for the convenience of the Committee if, for the present, I confine my observations to the usual formal Resolutions which I have placed on the Table, and to topics of a strictly financial character. I am informed that it is the intention of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) to raise some large general questions as to the policy of the Government of India, but I think I had better reserve any observations of a general character that it may be my duty to make in replying to the hon. Member until a later period of the debate. The greater part of what I have to say about the present financial condition of India has been submitted to the House of Commons in the form of an explanatory Memorandum, which was laid upon the Table of the House as long ago as the 20th of June. It was laid upon the Table at that early date, in pursuance of a promise made to the House last year when the usual annual complaint of the late period at which the Indian Budget was discussed was made in the House. Now, there are two reasons for the late discussion of the Indian Budget. One is that the Accounts and Papers necessary for the information of the House are generally not laid upon the Table till a somewhat late period of the Session; the other is that the House is not generally disposed to put aside, I will not say more important, but more interesting, Business for the purpose of discussing the Indian Budget at an earlier period. In accordance with the promise made last year, the Secretary of State determined that during the present year the Accounts should at least be ready for the House of Commons, even if the House of Commons was not ready for the Accounts. Accordingly a despatch was sent out to India in October last, directing the authorities to take such measures as would secure that the whole of the Papers necessary for the consideration of the financial condition of India by this House should be laid on the Table at the earliest possible period of the Session; and in accordance with those instructions which were carried out by the Government of India, I was able to place the Papers on the Table of the House as early as the 20th of June. But that followed which might have been foreseen. That is a period of our Parliamentary life when all the exciting and burning questions which agitate political Parties in this country are in full career, and the House of Commons is most unwilling to postpone any of those important and interesting topics for the purpose of entering on the consideration of Indian finance at an earlier period than that at which we have arrived. Looking back into the history of the past, I find that ever since the condition of Indian finance has been

brought in this way under the consideration of a Committee of the House of Commons, it has almost invariably been brought forward about the last day, or almost the last day, of the Session, when time is at last found to consider Indian finance. Since 1880 there never has been an instance in which, although expostulations and regrets and lamentations have been made by the House, it has been found possible to devote an earlier day to the consideration of Indian finance. Since 1880 the Indian Budget has never been brought on before the end of the Session. The precedents have not been encouraging. In 1879 it came on upon the 22nd of May; but on that occasion the House was counted out. My first business, in addressing myself to my Financial Statement, is to correct the figures of my explanatory Memorandum in accordance with the more recent information received from India. The Committee will be aware that we have under our consideration three sets of Accounts; those relating to the year ending March 31st, 1887, which are now closed, and for which we have complete Accounts; those relating to the year ending March 31, 1888, for which we have the Revised Estimate; and, thirdly, the Budget Estimate for the year ending March 31, 1889, which is in anticipation. Of course, the Accounts for the first year are not altered. They were settled and fixed when I placed my Memorandum upon the Table. The Account for 1886-7 showed — Net Revenue Rx.44,735,940, and Expenditure chargeable thereon Rx.44,557,513, leaving a surplus, including the cost of special Defence Works of Rx.178,427. The Revised Estimate for 1887-8 shows —Net Revenue Rx.44,944,200, and Expenditure Rx.47,960,900, or a deficit of Rx.3,016,700. According to the Budget Estimate for 1888-9 the net Revenue is Rx.46,349,400, and the Expenditure Rx.47,047,400, leaving a deficit of Rx.698,000. These sums include the cost of Defence Works. Excluding that cost, the surplus in 1886-7 was Rx.504,053; in 1887-8 the deficit was Rx.2,457,800; and in the Budget Estimate of 1888-9 the surplus is Rx.423,500. A question was raised last year as to how it is that, even in the month of August, it is impossible to get perfectly accurate figures as to the year which ends on the previous 31st of March. It may be asked, first of all, what the reason is why the Revised Accounts are not more nearly accurate than they are; and, secondly, why it is so long before the actual figures can be arrived at, and stated either to the House of Commons or the public. The answer is, that the figures are based on the actual Returns of 11 months, and on the estimate for the month of March. Formerly, the Accounts closed on the 30th April, and now they close on the 31st March. But, for Indian purposes, March is the most difficult month of all as to which to form an estimate. More than one-fourth of the entire Land Revenue is received in that month. The Railways and Public Works are also particularly active, and the frequent fluctuations cause immense variation. The gross receipts from the railways amount in that month to Rx.1,500,000, in addition to which it is the season in which the construction of Public Works is in most active operation. For those reasons it is most difficult to get an accurate estimate of the receipts for the month of March. As to the delay in getting in the Accounts, the Committee probably do not recognize all that has to be done before the Accounts for the year can be finally closed. The Accounts have to be collected and examined and settled for a country which spreads over 53 deg. of longitude and 27 deg. of latitude, from no less than 200 treasuries, and 800 sub-treasuries, 300 public works disbursing offices, 200 military disbursing officers, 40 railways, and 200 district boards, Accounts which involve debt and remittances, and advance and store accounts, with many cross transactions, all of which have to be considered before the Accounts of the past year can be finally closed. I will now, with the permission of the Committee, make a few observations on the Accounts of the three years I have referred to. The Accounts of 1886-7 closed with a satisfactory surplus of Rx.178,427, as compared with only Rx.500 shown in the Revised Estimate of last year. That was after defraying the charge for Special Defence Works, as stated last year to have been determined upon if the expected surplus were finally realized. The general improvement was due to an increase of net Revenue by Rx.856,240, owing to large receipts

in March from Land Revenue chiefly, and also from Opium, Salt, and Excise. The net Expenditure increased by Rx.65,348, owing to heavy charges in March in Burmah, and to the inclusion of Rx.325,626 for Special Defence Works, while in the working of Railways and in other Public Works there was a reduction. Of the net improvement of Rx.730,892, the portion belonging to the Provincial Governments was Rx.612,965, so that the Imperial Account was better by Rx.177,927. In the year 1887-8 there was an anticipated Budget Surplus of Rx.16,700. In my Statement on 9th September last year, I stated that the position in India was believed to be worse by Rx.610,000, giving a deficit of Rx.593,300, to which it had been determined to add the charge for conversion of India 4 per Cent Stock, then estimated at Rx.1,097,000, and the charge for Special Defence Works, then estimated at Rx.474,600. The figures, therefore, stated in my speech, when I addressed the House on the 9th of September, would have given a deficit of Rx.2,164,900. The Revised Estimate in March last showed a deficit of Rx.3,016,700, but it is now thought that this will be reduced in India by Rx.635,000, and in England, including exchange, by Rx.120,900; and there is a further improvement of Rx.300,000, for exchange on the transactions of Subsidized Railways, for which the Government of India did not take credit. The deficit is, therefore, Rx.1,960,800, which is less than that stated last September by Rx.204,100. This alteration is mainly attributable to the transactions in March, the improved Land Revenue and the falling off in Railway receipts counterbalancing one another. The Special Defence Works charge is reduced by Rx.115,000. The causes of the deficit may, therefore, be thus summarized:—Conversion of Stock (less by 5,100 than the Estimate) Rx.1,091,900; Special Defences, Rx.453,900; and I am sorry to say, Upper Burmah Military Charges Rx.1,550,000, making a total of Rx.3,095,800; against which is to be set an improvement of Rx.1,135,000 under other heads. Had there been no extraordinary charge for Upper Burmah, there would have been no deficit, for the Special Defence Works might fairly be charged against capital. Though, as a matter of account, they are treated as a charge against the Revenue of the year, it is quite clear that important works of that kind, which will only have to be done once, are not charges which ought, in estimating the financial position, to be made against Revenue. If your ordinary regular and necessary Indian Expenditure were not covered by the Revenue, you would be in an awkward and difficult and even critical financial position; but your ordinary necessary Expenditure is amply covered by the Indian Revenue at the present moment, and these charges which have caused the deficit, and have been charged against Revenue, are not ordinary charges, but are quite abnormal, and will not, we hope, recur in future years. I mentioned just now a sum of Rx.300,000, which I said the Government had gained by exchange transactions. I must explain to the Committee how that arises. The Committee are, no doubt, aware that the Government have contracts with certain Railway Companies—the Southern Mahratta, the Indian Midland, and the Bengal-Nagpur, by which the Government undertake to transmit to India the capital of these Companies subscribed in London, which is required for expenditure in India at a certain fixed rate of exchange. In the case of the Southern Mahratta, money is transmitted by contract at 12 rupees per £1 sterling; in the case of the Indian Midland at 12½ rupees per £1 sterling; and in the case of the Bengal-Nagpur at 13 rupees per £1 sterling. The Committee will see that, when exchange comes down below the rate named in the contract, the Government gain by the transaction. For instance, at the present time the £1 sterling is nearly equivalent to 16 rupees in India; whereas the Government would only have to pay the Southern Mahratta Railway 12 rupees; the Indian Midland, 12½ rupees; and the Bengal-Nagpur, 13 rupees; so that they gain so much by the transaction. They are not only able to fulfil their obligations, but they gain a considerable amount by the contract so long as the rupee is lower than the exchange rate of the contract, and this gain explains the sum of Rx.300,000, which I mentioned just now. In the year 1888-9, there is, according to the most recent estimate, a deficit to ac-

count for of Rx.1,925,000, which is more, a great deal than the estimate of Rx.698,000 made in India in March last. What has been the cause of that change? The chief cause has been the fall in exchange. The Committee is aware that the exchange value of the rupee has again seriously declined, and the fall since last January has added to the liabilities of the Government of India no less a sum than Rx.1,202,000. That will give hon. Members some idea of the difficulty with which this exchange question is attended. My right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, arduous and difficult as his duties in this country are, never has to meet such a steady drain upon his resources as Rx.1,200,000 coming upon him between January and July; but in India a very small fall in the value of the rupee puts most serious difficulties in the way of the Indian Government. But that is not all. Besides the fall in exchange, the effect of the fall is a consequent addition to the pay of British soldiers to the extent of Rx.65,000, and those two items, less Rx.105,000 gained on remittance transactions, make a total loss by fall in exchange of Rx.1,162,000. Final payments on account of Conversion of Stock amount to Rx.228,600, the charge for Special Defences amounts to Rx.1,121,500, and the Upper Burmah Military Expenditure to Rx.824,000. All these items together make a total of Rx.3,336,100, from which has to be deducted a surplus on all other heads of Rx.1,411,100, leaving a net deficit of Rx.1,925,000. There is also to be set against that a gain in the exchange transactions with the Subsidized Railway Companies, estimated at Rx.385,000, which reduces the deficit to Rx.1,540,000. Comparing 1888-9 with 1887-8, it will be seen that the deficit for the year ending on March 31 last was Rx.1,960,800. Let me take out of that the Conversion of Stock Rx.1,091,900, and the Special Frontier Defences Rx.453,900, which amounted together to Rx.1,545,800, and you have a deficit, apart from these two exceptional causes, of Rx.415,000. That is caused by the extraordinary fall in exchange, and by military expenditure in Burmah, which we earnestly hope and believe will shortly come to an end. If there had been no fall in exchange, there would have been no deficit at all, and if there had been no war in Burmah there would have been no deficit, notwithstanding the fall in exchange. The Budget for 1888-9, as modified, gives a deficit of Rx.1,540,000, of which there is due to Conversion of Stock Rx.228,600, and to Special Frontier Defences Rx.1,121,500, making together Rx.1,350,100. Thus, apart from these two exceptional causes, the deficit for 1888-9 is only Rx.189,900, showing an improvement in the Budget of 1888-9 over that of 1887-8 of Rx.225,100. That is due to the improvement in the Salt Revenue, which is estimated at Rx.1,429,900, and to a reduction in the Military Charges in Upper Burmah estimated at Rx.726,000, making a total improvement of Rx.2,155,900. Against that there has been an increase in the charge for the Army generally of Rx.510,300, an increase in the loss by fall of exchange of Rx.1,011,100, and on other heads Rx.407,400, making a total of Rx.1,930,800, and making the net improvement Rx.225,100. As to the financial outlook in Upper Burmah, the net charges in respect of that country for the three years under consideration have been for 1886-7, Rx.2,068,700; for 1887-8, Rx.2,727,300; and for 1888-9, Rx.1,880,500. There is no doubt that it has taken longer and cost more to quell opposition and to restore order in Upper Burmah than was expected. The largest Revenue the Burmah Ruler ever got from the country was about Rx.1,000,000, of which Rx.350,000 were derived from Customs Duties, transit dues, monopolies, and imposts, which the British abolished immediately they entered the country. For two or three years before annexation, the King's receipts had decreased, and had eventually fallen below Rx.900,000. So we had about Rx.600,000 to Rx.650,000 we might collect. During the first year, we collected gross Rx.200,000; during the second year, 1887-8, we collected Rx.490,000, and during 1889-90 we may expect about Rx.700,000. By five years after annexation it may be possible to develop new sources of revenue, and in time we shall be able to impose a Land Tax, as in Lower Burmah, over a part of the country. Probably the revenue will rise by about Rx.100,000 every year for a time, and by the end of 10 years after annexation (about 1896), the revenues of Upper Burmah will have reached

Rx.1,100,000, exclusive of the railway receipts. By that time the expenditure on Military Works will have been reduced to maintenance charges, or about Rx.40,000 only. The "extra charges" for the Army ought to have come down to Rx.300,000. The expenditure on Civil Works can be reduced to Rx.200,000, as in Lower Burmah; and the Police Charges by that time ought to be reduced to Rx.500,000. If these anticipations are fulfilled—and they are not particularly sanguine—then the account for Upper Burmah will stand somewhat thus—In 1896, gross Civil Expenditure, including Police, Rx.900,000; Civil Public Works Rx.200,000; Military Works Rx.40,000; extra Army Charges Rx.300,000; gross total Rx.1,440,000; while the gross Revenue may be taken as Rx.1,100,000; leaving a deficit of Rx.340,000. [An hon. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] The hon. Member appears to be pleased with that condition of things. [An hon. MEMBER: No, no!] He will see that that is the net yearly charge expected to stand against Upper Burmah 10 years after the war, and that all the improvements I have mentioned form a moderate estimate of what may be expected. Hon. Members will see that, taken as a whole, Burmah is not an insolvent Province, but will be paying its way, and, instead of being a burden, will ultimately contribute to the revenues of the State. The Lower Burmah yearly surplus is at present about Rx.700,000, after charging against the Province all military expenditure within its borders. The yearly surplus will have reached Rx.800,000 by the year 1896, so the united Provinces ought then to be yielding a yearly surplus of about Rx.460,000. The "extra" Army Charges only are shown against Lower Burmah; for, as yet, no increase to the military garrison of British India has been made on account of the new Province of Upper Burmah. It would be unwise to be too confident about the fulfilment of this forecast, which is liable to disturbance by unforeseen circumstances. If things go on as favourably as they are now going, the forecast will be realized. I must just call the attention of the Committee to a subject to which their attention has always been called on the occasion of the Budget. I should not be doing my duty to those who have the management of Indian finance if I did not refer to the enormous difficulties which the fall in the value of the silver rupee inflicts on the finances of the country. There is in my Statement a Table of the exchange, and I am sorry to say that even during the short time which has elapsed since the preparation of that Table, there has been a serious alteration, and I can no longer take the average value of the rupee as 16·9*d.*; but I must take it at 16*d.* In the Revised Estimate for 1887-8 it was taken as 16·9, and it proved to be actually 16·898. For the coming year, instead of taking it at 16·9, I must take it at 16, or nearly one penny per rupee less, the effect of which is to alter the Estimate materially. The net sterling Expenditure for 1887-8 is then £15,129,000, or Rx.6,357,000, taking the rupee at 16·898*d.* The reduction for gain by exchange in India on remittances is Rx.819,000, and the addition for soldiers' pay Rx.437,000; so that the total for exchange is Rx.5,975,000. In the coming year, for which I take the rupee as 1*s.* 4*d.*, the sterling expenditure is £15,029,000; the exchange on that sum is Rx.7,515,000, the gain on remittances Rx.905,000, the addition for soldiers' pay Rx.522,000, and the total charge for exchange Rx.7,132,000. The Committee will see how difficult it is for a Finance Minister to arrange his Budget with an enormous uncertain charge of that kind hanging over the Indian Revenue. Certainly, those who are engaged in these transactions deserve the generous consideration of the House of Commons. There is another point to which I wish to draw the attention of the Committee. When the rupee is as low as it is at present, the fall of a farthing in its value involves a much heavier charge than when it is higher. The fall in that case adds to the charge no less than Rx.346,154, whereas when the rupee was at 20*d.* the fall was only Rx.222,223. If, however, we turn from the position of the finances to the present credit of India, I know nothing which the House can consider more satisfactory. The Conversion of the Four per Cents has been virtually completed; but of £53,261,820 Four per Cent Stock, the amount outstanding on the 31st of March last was only £4,403,807, which will be discharged on the 5th of October. Early in the Session an Act was passed authorizing

the Secretary of State in Council to raise the money required for the purchase of the Oude and Rohilkund Railway; and, as soon as it became law, advantage was taken of the favourable state of the Money Market to invite tenders for Three per Cent Stock to the amount of £7,000,000, the instalments being spread over six months, as the money was not needed all at once. The Stock was subscribed at an average price of £96 9*s.* 7*d.* Part of the money has been used in discharging the Debentures, amounting to £1,885,000, which have already fallen due, and the remainder will be applied in the payment to the Railway Company on December 31 of £5,036,049, which is the value of their share capital under the contract. What may be the ultimate gain to the Revenue of India by this operation will depend somewhat on the price at which Stock may hereafter be raised in substitution for the remaining Debenture Stock; but on the basis of the price obtained for the recent Three per Cent Loan, it is estimated at £70,000 per annum. In India, the usual Public Works Loan for Rx.3,000,000 was raised at 4 per cent, at an average price of 99·79. The loan almost immediately rose to a premium. The Government of India thereupon made a beginning in the conversion of their Four-and-a-Half per Cent into a Four per Cent Rupee Debt. The amount of the various Rupee Four-and-a-Half per Cent Loans is Rx.23,250,000, and the greater part of it cannot be redeemed till 1893; but a loan of Rx.1,787,540, named the Transfer Loan of 1870, was redeemable on three months' notice at once. And, accordingly, an announcement was made on July 27, that this loan will be paid off on the 27th of October. Holders are, however, permitted either in India or in England to apply for a corresponding amount of Four per Cent Rupee Notes, and they will, in that case, receive in anticipation the amount of interest at 4½ per cent due to the 31st of October, and thereafter interest at 4 per cent. The saving of interest effected by this conversion will be Rx.8,937 a-year. With respect to the Civil Expenditure of India, some information is to be found on page 14 of my statement. It will be seen that the amount really chargeable as increase is only Rx.1,491,488 in 15 years, or Rx.100,000 a-year. Of course, every effort has been and will be made to keep down the Civil Expenditure; but I must warn the Committee that we cannot have improved administration in India unless we are prepared to pay for it. Good Government must to some extent be costly Government. It is idle on the one hand to say that the Government ought to do this, that, and the other for the people of India, and then to grumble at the expenditure entailed. It is an easy thing to get up in this House and denounce the Military, Naval or Civil Expenditure, but the only real, valuable financial criticism which can be applied to the consideration of the Accounts is where hon. Members will point to particular items of public expenditure which might be reduced, and show how with due regard to efficiency economy may be effected. I purposely name that without going further into it, because later on, and after the Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) has spoken, I may feel it necessary to trouble the Committee again. Therefore, in making this statement, it has been my desire to be as brief as possible.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it appears, by the Accounts laid before this House, that the Total Revenue of India for the year ending the 31st day of March 1887, was Rx.77,337,134; that the Total Expenditure in India and in England charged to Revenue was Rx.77,158,707; that there was a surplus of Revenue over Expenditure of Rx.178,427; and that the Capital Outlay on Railways and Irrigation Works was Rx.5,670,484, besides a Capital Charge of £4,914,546 involved in the Redemption of Liabilities."—(*Sir John Gorst.*)

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, the Committee must be gratified by the very clear statement which had been submitted to them by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India; but there were some points involved in the Financial Statements connected with matters of general policy in India upon which he thought it would be necessary to trouble the hon. Gentleman for further explanation, and with reference to what he (Mr. Bradlaugh) was about to lay before the Committee, he would like that it should not be regarded in any way as a Party speech. He had to submit to-night certain grievances of the Natives of India—grievances in intimate relation to many of the details of the very able Financial Statement just made by the Under

Secretary, and he would be ill fulfilling the task he had undertaken if he permitted the slightest prejudice to rise against the cause he advocated by its being treated as a Party matter. The Natives of India looked to the great Parties of the State to do them justice; they asked audience of the great Parliament of England, without reference to Party spirit on any side, and the allegations which it might be his duty to make were not intended as allegations against one Party more than another, but as allegations against a system which, if the forms of the House had permitted it, he should have gone into at length on that occasion. He thanked the Government and the Under Secretary for India for having given hon. Members the opportunity, which had not always been granted before, of a longer examination into the Statement submitted to the House with regard to Indian Accounts, which had enabled them much better to understand intricate points than otherwise they would have been able to do. He was sorry that the hon. Gentleman did not think it right to say that the great improvement to which he drew attention in respect of the Income of India was a matter which he regretted rather than a matter on which he felt pleased; because, if he (Mr. Bradlaugh) were right, one of the grievances which he should have to lay before the Committee that evening was, that the improvement had been solely arrived at by means of a tax the most onerous and pernicious upon the people of India, some of them almost, if not quite, in a starving condition, and that Salt Tax which formed so rose-coloured a feature in the Statement of the Under Secretary for India, formed in the view of the Natives of India a shocking illustration of harshness and oppression, which they thought might be remedied, and they asked Parliament to inquire whether this might not be done. The forms of the House would not permit him to ask any decision of the Committee on the proposal; the proposal, if it could have been made, would have been that Parliament should order, either by Address to Her Majesty, Royal Commission, or otherwise, as in its wisdom should seem fit, that an inquiry should take place into the present system of our administration of Indian affairs; that Natives should be upon that Commission, who might bring their special knowledge to bear in the inquiry, and that it should take evidence in India as well as here. The Natives of India thought they had some right to ask that at the hands of the English Parliament, for they said they were guided by what Parliament used to do in the older times, when it was sometimes jealous of the great Company which then controlled our Indian Possessions, and they pointed out that at the time—before Parliament would extend the powers of that great Company — it insisted on making inquiries, which now, for a period of over 30 years, had never been made at all. The Natives of India asked that Parliament should direct such inquiry, and he hoped early next Session to submit the proposal in a form on which the decision of the House might be had. The Natives of India were asking for it in Congresses which had assembled year after year for three years — Congresses of Natives, not gathered together in any spirit of disloyalty or opposition to our Imperial rule, but Congresses of Natives whose education had been carried out under our rule, and who were alive to the civilization which that education had forced upon them—and they said that by giving them the advantages of higher education, they had been given, at the same time, a keener sense of the grievances under which they were suffering; they thought that in many instances they were able to lessen some of these grievances; they wanted to do it by institutions in which they thought they were fitted to take part, and they hoped that Parliament, if a reasonable case could be made out, would not be slow, at any rate, so far as inquiry was concerned, to initiate such inquiry. He had seen in *The Times* of that morning a statement by one signing himself "A Native of India," objecting to those Congresses, that the language used at them was the language of disloyalty, and speaking of those connected with the movement as men opposed to our rule in India. That he begged leave to say in the strongest fashion was not true. He would quote as his first witness the son of a man whose name occupied an honourable position in the records of that House; he referred to Mr. Allan Hume, the son of Mr. Joseph Hume, who, speaking on the 3rd June

this year of the importance and objects of this Indian movement, told the English Parliament that by this movement the Natives were taught to recognize the many benefits which they owed to British rule, and also the hopes for the peace and prosperity of the country; they were taught that the hardships of which they complained were, after all, small in comparison with the blessings which they enjoyed, and that all those grievances might and would be redressed if they were to press their views and wishes unanimously and temperately on the Government at home and on the people of England. These Congresses had met, as he had said, for three years and made a statement of their grievances. There was no opportunity afforded by the Forms of the House to submit a statement on this subject before Mr. Speaker left the Chair, and there was much which, under the old system, he would have been entitled to say that he was now precluded from saying, except so far as it affected the financial position of India. But he thought it right, while admitting that undoubtedly there was that discontent which all the subjects of British rule must feel when they laboured under disadvantage and suffered from grievances which they thought could not be redressed, to say that there was no disloyalty. They wanted their grievances redressed by Constitutional means, and under the authority and with the sanction of that House. They only wanted — 200,000,000 of them — that they should have more opportunities than once a year, late in the Session, with Benches almost empty, of submitting their case which they wanted the Parliament and the people of England to understand. He quite admitted the force of all that had been observed by the Under Secretary of State for India with reference to his position in bringing the Financial Statement before the House at the time at which it was always presented. But he was not intending to imply anything which needed any kind of answer from the hon. Gentleman from that point of view, and he appealed to him with the greater certainty of having a favourable auditor, because he remembered that when an hon. and gallant Member behind the hon. Gentleman brought forward a question a little while ago with regard to certain officials and their grievances, the Under Secretary for India rose in his place and said it was his duty to defend the poor millions of India. He appealed to that advocate, believing that he would take up the same position to-night as he had taken on that occasion. Although, probably, the hon. Gentleman would answer him accurately enough, that the Forms of the House did not permit him to deal with this question, still he thought he would find it due to the Government of which he was a Member, and he hoped the hon. Gentleman himself would have already considered, and that the Government of India during the Recess would consider, how they would have met the Motion he had put on the Table of the House many weeks ago, and for which he had obtained the first place—how would they have met that Motion at the time, and how would they meet it when the time came for it to be made again? The Natives of India did not expect some sudden and hasty cure of their grievances, but they did expect, and he took leave to expect it for them, that some reasonable show of attention should be paid to their grievances, and that the House would not allow solid and substantial grounds of complaint to be passed without notice. They expected that they would be met half-way, and that we should not drive into a condition of disloyalty 200,000,000 of human beings who were now well affected, and who only came, as they had a right to come, to supplicate the High Court of Parliament for redress of grievances. Another witness, Mr. Soubramana Iyer, said that the rule of Great Britain had given India peace and security, and that the whole of that rule had been better in its result and direction than any former rule in India. That showed that the men who made such statements and the Natives who cheered them could, in no sense, be called men disaffected and disloyal. They were conquered by us, they accepted our civilization as inevitable; but they accepted it as bringing benefit with it, and they asked that, in cases where terrible grievances were associated with it, we should listen to the conquered, and that we should not drive them to the opinion that we had no sympathy with them. This gentleman said it was a matter of the deepest concern to the people of India that the matters of their own country should not be brought to

the notice of the Parliament and the people of England and become the subject of free and open inquiry conducted by the best English politicians. It might, however, be said—"Why should the Natives want inquiry? They have a splendid government in the Secretary of State in Council always watching over them." Yes; but even his small experience of the Secretary of State for India had shown him that, with every desire to rule well, he was sometimes deprived of the opportunity of doing so, because he was kept utterly ignorant of what was passing in India. Last year, for example, when he put a simple Question to the Under Secretary of State for India, it was his misfortune to be better informed than the hon. Gentleman himself; the succeeding answers which he gave completely differing from the answer he had given before. More recently, he had put Questions to the hon. Gentleman on the subject of Burmah. At first the hon. Gentleman knew nothing. Information had come by driblets, and one driblet had come that afternoon, which was essential in deciding whether Burmah was wisely and cheaply governed or not. He agreed that governments must be costly; but they need not be quite so costly, that they should pay for the hire of a flat for 12 months twice the sum it would have cost to build it, and in addition to paying demurrage, when they could get the delay for nothing. The answer of the hon. Gentleman conflicted a little with the hope he had expressed of an economical Administration. There was 60,000 rupees charged for hire and 33,000 rupees for demurrage. If that was a sample of the way in which the Indian Government sought cheapness, all he could say was that the bargain had turned out to be a bad one. He could only suggest that if information was to come by driblets spread over five months, with the best desire to do what was right, the Secretary of State for India had the best excuse in the world for doing what was wrong, for all the mischief was done before he got information. The Natives of India asked that there should be an abolition of the Secretary of State in Council for India and England. He should like the Secretary of State for India and the Under Secretary to cease to be Indian officials; he should like to have the pay of Indian officials upon the Votes of the House, and under the control of the House. At present they were almost powerless to deal with them. He should be the last to lessen the value of the prestige of the India Office; but why should the Secretary of State for India be in a different position from that of the Secretary of State for War, or that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies? Why should he not be under the control of Parliament, so that once a year they might be sure that they had got him, and that he would be sure to come down when Supplies were to be voted? Now, he came down when all the Supplies had been voted, and he knew that he was in no sense dependent on the House of Commons and that he might say what he pleased. The Native Indians asked that the Secretary of State in Council should be abolished, because they said the Indian Council had proved that they were inefficient. He would not trouble the House with the Report, which had been delivered to Members that morning, of the Committee sitting upstairs; but if Charles Dickens had been alive, and if he had wanted to write another article like "How not to do it with red tape," he appealed to the Under Secretary for India to say whether he could have found a better illustration of the utter uselessness of the Secretary of State in Council than was given by the Report of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Company Committee. It was complained, he thought justly, that the Indian Council in London made no effort to be acquainted with or to understand Native Indian opinion, and that the Members of the Council were not in sympathy with Native opinion. It might be asked why should they be? The reason was, that there were 200,000,000 of them. The Natives of India went further, and said that the Council in London even hindered inquiry into Native grievances. They pointed to the spread of education that had taken place amongst the population of India during the past 30 years; they pointed to the men who, at terrible inconvenience to themselves, had crossed the ocean to become acquainted with our manners, language, customs, and letters, who had taken degrees at our Universities, and had been admitted to our Bar, and they asked that these men might have some opportunity of utilizing the talents which they undoubtedly possessed and which we had helped them to develop. First,

they asked for some kind of representation upon the Executive Council of the Viceroy in India, and some better representation on the various Provincial Councils; and, further, that the number of Members should be increased, and that the selection of Natives should depend not on the whim of the person who, for the moment, might be Governor General in India or Lieutenant Governor General of one of the Provinces, but upon selection by some process among the Natives. And in making that demand they proposed a system of selection surrounded by all kinds of safeguards. They only asked for Members of their own to be upon those councils. We have already put some there, but we had only done so on a system of selection depending on the whim of the high official who had the duty of making selection. However wise a selection might be made, it would not carry with it the confidence that would have attached to it if the selection had been made by the Natives themselves. They did not ask that the whole of the Council should be elected; they only asked that one-half of it should be elected, and that those who had a strong view of the grievances which they wanted to get redressed should by these means have an opportunity of communicating them to this Parliament. They asked that the House should appoint a Standing Committee, Session by Session, composed of gentlemen to be charged with the duty of receiving such communications and reporting upon them to the House. Surely that was not asking too much for 200,000,000 of people. The Government of India was constantly occupying itself with the defence of their frontiers against invasion. The best defence must be found in the contentment of 200,000,000 of human beings in our rule and in their knowledge that the Parliament of England did not treat them as mere subjects, but as citizens, upon whom they might gradually put the duties of self-government. They asked that there might be even on the Council of the Viceroy some expression of Indian opinion. It was suggested that that had already been thought about by some of the Viceroys, and that the late Lord Mayo himself had contemplated the possibility of a legal Member of the Council being elected from among the high Native Judges. It might be asked what was the need for all this? He would endeavour briefly to give the reason why. These 200,000,000 of human beings were miserably poor, so miserably poor that, at the best, they were only just outside starvation. He would show the House what happened when they were not quite at their best. There were records delivered to hon. Members by the Government themselves, and they would recollect the handsome maps delivered to them last year by the Government of India, which told them about the food, crops, and races of people in India, and other things connected with the subject. There was one of those maps which told them of the famines which had occurred. What must be the condition of things, and how desirable it must be, if possible, to remedy it, when it was necessary for the Government to inform Parliament that famines were so frequent that famine maps were necessary for the country over which they were exercising their rule? What was the state of the people? The average income had been stated at something like £2 per head per annum. An hon. and gallant Member not now in his place, but who had shown an intention to take part in that debate, and had himself occupied a position in India, had stated on distinct information in an official Report that the bulk of the people in the Madras Presidency were paupers, and in another Report by a Government official of Madras it was stated that in the best season the gross income of the labourer and his family did not exceed 3*d.* per day. And when the Government showed an improvement in their income, of which they boasted in their Financial Statement, by means of increasing the Salt Tax, which pressed upon these people most heavily, then he repeated that there was a serious matter which required some kind of answer on the part of the Government and some kind of consideration on the part of the House. He might pile up illustration after illustration, but he would not weary the Committee; he would leave the illustrations he gave to speak for themselves, and if any hon. Member doubted his statement, or considered it an exaggeration, he reminded him that in those valuable Papers which were submitted to Parliament every year, on the moral, material,

and physical condition of India, he would find a statement of wage given, district by district, showing that what was said could be vouched entirely, and that the poverty of the people was almost indescribable. In that valuable treatise, issued by Trübner and Co., and written by Sir W. W. Hunter, they had the statement that there was always a huge number of the people on the verge of starvation. In 18 years, beginning with 1860, and coming down to this time, there had been 16 famines, in which no fewer than 12,021,000 of these unfortunate wretches had died of starvation. It might be asked whether that could be prevented? He thought it could be prevented. In the statement of the Under Secretary for India this evening he said that the Civil expenditure must not be exorbitant, because good government must be costly. But the Natives said—"You put square pegs into round holes; you put people in offices here who are unused to the climate and not always acquainted with the language, at a high rate of pay, while Natives would fill a dozen of those offices at the price you pay for one," and they said that if the money taken out of the country were expended in it, it would benefit the people and save them from that state of starvation. How did the Natives speak about the Salt Tax? He would refrain from reading more than one extract, because he did not want the Committee to think that he wished unduly to occupy their time. In a leading article of a Native paper, published at Allahabad, it was pointed out that an increase of 25 per cent in the wholesale price of salt would bring 50 per cent increase in the retail price, so that, if the yearly consumption were 8 lb., the average rate per head would be nine annas instead of six for a family. Let the Committee think what that meant with a gross income of 3*d.* a-day in the best time. It did not mean what it would mean in this country; but it was a very striking matter when looked at from the Indian point of view. It was pointed out that any man with a knowledge of India would know that millions of Indian people eked out their wretched existence with a scanty meal of three or four pice a-day, and an increase in the price of salt meant in their case that they should either do without salt or else four days' meals, so that the increase of the Salt Tax meant an increase in the famine rate, and although it might fill the Treasury of the Indian Government, it might also make real discontent and effective disloyalty and enduring mischief among those who saw their parents die of starvation, because the increase of the Salt Tax deprived them in this fashion of four meals. The writer he referred to said—

> "That it could not be understood how, knowing these simple facts, any man whose heart was not altogether dead to the sufferings of the poor could approve of this increase of the Salt Tax, by which the poorest of the poor would be deprived of their four days' meals."

It was suggested that they might employ the Natives of India usefully for the government of India in nearly all the departments of civil government. The Natives complained, and he thought justly, that all the highly-paid offices, which they could fill cheaply, were given to those who could not possibly live as they lived, and whose incomes, if distributed, would enable the people to live in plenty; and they complained that every day money was taken out of the country by those officials who could not stay there, which, if it were paid to the Natives, would be spent within the country, and they said that the English Government did that in direct breach of the promises made. They referred to the old Act, and to the Proclamation of Her Majesty, some years after the Government of India had been assumed by the Crown from the East India Company, and they reminded us that in that Proclamation Her Majesty was made to say that, "as far as may be" Her Majesty's subjects, of whatever creed and race, would be freely and impartially admitted to Offices in Her Majesty's Service for the duties of which they might be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity; and then these words of wisdom were put in, that "in their gratitude would be Her Majesty's reward, and in their contentment Her Majesty's strength." He might quote the present Ambassador of England at the French Court, who himself had occupied the highest official position in India. Lord Lytton, in a Minute, which he believed had come within the official knowledge of the Secretary of State for India, speaking of an Act of Parliament which preceded the Proclamation which practically re-

peated its promise, said the Act of Parliament was so indefinite as to the obligations on the part of the Government of India towards its Native subjects, that no sooner was the Act passed than the Government began to devise means for practically evading the fulfilment of it. Speaking of the right which every Native had when he entered Government employment to claim promotion to the highest posts in the Service, Lord Lytton said, that they all knew that those claims and expectations never could and never would be fulfilled, and that we had chosen the least honest course with regard to them. Why should the Government prohibit? The Native Indians had been utilized in many ways; their abilities had been utilized in Courts of Justice, and in circumstances of the greatest delicacy. The Indian Government were ready to boast, and were proud to boast, of the offers made to them by Indian Princes of their swords and means in aiding them to protect the Empire in India; but it would be better if they could boast, and their pride would be more becoming if they could boast, that they had knit together the huge mass of the people, and taught them by experience that their government was better than any other, and that this mass of people would resist any foreign encroachment, and would save them from the need of voting huge sums in imaginary and real panics in connection with Russia or any other country. They had no right to govern by the sword alone; especially when they boasted in that House of a higher aim than mere policy, and not only had they no right to rule by the sword alone, but they had no power to threaten, for the strongest Government would one day become feeble, the strongest arm would become paralyzed, and it was then that this people might turn against them because they had regarded themselves as a superior race and proved themselves unfitted to discharge their duty towards them.

Mr. J. M. MACLEAN (Oldham) said, he was sure that the Natives of India could not have had a more able and impassioned champion of their cause than the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had proved himself to be. The hon. Gentleman had taken that evening a long excursion into the area of Indian government, and like many other travellers he thought he had returned with his ideas only the more firmly established in his mind. He had asked the Committee to believe, with a view to benefiting the people of India, and for the purpose of improving the administration of the country and reducing expenditure, that it would be a wise thing for this Parliament to appoint a Commission of Inquiry—a wide, far-reaching Commission, which was to go out into India, and which was to be independent of the duration and the decease of the English Parliament, and which was to pursue its inquiries for a great number of years. What would be the effect of appointing a Commission of that sort? It would be to put the Government of India into Commission for an indefinite period, and to plunge the whole Government of India into a state of prolonged and incessant political agitation. The hon. Member for Northampton complained that when India was governed by the East India Company, it was the custom to appoint Committees from time to time to inquire into the working of the Indian Administration; he believed that for 20 years at intervals such inquiries had been conducted by Committees of that House, and he said that that beneficial practice had been discontinued since the Government of India had been taken over by the Crown. But the reason why such Committees were appointed at that time was because the Government of India was entirely independent of the British Parliament. The East India Company was not under the control of that House, and, therefore, it was natural that the people of England, who had delegated part of their authority to the East India Company, should have wished to make inquiry and find out how the Company was administering their powers in India; but the Government of India, since it had been taken over by the Crown, was subject to the House of Commons. He had seen it contended in the debates of that House that the Government of India was in the position of an independent Legislature, and that the House of Commons had no right to interfere with certain actions of the Government of India in the administration of the country. Now, he did not recognize that to be a true description of the Government of India, although he was aware it was used in a certain debate in that House with reference to a de-

mand to inquire into some particular phase of Indian administration. But, practically speaking, the Government of India was only a Department of the State, like others which were controlled by the House of Commons, and they knew nothing, however small or great, which could be represented as a grievance of the people of India that was not immediately brought under the notice of the House of Commons. He would take the example which the hon. Member for Northampton had given the Committee from his own experience of such matters. The hon. Member told them that the Government of India had tried to make a lease of certain ruby mines to a Company, and that the unfortunate Secretary of State for India had fallen into a state of panic week after week, entreating the Government of India not to grant the lease at all. Could the Committee have a better illustration of the manner in which the hon. Member overawed the Secretary of State and the Government of India? But now the hon. Member told them that there was one patent remedy for all the grievances under which India suffered. The hon. Member was not satisfied with the authority which the House of Commons now possessed; but he said that we must have practically representative government in India. But representative government had always seemed to him (Mr. Maclean) to be a system of government of purely Western growth, and it was confined even now to very few nations. It might be suggested without exaggeration that the only countries in which it worked successfully were those countries in which English-speaking people had a distinct and decided predominance. ["No, no!"] If that proposition was disputed, he might take a definition given by gentlemen who had sent an account of the views expressed at the Congresses in India; by their own confession they spoke of transferring to that country the Constitutional idea which had hitherto been peculiar to England. Did anyone believe that a system of government of that kind could ever be worked in India? They were told that this demand had been put forward by 200,000,000 of people at National Congresses representing the whole of the people of India. Now, that was the first time that he had ever heard that there was a people of India; there were a great number of races, and a great number of distinct nations, but to say that there was an Indian people was to anticipate by at least 1,000 years a general cohesion of the inhabitants of that country, and when the hon. Gentleman talked of grievances which they felt under the English administration, he surely did not mean to contrast their condition at the present time with what it was in any former period of their history. The history of India went back 1,000 years.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he had expressly quoted from speeches which admitted that our government had been better in many respects than any other government of their own. But that was no argument against the redressing of grievances which did exist.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN said, he was aware that that statement was put forward by the speakers at the National Congress; but he wanted to point out that at no period in the history of India for 1,000 years had the people ever enjoyed anything in the nature of representative institutions. Since we went to India we had not taken away any liberties that the people possessed at the time we went there, although we were a foreign Governing Power there. We had found India in a state of almost desolation; during the decay of the Empire of the Moguls, it was then being ravaged by hordes of banditti, who carried on this work from one end of the country to the other; all along the sea coast different European nations were vieing as to who should obtain the greatest booty out of the country. England at last attained ascendancy, and secured lasting peace to the inhabitants of that great country. Now, that was a very great benefit to the people of India, who, during the whole period of their history, had never had any other than despotic government. It was quite true that our government was despotic also, and it was absolutely necessary in his opinion that it should be so. He had been reading lately an interesting essay by a brilliant writer upon the question whether England was likely to hold India, and the writer came to the conclusion that we might succeed in maintaining our hold upon the country for the next 25 years. But if the idea of the National Congress and of the hon. Member for Northampton were carried

out, he was perfectly convinced that our term of occupation might be shortened to five years instead of 25, and he did not think, if power were placed in the hands of men who were the chief speakers at the National Congress, that we could possibly retain our hold in that country. The hon. Member for Northampton had laid great stress on the expressions of loyalty which had been made at the Congresses; but the important thing to observe was, not what was said by the delegates, but what were the subjects they really discussed and the aims they put forward. The hon. Member had dwelt at some length upon the claims of those delegates, and he pointed out that they represented 200,000,000 of people.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, his statement was that there were 200,000,000 of people, and that there had been three National Congresses; but he did not pretend that there had been any system of election amongst the masses which would entitle those Congresses to speak with authority.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN said, their own friends claimed to represent only 1-10th of the population of India at the outside; he doubted whether they represented 1-20th of the people. He thought they represented simply the educated classes in the Bengal Presidency and the Mahrattas in the Western Presidency of Madras. They had had a letter from Bombay saying that the Mahommedans had refused to send a delegate to the Congress, because they disagreed with the views there put forward, and therefore they had an important race, numbering 60,000,000, who did not look with any favour whatever upon the so-called National Congress. What were the aims put forward? The one great idea put forward by the speakers at the so-called National Congress, and which they hoped to impress upon the British Legislature, was that, if Natives were placed in a position of authority, the cost of governing India would be very much reduced. Undoubtedly it would have that effect, because we should not have the privilege of governing India any longer. The hon. Gentleman had referred to the promise made to the Natives of India when the government of that country was taken over to the Crown. It was quite right of the hon. Member to read the significant clause—"So far as may be." What was the meaning of that phrase? It was explained in 1860 by a Departmental Committee of the India Office, which suggested that the Natives of India should be employed in the administration of its affairs to as large an extent as possible consistent with the maintenance of British ascendancy. There was no doubt that, at the time, the Natives of India were largely excluded from administrative positions; but year by year they had been admitted more and more to positions of influence, and they would be necessarily admitted more and more as time went on. But they could never get rid of this necessity of our position in India, that there must be a distinctly English element in the administration of the chief posts in the country. The great aim of the Congress was that Natives should be admitted to equality with Englishmen for all positions in the Administration. Now, that could never be so long as we held India. It was inconsistent with the very idea of an Indian Empire. What were the proposals which the Congress made? He noticed that very little was said about economy and developing the resources of India and improving its material prosperity; they thought comparatively little of these matters; but they dwelt entirely upon political questions relating to their advancement to coveted posts now held by Englishmen; they accepted without question all the extravagant ideas of that extremely ingenious statistician Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who availed himself of the slightest opportunity put in his power of setting the people of India against English influence and against English domination. He would give an interesting illustration of the way in which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji pressed figures into his service, to show what calamities the English Government brought upon the people of India. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji gave a list of 16 famines which had occurred in India in 18 years between 1860 and 1878, and which had resulted in the death of 12,000,000 of people. If that gentleman had been fair and well-disposed towards the English Administration, he would have pointed out that these were the only famines which had occurred through the last half-century, and that not one had occurred during the last 10

years. This gentleman took a period of years in which their was a cycle of famines in India, and he gave them as an illustration of the regular course of British government in India. He (Mr. Maclean) said that nothing could be more unfair than that, and he went on to say that this was the real feeling of the national orators at the Congress that—

"The late monsoon of the present year and the meteorological and cyclical conditions of Indian weather indicate that we are on the eve of a new era of defective rainfall and probably famine."

He was happy to say that that sinister prophecy had not been fulfilled, because the accounts of the rainfall this year in India had been most satisfactory. That was the way in which the government of India was criticized by these national orators. There was another matter to which he might refer—namely, the question on which Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had raised a discussion for many years, on the subject of the drain of wealth from India in consequence of foreign government there. Well, the figures he put in did constitute a very telling argument against the maintenance of that government, because he (Mr. Maclean) saw that morning that in order to make out the case against the English Government, he said that the English people carried away nearly the whole of the produce in indigo, jute, silk, &c., from the country; he reckoned the value of the property exported as if it belonged to the English planters, and was so much money in their pockets. But the very utmost they could obtain was a small percentage of this produce; he then said that the remittances of private people amounted to £12,000,000 more, which was reckoning the profits of Englishmen twice over. No doubt there were considerable remittances every year to England of money earned in India through British enterprize. That was well earned; it was the fruit of English capital or of English labour, and they ought not surely to grudge the English, who went out to India and set the Natives an example by starting new enterprizes and carrying them out, the small profit which they obtained by such enterprizes. Those were fair examples of the mode in which speakers at the National Congress dwelt upon the present state of India, and the way in which they were found discussing the poverty of the people, which had endured for ages, and was certainly less at the present time than at any previous period. They altogether ignored the fact that there was a better style of living and more widely diffused comfort among the population than there had ever been before, and yet these people spoke as if the so-called poverty of India was the result of British rule. Then they aimed at obtaining for themselves the highest posts in India, and they pointed to the administration of Native States by Native statesmen, and showed what would be the advantage to British India if it were governed in the same way. The hon. Member for Northampton actually had the audacity to quote the Report of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Company Committee in support of the statements he had made that evening, saying that it was a great mistake that the representations of the people should be interfered with by the Secretary of State for India. He (Mr. Maclean) took it that the Report was directly the reverse of that, because they said at the end that the direct contact between Natives of India and promoters in London should be prevented by every means; so that the effect of that Report was to lay down the rule that English control should be made more effectual than had unhappily been the case in the past. Then they had another instance of the grievances of India, which he saw had raised the greatest enthusiasm at the National Congress, and that was the so-called disarmament of the people, and the desire of the Natives that they should be allowed to volunteer and offer themselves as a cheap defence in India against foreign invasion. He was afraid that if they trusted to a cheap defence of that sort against Russian invasion they would see an illustration of the old story of the eagle fluttering the dovecote; because he did not think that any man who knew anything about the people of India would say that they would themselves constitute a sufficient defence against foreign invasion. He believed the majority of the people were well-affected towards British rule—that was to say, that they were contented with their position; they were lightly taxed, and every man had perfect freedom for himself and his property. Those were advantages which they had never en-

joyed under Native government, and he was sure they were appreciated; but to say that we could reckon upon them for active loyalty in the case of invasion by an European Power would be to say that which no statesman would assent to. [Mr. BRADLAUGH: You brought them over to Europe at a high price.] No doubt, we brought over some of the highly disciplined troops to fight for us if necessary. Whether that was a wise proceeding he did not know; but the Indian Sepoy under English officers had done many gallant deeds and done good service in building up the British Empire. That, however, was not what the delegates wanted. They wanted the people of India to be put under arms and to be perfectly independent of British control. The Natives were very well disposed towards our government; but no one would think that, if the English Army were to suffer a single defeat on the frontiers of India, we could rely on the Native Princes or on the people of India for 24 hours. Therefore, he said that all these demands put forward were for making India a nation, and that what they desired was not the extension and maintenance of our authority in India. He would like to say a few words on the subject of the Financial Accounts of the year, and to ask the Under Secretary of State for India, in his reply, to give the Committee some information as to when he expected that the Special Defence Works would be completed. There was no doubt that the general condition of Indian Finance was, on the whole, much more satisfactory than many critics were ready to admit. The Revenue had shown very considerable elasticity. During the last 20 years, they had had to deal in India with a very serious expenditure on the Afghan Wars, which had cost something like £20,000,000. They had had to deal with two famines, and the necessary increase of the British and Native Army, caused by the acquisition of a frontier which a foreign enemy could now attack, and they had also to go to a great expense in fortifying the North-Western Frontier, besides which a considerable sum of money had been expended on the fortification of strategical points around the coasts of India, points which it was very desirable should be fortified, and which would be of great service to the Empire. He thought they might congratulate themselves that, while the Chancellor of the Exchequer was obliged to proceed with the fortification of our coaling stations throughout the world, by anticipating the revenue from the Suez Canal Shares for more than seven years, the Indian Government had sufficient funds at its disposal to pay for the works he had referred to out of the current Revenue. But he thought it would be more satisfactory if they could learn from the Under Secretary of State for India when those works would be completed, and when the finances of India would be relieved from this very serious strain. Another great cause of leakage in Indian finances was the extraordinary expenditure in Burmah year after year. The Under Secretary of State confessed that all the expectations formed a few years ago, when the conquest of Burmah was first undertaken, had been disappointed, and he now indicated that, perhaps, in the 10th year of our occupation, we should have a slight balance of revenue over expenditure. He (Mr. Maclean) would like to have a little more light thrown upon that subject, and to know how far the great expenditure was attributable to errors of policy. Of course they had a right to expect that the results would have been better now than they had hitherto been, and if it had not been for the hurly-burly of Irish politics, they might have been able to inquire more fully into this matter from time to time; but certainly the statement of the Under Secretary of State for India on that head was by no means satisfactory. Then the other great cause of excess of Expenditure over Revenue was the depreciation of the rupee, for which there appeared to be no remedy, and to which apparently there was not likely to be a speedy termination. He believed that several experts had given evidence before the Currency Commission, to the effect that, when silver dropped to 42*s.* per oz., a number of silver mines would be shut up, and we should then reach the last stage to which the price of silver would fall. Silver had reached that price, and there appeared to be no prospect of its rising again. One could not help being struck by the figures given by the Under Secretary of State for India showing how steadily the imports of India were increasing in proportion to the exports.

The trade in most directions was developing very largely; but India got back more in proportion for her exports than she did in former years. He thought that was a proof of the prosperity of the country, and it would be accepted as such by the people of India, and their considerable gain would enable them more easily to bear the necessary taxation. These were the main features in the Financial Statement of the Under Secretary of State for India which appeared to him to call for remark. He did not think that, in considering the accounts of a great Empire like India, they could hope to do any good by paltry criticism of expenditure here and there and pettifogging cavilling about the salaries of clerks. They had to look to the great heads of expenditure, and he pointed out why that expenditure was now increasing. They had always a heavy burden on the finances of India, because of the very great amount paid for Non-Effective Charges. That amount was something appalling. He supposed that under those various heads there were no less than £6,000,000 sterling for Non-Effective Charges. In answer to some criticisms on the extravagance of Indian Government, he might point out that the Non-Effective Charges were really due to the extreme generosity of that House in listening to the grievances of Indian officers, represented as being due to the alterations in the Indian Army. He hoped that would be a lesson to the House of Commons not to be quite so ready in taking up grievances which it did not thoroughly understand. There was only one other matter to which he would refer for a moment, and that was to the observations of the hon. Member for Northampton, that we might effect a very great economy by doing away with the Secretary of State in Council at Westminster. The hon. Member said that the Secretary of State for India and the Under Secretary of State were not responsible to Parliament. He (Mr. Maclean) thought that was carrying a technical objection a little too far; because, although the salaries might be paid by the Indian Government, they were very well aware that a Resolution of the House of Commons censuring them for their policy might, at any time, turn both those officials out of Office. Therefore, he thought that the control of the House of Commons in that respect was tolerably complete. Then with regard to the Indian Council. Mr. John Stuart Mill described the Secretary of State for India in Council as the most wonderful instrument of human legislative skill which had ever been devised. No doubt, the opinion of that philosopher was biased by his father's connection with India at the time he made that statement. While he agreed to some extent with those who doubted the perfect wisdom of that wonderful form of government for India, he would not go so far as to say that the India Council should be abolished altogether; but he certainly thought that the present term of holding the appointment was much too long, and that if it were shortened to five years, it would be a very great benefit to the country. Nothing was clearer, from the Report of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Company Committee, than that the India Council, taking it as a body at Westminster, was deplorably and childishly ignorant of all Indian affairs, and that reform in that direction was, no doubt, urgently required. If the period was shortened to five years, there would be a continuous stream of fresh blood passing through the India Office, resulting in consequent benefit to the country; and if the number of Members were considerably cut down, there would still be sufficient prizes of the kind left within the reach of the Members of the Indian Civil Service.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) said, that Mr. Justice Cunningham, one of the ablest of the Calcutta Judges, commenced a recently published article on the finances of India with these words—

> "The administration of the Indian finances is a topic in which Englishmen naturally and rightly feel a deep concern."

He (Sir Roper Lethbridge) ought, in fairness, to mention that Mr. Justice Cunningham was not only a distinguished Judge, but also a distinguished writer of fiction; and some people, when they observed the empty state of the Benches to-night, and when they reflected on the fact that Her Majesty's Government had postponed this great Indian debate, not only to an evening in August which was virtually a penultimate night of the Session, but also to the second Order in that evening, some people might think that Mr. Justice Cunningham, in talking of the

interests of Englishmen in Indian affairs, was writing fiction rather than fact. And in this connection he (Sir Roper Lethbridge) felt bound to say that he himself thought—and he believed a good many others on that (the Ministerial) side of the House did—they also owed some amends to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). From many platforms in times gone by he (Sir Roper Lethbridge) had called attention to the fact that Lord Beaconsfield was the only one of recent English statesmen who ventured to bring on the discussion of the Indian Budget early in the Session, and that it had been the habit of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian invariably to postpone the discussion to the fag end of the Session. Well, the ingenious Gentleman who represented the India Office in this House had given them certain reasons to-night why it was almost inevitable in the present Session that the debate should be postponed so long. But he did feel, in the circumstances in which they had discussed this question to-night, that his hon. Friends in the present Government really had out-Heroded Herod; and he (Sir Roper Lethbridge) desired most emphatically to state his own humble opinion that those right hon. Gentlemen on one side of the House and on the other, had, in this matter, entirely miscalculated the wishes of the British public. He ventured to think that Mr. Justice Cunningham was right, and that the British public did feel a real interest in these questions, and would wish that they should be discussed when they could be fairly and intelligibly gone into. Therefore, he ventured to express a most earnest hope, notwithstanding the very clever reasons which had been given to the Committee to-night by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst), that next Session would see the hon. Gentleman's Budget introduced at a much earlier period, at any rate, than the present. Hon. Members who would have the courage—he might say the audacity—to address the Committee to-night, would all of them feel that they were speaking, as it were, with a pistol at their heads. In discussing the grievances and the aspirations of 200,000,000 of their fellow subjects, they would all of them feel a sort of uncomfortable sensation that they were keeping some of their fellow-Members from enjoying their well-earned holidays. Therefore, in the few remarks that he would venture to address to the Committee, he should confine himself entirely to one point only, and that was, to the demand for an inquiry into the affairs of India to be conducted, not only here in England, but also in India—that demand which had been expressed in such eloquent language to-night by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). He (Sir Roper Lethbridge) thought it necessary at once to say that he did not follow the hon. Member for Northampton in all that he had submitted to the Committee to-night. He thought, from the knowledge he had of the economic conditions of India, that the hon. Member's objections to the Salt Tax, for instance—to the recent infinitesimal addition which had been made to that tax—were not well-founded. He thought, also, that the hon. Member's idea of the great poverty of the large mass of the people of India was exaggerated—or, at any rate, exaggerated so far as his comparison of the relative poverty of the people of England and the people of India was concerned. But still, with all these deductions, it was a most remarkable and undeniable fact that every class in India, and every community which was in any way connected with India and Indian affairs, did, at the present moment, in a more or less earnest form, declare that some inquiry into Indian affairs and Indian administration was really urgently demanded. The Natives of India, with one voice, asked for an inquiry; the non-official English people, with one voice, asked for inquiry; the officials, too, suggested that in our management of the affairs of India there was a good deal that required looking into, and they felt that in their own administration of India out there they were struggling under difficulties to do their duty, as he believed they were doing their duty well towards the country, but they said the obstruction was the India Office and the hon. Gentleman's Council here at home. They expatiated on the enormity of those home charges which had been so aptly put before the House this evening by the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. J. M. Maclean). They knew that on all

questions where the interests of India clashed with the interests of England, on such points as the cost of soldiers to the Indian Exchequer, as the provision of stores, and as the protection of Native States and Native Potentates against London speculators, and similar questions, the interests of India were neglected in favour of the interests of England. Then, again, the whole of the Uncovenanted servants of India asked for inquiry. They declared that they were ignored by the Government of India, and that, although numerically superior to the Covenanted Service of India, they were unrepresented both in the Council of the Viceroy at Simla and in the Council of the Secretary of State here at home. The efficiency of the India Office had been spoken of by the hon. Member for Oldham in not very warm terms, and another hon. Member of this House had recently said that it was a sort of hospital for aged incurables. Even the India Office was inclined to look with a certain amount of favour at proposals to check the extravagances of the Simla people; and on all sides there was a certain amount of demand for inquiry; and what he wished to submit to the Committee to-night was that the present time and the present year afforded a particularly favourable season in every respect for this inquiry—favourable especially from the point of view of those timid persons like the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India, who saw revolution in every inquiry of this kind. Just let them consider the present state of India and of Indian affairs. They had there a Viceroy who was by universal consent a statesman of quite exceptional reputation and ability, one who had, too, the invaluable advantage of being trusted alike by both Parties in the State. They had a Commander-in-Chief there who was the idol of the British Army and of the Indian Army—a Commander-in-Chief who was not only a Victoria Cross man, who had made the most famous march of modern times, but who was also a great administrator and a great strategist. Here, at home, they had a Secretary of State who possessed vast experience of public affairs, and was surrounded in the House of Lords by a wonderful gathering of Indian talent; and if his hon. Friend below him (Sir John Gorst) would forgive him for referring to him in his presence, they had in the House of Commons at the present moment a Gentleman representing Indian affairs who by universal consent was especially gifted in the art of tempering the wind of hostile criticism to the shorn lambs of the India Office. The House knew well enough that whenever any special request for an inquiry was presented to his hon. Friend he was always prepared immediately to prove three things. He first of all proved that the India Office was most anxious for the inquiry; he, secondly, proved that it was absolutely idiotic and impossible to think of such an inquiry; and, in the third place, he proved that the inquiry had been held over and over again. Well, in these circumstances, he (Sir Roper Lethbridge) certainly thought the most timid person must admit that an inquiry of the kind asked for by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton might be granted without the possibility of its doing harm to any person whatever. Then there was an additional advantage they had at the same time with regard to the possible *personnel* of a Commission such as that suggested. He would point out that at the present moment the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), though a Member of the House, was not burdened with any of the cares of Government. Many on that (the Ministerial) side of the House wished that he were so burdened with the cares of Government, but he was not, and he (Sir Roper Lethbridge) asserted, without hesitation, that all classes in India, Native as well as European, and officials as well as non-officials, would regard the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington as an ideal head of such a Commission as that which had been suggested. In India itself it was universally admitted just now there were a remarkable number of distinguished Indian statesmen who could admirably act with such an Englishman as the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. There were such men as, in Bengal, the Maharajah of Darbhanga, and the Raja Peary Mohun Mookerji, who would, he was sure, be glad to serve with the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington. In Madras there was Sir Madava Rao, in Mysore the Dewan, in Native States the Prime Minister of Hyderabad—not

to mention many Feudatory Princes of proved ability who might possibly at the present moment be very willing to serve on such a Commission as that suggested. He ventured to think that recent events called trumpet-tongued for some such inquiry as that now asked for. Could anyone read the accounts which appeared in this morning's papers of the Report of the Select Committee into the Hyderabad (Deccan) Mining Company, which had been already referred to in debate to-night, without feeling that we, as a nation, were really grievously neglecting and ignoring our duties to the Princes and peoples of India. On the bare possibility of such a question being asked in this House tending in the same direction as that which was put this evening by the hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), he would ask the Committee to be good enough to remember that in citing these matters he was not speaking of things that he regarded as proved, or even as likely to be capable of proof, but he was asking simply that they should be examined; and let him tell the Committee that in every mail from India every week, every newspaper that was brought home contained charges against our officials in India which, rightly or wrongly, asserted the existence of a state of things hardly less discreditable than those which had recently been brought to light. It used to be said that these outcries were only raised by that portion of the Indian Press which was disloyal and disaffected to the British Crown—especially the Vernacular Press. But at this moment it was well known to any hon. Member who followed the Press of India at all, that the very ultra-official Press, such as *The Pioneer* at Allahabad, which was the organ of the official classes in India, had joined in this outcry and was foremost in denouncing abuses which were alleged in the administration of India. At this period of the evening he would not enter into details, but he would refer to one or two cases by name. There was the case, for instance, of the infant Gond Raja of Nagpur, a Petition from whose Representatives, addressed to the Secretary of State for India, was in the hands of hon. Members. He (Sir Roper Lethbridge) had studied this question, and it was his intention on some future opportunity to submit the case to the House. This evening he would not detain the Committee by referring to it further. There was even a worse case than that alleged, and he said "alleged" because he would remind the Committee that he was only relying upon *ex parte* statements, and as he had said just now, was only asking for an inquiry. There was a worse case in the case of the infant Raja of Mohrbhanj, in Orissa. It was stated most definitely that in that State the family of the Raja had been entirely set aside and superseded in favour of an European *protégé* of the Commissioner of a neighbouring district. Well, he (Sir Roper Lethbridge) believed, as one with some knowledge of India, that many of these cases, possibly the vast majority of them, were absolutely unfounded, and that probably in all of them the facts were very considerably exaggerated; but surely that very fact was a reason why the demand of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton for an inquiry into these cases should be granted. Why should the India Office not grant such an inquiry? He would appeal to Her Majesty's Government to remember what under very similar circumstances had been stated by hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite. He asked, for instance, that the case of Sir Lepel Griffin might be fairly compared with the case of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite. He had the pleasure of being personally acquainted with Sir Lepel Griffin, and he could say that, to the best of his knowledge, this gentleman was one of the ablest and most honest of all our political officers in India, and yet he had been continuously, and still was persistently, libelled by a large section of the Press of India. That officer was——

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Member that we are in Committee on the Financial Accounts of India. The speech of the hon. Member for Northampton, no doubt, went over very considerable ground, but it was all connected with the economical side of the administration of India. Any inquiry into the general condition of India not connected with the economical side of the question, is foreign to the matter under discussion.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE said, that, of course, he would immediately bow to the decision of the Chairman. He

would only venture, most respectfully, to submit this to the consideration of the Chair, that the course he was pursuing in his speech, so far as he had now gone, was to deal with the conduct of the political department of India, and the consideration of the question of how far the salaries contained in the accounts of this Department were earned—the salaries contained in the accounts now presented to the Committee. But, under the ruling of the Chairman, he would leave that point, merely noting, as he did so, this—that he ventured to submit that, in his opinion, it was utterly wrong and improper to ask honourable officers of the British Government quietly to sit down under such libels as those which had been published against Sir Lepel Griffin. In the case of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite he had stated the same thing of them, that they ought not quietly to accept libels; and he therefore said it still more strongly when the libels were directed against an officer who represented the majesty of the British Government in India. He must say a word or two, before he sat down, on the very increasing volume of complaints, not only of the expense, but also of many of the methods of our internal administration of India. These complaints were ever increasing, and they must, in his opinion, be ever increasing until Parliament granted the inquiry which was asked for, because, in former years, before the administration of India passed from the East India Company to the Crown, such inquiries as this were periodically granted. But now, he must say, the tendency of the bureaucratic spirit of India was rather to burke such inquiries than encourage them. The sham Report, as he ventured to call it, of the Public Service Commission had been followed by an equally sham Report from the Finance Committee. These, he maintained, were the results of Departmental or purely official inquiries. He should like hon. Members in this House to read the pamphlet lately issued on this point by Sir Richard Garth, the Chief Justice of Bengal. He should like hon. Members to see what the Chief Justice of Bengal thought of these bogus inquiries. He should like hon. Members to read what this experienced official said about the secrecy with which the financial accounts of the Government of India were now passed every year in Calcutta without being submitted to debate or discussion in the Legislative Capital as in former times. When Sir Richard Garth dealt with the expenditure of the Judicial Department, of which he was the head—which he (Sir Roper Lethbridge) was sorry to say Sir Richard Garth was not allowed to reform—he there reflected on the manner in which judicial duties were now inextricably associated with the Executive duties—that the policeman who traced the alleged criminal and hunted up the evidence against him was one and the same man with the magistrate who weighed the evidence and with the Judge who convicted upon that evidence—the system was clearly one which could not result in justice being done to accused persons. Another point that Sir Richard Garth dwelt upon in his capacity as head of the Judicial Department was our stamp fee system as it existed in Bengal. At the present moment that system actually required stamps to be used which amounted to 50 per cent more than the total cost of all the Civil Courts in that Presidency. Now, this was prohibitive of justice in many cases. It was excused by Ministers on the ground that litigation should be controlled; but it really acted beyond that and absolutely denied justice to the people. And what interested him (Sir Roper Lethbridge) himself he confessed in Sir Richard Garth's pamphlet was the confirmation he gave to the plea to which they had listened to-night in the speech of the hon. Member for Northampton—the plea for extended representation and for an extended popular element in the Legislative Councils of India. The hon. Member for Oldham, in replying to this, told them that the English *régime* in India had not taken away one of the liberties of the people of India. He (Sir Roper Lethbridge) was proud of that fact, and every Englishman must be proud of it; but he said that the time had come when they might feel that they might safely not only secure to the people of India such liberty as they had formerly possessed under Hindoo and Mahommedan rule, but add some of the liberties we ourselves possessed. Of course, if that were done it should be done with great discretion and with all safeguards. He (Sir Roper Lethbridge) did not pin his faith

to National Congresses, of which the hon. Member opposite had spoken, nor to any of the schemes referred to in this pamphlet, and he did not pin his faith to any scheme of electoral colleges such as were criticized by the hon. Member for Oldham; but he did say this, let them attempt — for the time was ripe and the Natives of India were prepared for it—let them attempt to extend to India some of the representative institutions on which we pride ourselves. He would like, for instance, to see the introduction in the Legislative Councils of the right of interpellation which was always one of the most valuable safeguards of liberty. And he could not conclude without noting in one or two words the hideous cynicism of our fiscal system in India. We forced India to sacrifice immense sums of revenue and to admit our cotton goods free of import duties, because, forsooth, of the immutable verities of Free Trade, and then we put heavy duties on every pound of tea that comes into this country from India, we tax Indian tobacco up to the hilt, and we laid upon the Indian silver industry such restrictive duties and regulations that that industry was in a fair way to be altogether destroyed. Then he objected to another part of the financial system—namely, the Excise Revenue of India. He would not enter into the merits of that question in detail, because it had already been discussed in this House. Our method of raising that revenue was objected to not only by every Native of India, but also by a large majority of the tea planters of the Darjiling district and other districts in Bengal. They saw it at work in the armies of coolies employed on these tea estates, and no wonder a conflict of opinion existed amongst the best authorities in the absence of that inquiry for which he was asking that night. The hon. Baronet the Member for the Evesham Division of Worcester (Sir Richard Temple) and the hon. Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs (Sir George Campbell), both of whom had held the Office of Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, had, he was glad to say, publicly denounced the out-still system as "tending to increase the revenues of India at the cost of the great increase of drink." These were the words of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs, and he (Sir Roper Lethbridge) knew that these words accurately represented the opinions both of that hon. Member and of the hon. Baronet the Member for the Evesham Division. But the leading newspaper of India——namely, *The Calcutta Englishman*, commenting on these words on April the 10th last, said—

> "Lieutenant Governors have evidently short memories. . . . . Nothing could be more misleading, as Sir George Campbell was originally responsible for it, and Sir Richard Temple professed to be pledged to carry out the views of his predecessor, whilst Sir Ashley Eden first put a check upon the increased number of out-stills."

There was a discrepancy here which he was sure they could only clear up by inquiry—there was a discrepancy such as the inquiry for which he asked would clear up beyond all possibility of doubt; and therefore he did appeal to these hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House to join with the hon. Member for Northampton in the demand he (Sir Roper Lethbridge) had been supporting. And he hoped his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for India would not treat this demand, as he had sometimes treated similar demands as this, as if it were meant in a spirit of hostility to his *protégés* at the India Office. He could assure the hon. Member that those who made the demand respected his official Colleagues, and were as keenly sensitive as he was of any aspersions on the character of the British Administration in India, and it was because they were so keenly sensitive in this matter that they appealed to him and to Her Majesty's Government to reconsider their decision, and to grant an inquiry.

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.) said, it seemed to him that there were three distinguishing marks in our Indian debates. First of all, they were conducted in a very thin House. When he looked round he saw that they had present about one Member for every 10,000,000 of inhabitants in India. Then it was also to be noted that there was a general concensus of opinion that economy was most desirable, and everyone on both sides of the House appeared determined to enforce economy wherever it was possible; and then came the last point, most singular of all, that nothing came of these expressions of opinion but long and protracted debates. On the present occasion he hoped to bring to a practical issue, at all events,

the desire of hon. Members for economy, and before he sat down he should submit to the Chairman the Resolution to be discussed by the Committee. He was rather surprised to hear from the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. J. M. Maclean) that absolutely he anticipated what would be the results of any large admixture of our Native fellow-subjects with ourselves in the administration of India. A great call was made upon them by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) to accede to the natural desire and aspirations of the Natives of India, and to put them in the same position as ourselves, associating them with us in the work of administration. Now, he (Sir William Plowden) had had a long spell of administrative work in India, and one matter had always forced itself upon his attention, and that was the great capacity of the Native Hindoos for native work. He was quite certain that hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House who had taken any part in the administration of India would bear him out in that conclusion, and he especially addressed himself to the hon. Baronet the Member for the Evesham Division of Worcester (Sir Richard Temple), whom he saw was going to speak. He hoped that the hon. Baronet would agree with him that the Natives, so far as he had seen them associated with Europeans, had shown themselves most capable and efficient, and, starting from that fact, he should like to observe what had been the opinion with regard to the association of these men with him in the administration of India. It was more than half a century ago that by Act of Parliament and by declaration of the then responsible heads of the Government, every possible bar to the appointment of Natives to assist in the administration of the country was removed, but though that bar was removed the Natives had not been associated with us hitherto in the higher appointments they might have aspired to. He had seen in India men he should have been pleased to serve under, even though they occupied the highest positions in the official Departments. He would mention only one—namely, Sir Dinkur Ras, who was a most thoroughly capable man. This person had been an able administrator of the Province of Baris, but the Maharajah was firm, and he performed the work, not only of an efficient administrator, but of a most royal administrator, because it was through his action that Gwalior took up the position it did. That was at the time of the Indian Mutiny. It must be obvious to those who hold office in India that at such a serious time as that of the Mutiny this country had to depend a great deal on the assistance of Native fellow-workers. The hon. Member for Northampton had referred to a gentleman who had occupied such office as we allowed Natives to take in one of the Northern Provinces, in a district absolutely deserted by Europeans during the Mutiny. The individual in question remained at his post notwithstanding that it had been conclusively shown that offers had been made to him by his co-religionists in Delhi under the Emperor there—for at that time Delhi was not in our power—to give up the post he occupied and take part in the rebellion. His reply, however, had been that he had lent England his sword, and England only should use it, and, as a matter of fact, he remained in our service and died in it. He (Sir William Plowden) maintained that such men as this were most capable and of the highest value, and a time should come when we should see such persons placed, perhaps, high up in the administration of India; and he could not for the life of him see why they should not be. We saw them conducting their own affairs with the most admirable perspicuity and prudence in those cases where there were Rulers of large territories in India. On the point of economy it would be greatly to our advantage if we could secure the assistance of men of this kind, because they would accept office at a much lower rate of pay than that at which we could secure the services of European agents. He would pass from that point merely stating that his opinion was, that instead of our rule being shortened in India by an extension of administrative power amongst our Indian fellow-subjects there, it would possibly very materially prolong that rule by adopting the course he had pointed out. And he now came to the practical point on which he wished to deal. In 1879 a Commission was appointed in India with the object of securing larger economies and equal, if not greater, efficiency in our official administration. This Com-

mission was composed of able and distinguished officers. It was presided over by the official who preceded the hon. Baronet the Member for the Evesham Division of Worcestershire in the Governor Generalship of Bengal (Sir Ashley Eden), and one of the ablest assistants Sir Ashley Eden had on that Commission was the present Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Frederick Roberts. Now, this Commission, amongst other things, made a recommendation which seemed to him a remarkably happy one. The Commission was anxious to do away with the commands in Madras and Bombay, held as they now were by several Commanders-in-Chief with separate and expensive staffs. The representations of the Commission on this point were thoroughly formed and taken up by the Government of India, but the Government of India in recommending this reform were met in an extraordinary manner by the Government at home, who entirely dissented from the recommendation and put a stop to action in that direction. From that day to this nothing had been done towards the removal of these Commanders in Madras and Bombay and taking up the more economical proposals in substitution for this appointment which were put forward by that Commission. Now, he had called attention to this matter before, and he had received, he must say, an extraordinary answer from the hon. Member opposite (Sir John Gorst), whose conduct to the "shorn lambs" had been so happily presented to the House by the hon. Member for North Kensington (Sir Roper Lethbridge). In this case presumably he did not like to shear the lambs, and he (Sir William Plowden) quite understood that it must be extremely distasteful to remain in Office to cut down the area of their patronage; but he would be sorry to include any Member of the House in being actuated by such a consideration as that. He was sure they were all desirous of affecting the economies where it was practical and possible to do so, and he therefore trusted that the hon. Gentleman who was in charge of the Office, the Under Secretary of State, would see his way to use his influence on his friends in the India Office to see if this Company, at all events, should not be carried out. Then, again, there was another matter in which he (Sir William Plowden) thought that practically economy might be increased very much, and that was in the Civil Department. They had got their different systems still prevailing in the two Presidencies of Madras and Bombay to that they had in the newer and more unequal and awkward territory in the North. There seemed to be no argument that could be forwarded which would justify the different state of things which was allowed to exist in Madras and Bombay to that which prevailed in Bengal. The Presidencies in Bombay and Madras were each much smaller than the Lieutenant-Governorships of Bengal, and the population in the latter was as one to two. For the administration of the large territories of Bengal and of its very large population of 66,000,000 against the 31,000,000 in Madras, they had a Governor whom he believed received 10,000 rupees a month, besides certain other allowances, and who was assisted by a Council, the civil Members of which received 2,500 rupees a month, and a military Member who received even more than that, while in Bengal they had a Governor who was content with the more modest salary of 5,638 rupees a month. Upon that, if they put their Madras administration and Bombay administration on the same footing, so far as economy was concerned, as the administration of Bengal and the North-West Provinces of the Punjab, they would secure a large economy. He put it to the Committee, who were anxious frankly to secure economy in our Indian administration, whether it was not desirable that they should put forward their opinion that the time had come when the recommendations of the Indian Royal Commission should be acted upon and enforced by the bringing about of a certain amount of economy and, at all events, an equal amount of efficiency; and though these other recommendations which he was making were not made on the authority of the Commission, he was certain that it was one which would commend itself to common sense. He did not know how anyone could get up in the House and defend the system which existed, and he should like to see the ingenuity of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for India taxed in defence of the existing system of Administration in Bombay and Madras. He

begged to add to the proposed Resolution the following Amendment of which he had given notice:—

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words "But this Committee is of opinion that the economies proposed by the Army Commission in India should be enforced, especially those which would do away with the Commands in Chief in Madras and Bombay; and that the Civil administration of those Presidencies might be more economically conducted, but with equal if not greater efficiency, by making those Presidencies Lieutenant Governorships instead of Governorships."—(*Sir William Plowden.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham) said, he had so much matter to deal with in the course of the observations he was about to address to the Committee that it would be impossible for him to follow the hon. Member for West Wolverhampton (Sir William Plowden) who had just sit down. He would endeavour to lay before the Committee a large argument in as compact and succinct a form as possible. Some of his points he would address to Liberal Members of a reforming turn of mind opposite, and other points he would address to hon. Gentlemen on his own side of the House who may be of an Imperial disposition. In the first place he must assure the House that, with two great exceptions, the finances of India were in a thoroughly satisfactory position—that was to say, the Revenue was elastic, the expenditure was kept well in hand, the public credit was rising, and the fact of the long sustained surplus shown by the account showed the great sum that India had paid within the last few years out of her cash balances towards the cost of war and famine. But he admitted that there were two serious exceptions—two heavy thunder clouds were hanging over the prospects of our Indian finance. The first of these clouds was that of the Exchange. It was a fact that more than half-a-century ago we turned our old double standard into a single silver standard, under the belief that the value of the rupee would remain for ever as it then was, at the value of about 10 rupees to one pound. Since that time, mainly owing to the great War of the Mutiny and to the construction of railways in India, we incurred many sterling financial obligations. We found it hard to borrow large sums in silver on the spot, and we therefore resorted to the facile expedient of borrowing in sterling in the London Money Market. And now what had happened? These sterling obligations were immense, while our means of paying them had fallen. Within the last 15 years the exchanges had fallen at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}d.$ per year. And now we come to the tremendous fact that every six months we were losing to our Indian finance about £250,000 sterling. It was impossible to over-estimate the gravity of that situation, more particularly because there was no hope that we had as yet touched bottom. After all, let the House consider what was the cause of this fall. He would not detain the Committee by recounting all that had happened from the demonetization of silver on the Continent of Europe. He would only remark this—that one cause of the fall was the over production of silver. Every hon. Member who had travelled as he had done in the Western parts of the United States, especially in Nevada and Colorado, and who had seen the wonderful development of silver mining in those regions, would readily understand why the exchange was falling. The second cloud was that of the prospects of opium. There was a danger lest the Chinese Government should succeed in diverting into her own coffers part of that large revenue which we had hitherto secured for India. There was grave fear that in the development of the poppy culture in China that country would be able to supply all the requirements of the opium smokers themselves. The Committee might remember that these were points which in 1886 he ventured to bring forward before the House after a Motion made by the hon. Baronet the Member for the Barnard Castle Division of Durham (Sir Joseph Pease), who then sat on those Benches, as to the opium trade. But these facts, however formidable they might be, did, at all events, knock the bottom out of the argument then adduced as to the opium trade. It was then said that we were forcing opium on the Chinese, whereas it now seemed that the Chinese were taking measures to supply themselves with opium. Then the case of the Salt Tax was mentioned by hon. Members opposite. It was very possible indeed that

with these heavy financial losses we might again be obliged to resort to fresh taxation. He did not intend to detain the Committee by answering again all that was said from the opposite Benches in regard to salt. The very same arguments were adduced against the Salt Tax earlier in the Session, and he slew them then. Now, if we did impose some slight extra taxation to meet the loss on exchange and on opium, we should, at all events, have to reduce the expenditure not here and there, but upon a large scale. It would be necessary to pick up not only the pins which were mentioned by the hon. Baronet the Member for West Wolverhampton, but to pick up pins throughout the length and breadth of the land. We should have, he grieved to say, to stay the progress of improvement, both material and intellectual; we should certainly have also to check the growth of obligations in sterling, and if possible reduce them; whatever obligations we incurred in the future must be in silver on the spot. He did not intend to detain the Committee more than a moment by alluding *en passant* to what had fallen from his hon. Friend the Member for North Kensington (Sir Roper Lethbridge) with reference to Cotton and Tea Duties, and the out-still system. Surely it would be in the recollection of all Members present that the Cotton Duties so long imposed in India were really taxes on British industry in the days of our depression; they also practically acted to the protection of rival native industries carried out with British capital, British machinery, and under British supervision. Was it likely that the manufacturers of our own country would endure this longer? The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) knew too well that the Tea Duties were necessary for our national finance—[*Cries of* "No, no!"]—We imposed then on China tea, which was the greatest part of our tea importation, and how could we possibly draw a distinction in favour of India, or how long would we be able to discriminate between China tea and India tea? As to the out-still system in Bengal, he thought that it would be hardly becoming to enter into a controversy with a local newspaper—however influential—published 6,000 miles away. All he said was that he adhered absolutely to every word he stated in the House in the earlier part of the Session, and if any further reply was required he left it to his hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), his predecessor in Bengal, who would vindicate his own action and his (Sir Richard Temple's) in this matter. Something was said by an hon. Member opposite in respect to famine maps, and it was asked why, with all the efforts we made when we poured out our treasure like water, we had not been able to save more life? He (Sir Richard Temple) commanded great famine relief operations in the field when millions of people were threatened, who were, however, all rescued from starvation. In another part of India a few years afterwards he had the honour to command relief operations in Bombay. On that occasion thousands of people perished, but not so much from starvation as from disease. He admitted that the main point about India was her alleged poverty. That was a specious allegation which had been adduced before, and which he ventured to whip with the scourge of argument. He would not trouble the House with a repetition of that process. He would now merely mention two undeniable facts which he thought would come home to the judgment of hon. Members opposite. First, there were no unemployed in India; and, secondly, there was not there, and there never had been in India, and there never would be, any Poor Law, for there was no need of it. Another great factor in the problem consisted in the contentment of the mass of the people. An hon. Member opposite said that we had no right to rule India by the sword; he (Sir Richard Temple) heartily concurred in that view. We did not, however, rule India by the sword. No doubt there were battalions and cannon in the background, but in the forefront of the administration was its benevolence, its thorough trustworthiness, and the general acquiescence of the people in it. In that acquiescence consisted the main element of our strength in India, financial and other. Now, it was impossible to overlook all that had been said this evening regarding the so-called "National Conferences." Too much must not be made of them; but, on the other hand, they could not be ignored. The Conferences had been held at several

times and places in India during recent years. The movement was undoubtedly advancing; but what really was the object? In spite of all the "high falutin" language employed the object was practically financial. It was just this, that the delegates who attended the Conferences wanted better pay for the appointments they had got, higher posts than any which they had held hitherto, improved prospects, and more generous concession in respect to furlough and leave. Further, they wanted a larger share in the administration of their country and in the control of its finances, and they wished to escape from some of its fiscal burdens which had pressed upon the shoulders of themselves and their forefathers. But upon them the burdens were lighter compared with those borne by their ancestors. These were not unreasonable objects of ambition, though they were hidden in a mass of verbiage. They were like kites sent up in the breeze of popular enthusiasm, and they were like balloons inflated with the breath of high sounding phraseology. If they were carried to the extreme conclusion, or even to the logical conclusion to be deduced from the language used, the methods of the Conferences would require our abandoning all our Imperial position in India. In other words, if they were not exactly disloyal, or treasonable, or seditious, they were, nevertheless, inconsistent with the idea of British rule in India. But to a certain point he heartily agreed with the aspirations of these men; but then, again, he must insist upon certain limitations being imposed. In the first place, we could not possibly excuse the people of India from fiscal burdens. One would imagine that they ought not to pay any taxation; every tax we imposed was objected to at these Conferences; of every tax which had hitherto existed they demanded the abolition; but they suggested nothing in return except that we should give them everything and keep nothing ourselves, but virtually pack up, bag and baggage, and leave the country. As to their having financial control, let him remind the Committee that already the Legislative Council, in which they were largely represented, had considerable financial control, because no new taxation could be imposed without their sanction. But there was another thing. However anxious we might be to give the Natives high pay, higher posts, better positions, we must secure for our European countrymen those posts in which British firmness, energy, and loyalty to the death were required. It was all very well to say that these high posts could and should be filled by Natives at a lower scale of pay. Why, of course, they could be so filled in times of peace; but how about the day of danger? Were we to suppose there never would be danger in India, and were we to lay up for ourselves the embarrassments which would happen in the event of danger overtaking us unprepared, and with nothing but Native agency, and without that European strength upon which we always relied? A word must be said about the *status* of the delegates who attended at the Conferences. To hear some hon. Members speak one would suppose these delegates claimed to represent 200,000,000 of people. He understood that the allegation was not made in so many words; but it undoubtedly was the inference, from the speeches they had heard this evening, that these men did claim to represent 200,000,000 of people. He maintained that no greater statistical fallacy was ever uttered in this House. The delegates represented no one but themselves and a very limited class. He did not want to disparage that class; it might be morally and politically important, but numerically it was but the smallest fraction of the teeming millions of India. Of whom did they consist? They consisted of the educated Natives—that was to say, the Natives educated in Western civilization and in the English language. He did not mean to discourage them; they were what we had made them; they had been taught in our ways, in our tongue; they had looked at everything through our spectacles; they were intellectually our offspring; and he held that we ought not to be, and he was sure he, for one, was not at all ashamed of them. But they did not represent the people of India; the men of the sword, of the plough, of the loom, the factory, the counter, the hard-headed, strong-armed, horny-handed men, who really formed the mass of the teeming and industrious millions of that Empire. Why, if there came a revolution to-morrow, as these Conferences would bring about if we let them have their

heads, so to speak—if such a revolution were to come to-morrow, these educated classes would unhappily be driven from one end of the country to the other till they reached the sea and had to plunge into the waves thereof. There was a great difference between demands made moderately and demands made immoderately. If it was said that we had done something for the Natives, but that more remained to be done, that was one thing; but it was quite another thing to imply, if not to assert directly, that we had done almost nothing for the Natives, that we had neglected their interests, that we did not attempt to perform our Imperial duties towards them. In that he did not agree. What he did agree with were moderate demands; when it came to immoderate demands, he protested for this reason particularly, that, whereas he and many other Europeans would be willing to meet moderate demands, they were obliged to take the other side and speak against demands and against all who ventured to put them forward in an extravagant manner. This brought him to the electoral point. It was urged that we should have electoral institutions in India generally, as we had already in the Indian Municipalities. He heartily agreed in that; but we must again remember what were the objects of the delegates. Those objects partly related to legislation and partly to local administration. If these delegates were to be Members of the Legislative Council, which alone could impose new taxation, then, he said, they ought to be there by right of popular representation, and by the votes of their fellow-countrymen enfranchised with the suffrage. Nothing would be easier than to substitute elected Members of the Legislative Council for the appointed Members we now had. If these people were to have a share in local administration involving local taxation, there, again, the right of representation was manifest. There were District Boards in such numbers as had been alluded to by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India this evening. But he was sorry to hear that the well intentioned efforts of the late Viceroy (the Marquess of Ripon) had not been so successful as was hoped. But we must preserve the ultimate control financially by means of a Governmental majority when needed. Of course, if men were to take an interest in voluntary work they must have some real power allowed to them; still the official check must be held in reserve. Another great factor in Indian finance was the cost of the Army and of the National defensive arrangements. That cost would greatly depend upon the loyalty of the Natives, and upon the question as to how far we could depend upon that loyalty. In what did that loyalty consist? He must respectfully warn the Committee that if they came to a comparison between British rule and Native rule, they could not depend upon the loyalty of the Natives. If they saw a chance or an opening for striking for their own Government, or for their own Sovereign, or for their own Chiefs, they would take the opportunity. If an Archangel administered the Government of India, he would have no chance whatever of striking into the hearts of the people. This fact was deeply impressed on our memory by the experiences of the Mutiny. If, however, a choice had to be made by the Natives between us and any possible European rival, say Russia or France, then, no doubt, we could depend upon the loyalty of the Natives. On such occasions they ceased to complain against us. Now, when there was no rival in the field, when we held the field, as it were, against all comers, they were too ready to find fault. But when it came to a question between us and someone else, then they recollected how good we were, how much we had done for them, how sorry they would be to lose us, and how bad the next comer might be. In all his experience in India he had never seen or heard such manifestations of loyalty as had been exhibited during the last few years in India, especially in 1885, when there was what had been called the Russian scare. It was the fear of Russia—no, he would not say the fear, but the apprehension of Russian hostilities, which made the Natives turn their hearts to British rule, which they had become to think rightly of. When any danger arose there would certainly be on our side every man who had money to lose, or advances out on good security, or property which had been secured to him and his heirs for ever, or had had his taxation fixed for a lengthened period, or who was in the enjoyment of good pay with prospects of a pension, or had

industry based upon capital, or had lucrative employment. All these men constituted a majority; while, added to them, there was every Native Chief from one end of the country to the other who had had his *status* recognized, who had had his succession made sure by the recognition of the right of adoption, who had got his territories pacified, and who was fenced round about by the shield of England against every possible danger from without. All these Chiefs would be on our side, and they constituted, he believed, a great majority. We must recollect that there were some who would be against us. Every irreconcilable fanatic, every man with nothing to lose, every restless man without a career under a settled government, every person injured or dispossessed in any way—and there were, even under British rule, many necessarily of such cases—every member of the criminal classes was against us, bitterly opposed, and inalienably hostile to us; but they constituted a minority. Now, were the educated classes loyal? He held that the great majority were. He could not conceive how they could be otherwise; they owed everything to us in their intellectual culture, and he might almost say in their material resources. If they were wise, as he was sure they were, they must know that they would be nothing whatever without us; so they must be loyal. But that they were all loyal was more than he could venture to say. He feared that some of them in their hearts were deeply disloyal, and that they clothed their disloyalty with many smooth pretences. With all these chances in our favour—and he thought that they greatly outweighed all the chances against us—he hoped our position was strong. He quite admitted that European advocacy of the Natives of India and their claims in England, though it might be overdone, yet had its great advantages, for it showed that there were some men in the ruling nation who were fanatically in favour of the educated Natives. In former days the Natives of India looked up to the East India Company; now they looked up to a Gracious Sovereign, an Imperial Parliament, and an enlightened electorate. If there was to be a Parliamentary Inquiry into Indian affairs, there was nothing to fear in it, no reason to shrink from it. But he must protest against the manner in which the House of Commons was in the habit of running itself down. It was said that the House had neglected the interests of India. On behalf of the House of Commons he denied that statement. He affirmed that the House most conscientiously and industriously did its duty to that distant Dependency as much as to any other part of the Empire. Although the Indian Budget was brought forward late in the Session, he could call to mind that on three occasions during the present Session there had been debates on Indian affairs; on each of these occasions the whole evening had been given up to the discussion. On two other occasions portions of evenings had been given up. A Select Committee had sat upon an Indian case. If challenged, he would move for a Return of all the Questions put, during the Session and during this Parliament, relating to India, for he was quite satisfied that that would prove a most interesting Return statistically. They had, on the whole, he contended, given at least four evenings during this hard-worked Session to India, and that was more, according to the account of their Scotch Friends, than they had given to Scotland or Wales, and even more than was given to England last Session. He had noted the claim made on the opposite Benches for the appointment of a Standing Committee on Indian affairs; but that claim was of English, not of Indian origin. He recognized the Jupiter from whose brain that Minerva-like idea emanated, and that brain certainly did not belong to a Native of India. Then, the last factor he should mention as affecting Indian finance was that of Russia. The apprehension of Russia's advance had greatly added to our financial difficulties of late years. Certainly, Russia was entering into competition with us not only in regard to political organization but as regarded good work and charitable deeds done in the service of humanity. Russia had not only constructed railways in Central Asia, greatly menacing our North-Western Frontier, but had abolished the most frightful and cruel forms of slavery in that quarter. He wished we had shared in that good work; it was as much our business as Russia's, but Russia had done it, and in the name of suffering humanity he thanked her. No longer did the Turkoman hordes sweep over the inhabited and cultivated plains like the simoom of the Desert or

the blizzard of North America. No longer were the wretched people of these regions carried off in miserable slavery to distant places, tied to the tails of horses and dragged on until they sank from sheer exhaustion. These things had been stopped by Russia; all this was done partly with a political purpose, partly from feelings of humanity, and partly also from what? It was commonly said Russia had designs upon India, but he doubted whether Russia had direct designs at all upon our Indian Possessions. [*Laughter.*] He was talking of a subject which he understood, and he repeated that Russia had no immediate design directly upon India; but in the event of any complications arising in South-Eastern Europe she might advance upon our North-Western Frontier by way of diversion or counter movement. This advance would be made for the purpose of crippling our resources and adding to our financial difficulties. But when that danger arose we might greatly rely upon all those elements of loyalty he had specified to the Committee. We should have a contented and prosperous people at our back on whom we could rely. But our chief reliance must be on ourselves in battle array within our own frontier, with our fortified posts, our bases of operations rendered impregnable, our border communications and mountain railways, our passes rendered impassable to an enemy, our girder bridges across mighty rivers. He knew, too, that in one respect we should follow the example of Russia, and find officers who would be as thoroughly loyal to our interests as Kauffmann, Skobeleff, Tschernaieff, had been loyal to Russian policy. He would conclude his speech by adapting the words of the poet to present circumstances, *Britannus sum, Britanniæ nihil a me alienum puto.*

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.) said, he did not think he was called upon to apologize for intervening in the debate. He had long taken a very great interest in Indian affairs, and, circumstanced as Irishmen were at home, he did not think any Irishman who had a seat in the House of Commons ought to consider Indian affairs foreign to his province. As a matter of fact, Irishmen chose to take their part in the government of the Empire, and to accept their share of the responsibility; they wished, too, when there was any suffering in the Empire, to endeavour to alleviate it as far as they possibly could. As the Chairman had ruled, the question before the Committee was an eminently financial question; but he did not think he would be transgressing the Rules of the House if he spoke of the unfortunate condition of the people who had to pay the taxes of India. It was amusing, if it were not for the serious aspect, to hear hon. Gentlemen talk so lightly of the millions of taxation raised in India. To whom did those millions belong? They belonged to the poverty-stricken people of India. That night between £80,000,000 and £90,000,000 sterling would be taken from the pockets of the Indian people, and the only means of investigating the demands upon those people were the imperfect means offered by that debate. The hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. J. M. Maclean), who was able, like many Gentlemen he (Mr. Mac Neill) knew, to bear the misfortunes of others like a Christian, had opposed the proposed Commission of Inquiry, because it would be, as he called it, a roving Commission—too many things would be inquired into. Only three years ago the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), who was then Secretary of State for India, came forward with a Financial Statement not a bit more able than the Financial Statement made that day. The noble Lord then said—

"Her Majesty's Government have decided that, if they are in Office next year, or if by some unforeseen circumstance they are in Opposition next year, they will either propose themselves, or support a Motion for an inquiry into the system of government in India."—(3 *Hansard*, [300] 1311-12.)

The noble Lord was interrogated as to the extent of that inquiry, and said, in reply—

"The inquiry will embrace the whole of the constitution of the Government of India."—(*Ibid.* 1321.)

It was strange that, having had the whole responsibility of India on our shoulders since 1858, we had never had a Commission of Inquiry into the affairs of India. Before 1858 the financial affairs of India were thoroughly overhauled every 20 years. It was very fitting to inquire how far we were governing India for our own interest, or

for the interest of the people of that country. The hon. Baronet (Sir Richard Temple) spoke very disparagingly of the Indian National Council. The Indian National Council at their very last meeting—in December, he believed it was—complained bitterly of the neglect of the Imperial Parliament in the management of Indian affairs. One gentleman quoted from the speech of an hon. Member of this House, who said—

"How could Parliament do anything, when these matters were only brought to its cognizance on one of the very last days of a weary Session, when only 15 or 16 Gentlemen had sufficient energy left to watch the proceedings—the debate was almost reduced to a farce—the discussion was begun at about a quarter past 6 o'clock, and in four or five hours from that time they would have settled the affairs of 200,000,000 of their fellow-subjects and sanctioned the expenditure of between £70,000,000 and £80,000,000 sterling? Surely, it would be better to delegate those duties than to continue doing that which was a mere mockery. Would it not be possible to appoint a Committee to overlook the affairs of India, in order that the people of that country might know that their interests were being cared for adequately by the Imperial Parliament?"

The hon. Baronet seemed to consider that in India nothing was known about this Commission. The Commission which was asked for would do all that now was done by that desultory discussion, and be able to inform the House, which was at present overburdened with work, as to what were the wants and interests both of the Natives and officials of India; for both classes were suffering from the present system of management. He had read very carefully the reports of the proceedings of the National Conference. In one circular which was sent to him, and which, no doubt, was sent to all hon. Members of the House, it was stated that any single voter in England had more direct control of the destinies of India than had the whole 200,000,000 of British subjects in that country. That was a terrible state of affairs; and he maintained that if hon. Gentlemen did not accept their responsibility, did not act up to it, and did not attend to the wants and wishes of the Indian people as they would to their own, they were unworthy of seats in the House of Commons. Now, it had been a common subject of complaint that the Natives, however great their ability, were practically Boycotted in the Civil Service. Owing to the difference in habits, a Native was able to live in pretty much the same rank of life as a European for about one-third the expense, and, therefore, if the Natives were allowed to have proper management of their own affairs, there would be an enormous saving to the State. The Natives considered that they should have the full and equal privileges which were guaranteed to them—firstly, by Act of Parliament; secondly, by Her Majesty's Proclamation in 1858; and then by the declarations made over and over again by nearly every statesman who had governed India since the time of Lord Dalhousie. By the Act of 1833, it was expressly declared that no Native nor any natural-born subject of Her Majesty resident in her Dominions should, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Government, and that every post was to be open to the Natives. How had we fulfilled that undertaking? Lord Lytton, speaking at the Delhi Assemblage on the 1st of January, 1877, said—

"But you, the Natives of India, whatever your race, and whatever your creed, have a recognized claim to share largely with your English fellow-subjects, according to your capacity for the task, in the administration of the country you inhabit. That claim is founded in the highest justice. It has been repeatedly affirmed by British and Indian statesmen, and by the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. It is recognized by the Government of India as binding on its honour, and consistent with all the aims of its policy.'

That was Lord Lytton's public declaration; but possession had been obtained of a confidential note written by Lord Lytton. He did not know where it came from, but it was read at the National Conference in Bombay in December, 1886, and it had been reproduced in a magazine article in this country. Lord Lytton wrote—

"Since I am writing confidentially I do not hesitate to say that both the Governments of India and England appear to me, up to the present moment, unable to answer satisfactorily the charge of having taken every means in their power of breaking to the heart the words of promise they had uttered to the ear."

Lord Lytton also wrote with reference to the employment of Natives in the Public Service of India—

"We have had to choose between prohibiting them and cheating them; we have chosen the least straightforward course."

They had chosen to cheat the Natives. There was something straightforward in saying "You shall have this, but you shall not have that;" but there was something very odious in saying "You shall have equal rights and privileges," and in then loading the dice against any man because he was a Native. He had read a secret and confidential statement of the Governor General, the head of the Indian Administration; let him now give a statement made in 1869 by the Duke of Argyll when he was Secretary of State for India. The Duke of Argyll said—

"I must say that we have not fulfilled our duty, or the promises or engagements that we have made."

At that Conference, that objectionable Conference at Bombay in December, 1886, it was stated publicly that in the whole Settlement Department of Madras there were only three Natives holding Office, and that even in the Uncovenanted Service Natives of great ability were passed over. Latterly, the age at which men could compete for the Civil Service had been reduced to 19 years. That was only done in order to handicap still more unfairly the unfortunate Natives who came over here to compete with the highly educated European youths. During the last three or four years the difficulties placed in the way of Natives had been increasing, and fewer of the Natives had therefore been able to obtain places in the Civil Service. Everything was done to oust the Natives from honourable posts in their own country. Perhaps he might now be allowed to say a few words upon other points of our Indian Administration. Every single penny of the Salt Tax was raised on a vital necessity of a starving people. The Government of India were like harpies preying on the vitals of the poor. What was the position of the vast mass of the 200,000,000 people of India? They were steeped up to their lips in poverty. Lord Lawrence, one of the greatest Governors General India had ever seen, said, in 1873—

"The mass of the people in India are so miserably poor that they have hardly the means of subsistence."

Sir William Hunter, describing the people as a steadily, underfed people, said—

"The remaining fifth, or 40,000,000, go through life on insufficient food."

The misery of India was a disgrace to England, and he hoped the people of England, who had now got an extended franchise, and who had known, some of them at least, what it was to have their food taxed through the iniquitous Corn Laws, would rise in the majesty of their might and destroy the Salt Tax, come what would, which raised artificially the wretched subsistence of countless millions of people. Famine seemed to be the usual condition of the people of India; there was always famine somewhere in the country. [Sir JOHN GORST dissented.] The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India shook his head; but he (Mr. MacNeill) would point out that it was shown by the Parliamentary Papers published in 1885 that out of 200,000,000 people 12,724,000 had died of famine within a period of 20 years. To tax salt in India was as bad as to tax potatoes in Ireland. Again, 115,000,000 of the population of India lived directly on the produce of the soil, and he would ask if any other country of the world could be pointed to, with the exception of Ireland, where agriculture was the staple industry of the people. Why was that? It was because the English people had destroyed every other industry in the country. He had the honour to know the gentleman to whom the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. J. M. Maclean) had referred as having written two articles on affairs in India. It was this gentleman who, on behalf of the Indian people, presented an address of welcome to Lord Lansdowne on his departure for India, and it was he who was now called a luckless student, because he wished justice to be done between man and man. Hon. Members had had cast upon them the heavy responsibility of seeing that at least justice should be done. If the Natives of India had the smallest share in the management of their own affairs, there would not be seen in that country a starving people to whom food was denied, although there was a plentiful supply in the country. There was no responsibility on the India Administration—the India Council had no responsibility to Parliament, and that meant that the officials were the masters of the people, and that they were the controllers of their destinies; whereas in England the statesmen who sat on the Treasury Bench were

responsible to the people of England for their acts. He thought that a great deal of the mischief of our rule in India was owing to the division of responsibility. It was impossible even for a man of Indian experience to understand the various channels through which the Government agency went. There was one Administration at Madras, another at Bombay, and there were two Administrations at Calcutta, and then there was this hybrid Administration in London with its 15 wise men composing the Indian Council, who were irresponsible to Parliament, who each received £1,500 a-year, and whose functions he had never been able to understand. The hon. Baronet (Sir Richard Temple), whose speeches he always looked to with interest, because he liked to see clever men in difficulties, had spoken of Indians being represented on the Legislative Councils in India; but the men who were appointed to sit in those Councils did not represent the people because they were nominated by the Governor General or the Governors of the Provinces; they were men who liked to go to garden parties and who passed all their time with what, by an easy transition, might be called the "Castle lot." Bad as things were under the old system in India, he said of the Anglo-Indians that, with all their faults and oppression, their hands were infinitely lighter on the people of India than the hands of the present Government. They had at the present moment in India a set of men who did not care for and were not in sympathy with the people, who cared only to make money and to come home, and the drain from India from that source alone amounted to £10,000,000 a-year. The Indian people were kept out of the fruits of their toil in their own country, and they were denied the control of the expenditure of their own money. Why not admit the people of India to a share in the government of their country? Why should they not be entrusted with that? They owed their education largely to English rule, they had been educated in Western civilization, and was it intended to keep them in the bonds of old Eastern darkness? One of the speakers at the National Congress in India said that the British Empire extended over many countries; that many Colonies, Canada and the Cape, innumerable smaller Colonies, and even some Crown Colonies, had all of them a measure, and some a good measure, of representative government, and he asked why that should be refused to India. The last great Commission to inquire into affairs in India was in 1853, and it ended in a measure of education by which the people were now benefited, and there were among them men as well educated as any Member in that House. Knowing that the people of India must sooner or later be educated to that point, why should it not be admitted that British government in India, however wise, had been a miserable thing in having now a starving population of 200,000,000 to deal with. Why not give the people of India higher powers of self-government, and enable them to work for this country a great and glorious benefit. India had special means for the development of self-government, and by granting that self-government, with reasonable safeguards, we should further the best interests of the Empire.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said, the hon. Baronet the Member for the Evesham Division of Worcestershire (Sir Richard Temple), who always spoke with great breadth of view, and with great knowledge of all subjects relating to India, had mentioned a point which closely bore on the whole question of Indian finance, and which was one of the leading difficulties of the question. The hon. Baronet referred to the military policy in India as being regulated by what might happen in the South-Eastern corner of Europe. We, therefore, who taxed India largely because of the military armaments which we kept up in that country for its benefit and for our benefit as a nation, remembered, and were bound to remember at all times, and particularly in considering the Indian Budget, that a very large portion of the taxation of India, whether brought from salt, opium, or anything else, arose from causes created by our own foreign policy. It was on that account that the House of Commons, dealing with the question of Indian finance, ought to treat with peculiar kindness and tenderness the proposals which came from India for its own government and the regulation of its finances. There had been proposals made with respect to the better govern-

ment of India which had been frequently referred to in the course of that evening, and which at that hour (11.15 P.M.) it was not his object to repeat. It was enough for him to say that he thought the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. J. M. Maclean) who endeavoured, with much knowledge of the case, to answer some of the points brought forward with reference to the India Council had not answered the main points. The hon. Member endeavoured to make out a case, and, in some respects, no doubt, he had been successful, of some amount of exaggeration of facts or statement of claim made on behalf of the people of India. But the hon. Gentleman himself had admitted, what had also been admitted by the hon. Baronet (Sir Richard Temple)—namely, that the great drain upon Indian finances arose from the payment of some £6,000,000 for pensions in this country. That was one of the real causes of complaint and a source of dissatisfaction which had been repeatedly mentioned and brought forward by the National Congress of India. There was another point with regard to which the Member for Oldham made no answer, or to which he gave an answer that he (Mr. James Stuart) ventured to say was beside the mark. His hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had referred to the Act 3 & 4 *Will.* IV. c. 85. The 87th clause of that Act enacted that no Native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, should by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be unfit to hold any office or employment under the said Company. Now, one of the sources of dissatisfaction was the non-fulfilment of that clause, and when the Crown took over the government of India from the Company, it was felt advisable to insert in the great Proclamation issued at that time, a repetition of the assurance given in the clause, with the apparent determination that the past neglect should be remedied, and the words of the Act were accordingly inserted. The hon. Member for Oldham seemed to treat the words as if they were the main portion of the Proclamation; but if he looked to the number of Natives employed in offices of trust and emolument, he thought he would be bound to admit that the words "so far as may be" had been made not only operating and limiting words, but acted upon as if they were words of prohibition. It was that very point—the non-employment of Natives—which gave rise to the dissatisfaction which had been expressed at the Congresses in India to which his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton had referred. The hon. Baronet the Member for the Evesham Division of Worcestershire said that nothing would be easier than to substitute elected for nominated Members of the Council, and he went so far as to suggest, along with the hon. Member for Oldham, to a nomination or kind of semi-election of what might be called the more exclusively educated classes in India. He (Mr. James Stuart) welcomed that sentiment of the hon. Gentleman, because he felt that they had found in it much of the description of the difficulties under which they laboured; and he noticed that the hon. Baronet stated that his idea was applicable, not only to the Legislative Council, but even to other Bodies, and he said that a number of those who were elected ought to have real power—as he (Mr. James Stuart) presumed—more immediately and directly over the finances with which they had to deal. The hon. Baronet would remember that the fundamental claim of the Indian National Congress was that that principle should in some way be adopted, and he, for one, would in no sense desire to adopt it in a more extended form than that of the nomination of the hon. Baronet. He did not understand that these Councils or Congresses called National in India made any other demand than that the Natives should have a voice in the management of Indian affairs, and if that were so they were much at one on both sides of the House in seeing their way to the great rectification of the difficulties which he now very shortly referred to. He rose, not immediately to make those remarks, but having been an attentive listener to the debate as it was proceeding, he felt called upon to offer his contribution in the direction in which the debate had mainly taken. But he wanted to call attention to the point he had given Notice of—namely, the relations of the India Office with and the control of the India Office over the Government of India itself, which was a point closely connected with

that which he had touched. He was not such a fool as to intend, on the present occasion, to refer to the question which he brought before the House, or, at any rate, which he had taken part in bringing before the House at an earlier period of the Session, because the question to which he had referred had been decided by the House, and there was no necessity or desirability at all for departing from a firm position which the unanimous vote of the House had placed him and his Friends in. But, in connection with that action in the House, there had been a good deal said on behalf of the India Office, and on the part of the Government of India, which threw a good deal of light on the management, or, if he might venture to say so strong a light upon the administration of India. The first point he wished to call attention to on the matter was this—the very tardy method in which the Government of India obeyed any injunction which they received from the Government at home, and he could not see how any business could be conducted in which we had in India a representative, and in which we had also in England a representative, where the means of communication were so slow, and where the obedience to orders was so insufficient, as in the case to which he referred. The Committee would remember that it was so long ago as the 11th of August, 1887, that a request was made by the Secretary of State for a number of Papers to be sent home, and that that request was acknowledged by the Government of India four or five months afterwards, though the request was made by telegram. In the next place, although six months after he had asked in this House whether the documents were in the hands of the India Office, he was told they were not, and the other day, after all that had happened—after all the difficulties in which the India Office was driven by the non-production of these Papers—he again asked whether more recent documents which had been issued in the early part of the year, were in the hands of the India Office, and he was told that they were not. Well, that after more than a year, such carelessness and neglect on the part of the Indian Government to the orders of the India Office should exist was intolerable. Now, that was the only instance that he would take of neglect as regarded that state of the matter. But the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India and the India Office were themselves very much behindhand in the work they did as between this and the Government of India. That House was very much interested, there could be no doubt whatever, in the subject to which he had referred.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am bound to say I do not see how this is connected with the finance of India.

MR. JAMES STUART said, with all deference to the Chairman, he would explain the connection. His argument, as he had begun by pointing out, was this—that the Government of India, however it was controlled, was the responsible Body for that principal matter in India, the finance, and he was now dealing with the Government of India as carried on. There was no other opportunity in that House of discussing the question of the Government of India than this Budget, and he submitted, with all deference to the Chairman, that some discussion of the methods by which the Government of India by the Secretary of State was carried on was a matter directly connected with the Government of India. He would put that briefly; but it was of great importance in considering the subject. He had asked the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State two Questions, one of them a week ago, and the other that day. These Questions were about the Cantonment Acts, in consequence of a Resolution of this House. He was not now going into details as to what had occurred; but the hon. Gentleman, on answering, said that a certain document dated the 17th of May, and issued by the Secretary of State for India, had been sent to the Indian Government containing orders, and he said what the Indian Authorities would do in consequence of that. That point was germane to the manner in which the Government of India was carried on. He was not dealing with that subject now, because it was a special case; but he desired to show the delay and the difficulty which occurred in connection with the Government of India, and he desired to go on from that point to this other one, which he thought was even more germane to the question. He confessed that the hon. Gentleman

the Under Secretary of State for India was under a misconception as to what the powers and duties of the India Office were. The hon. Gentleman was forgetful of this—that a Resolution of that House was as binding upon him as it was upon any other Minister, and that a Resolution of the House was no mean matter. And he (Mr. James Stuart) submitted this—how were they to get at the Government of India unless it were by Resolution of that House to be conveyed through the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India; and yet when the Resolution was passed unanimously by the House of Commons, the hon. Gentleman replied to his Question, asking what was to be done in consequence of that Resolution, by going behind the Resolution, and studiously referring only to a despatch of the Secretary of State, of which the Resolution was largely condemnatory. And now he desired to come to his last point of mismanagement by the Government of India and by the Government Office in these matters. He (Mr. James Stuart) had asked two days ago for a despatch which the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India had sent out to India in consequence of the Resolution of the House. He found that the hon. Gentleman looked upon the Resolution of the House as of so little importance that the hon. Gentleman did not think it necessary to act upon it sooner than nine days after it was passed. And, lastly, when he (Mr. James Stuart) said, two days ago, that the House had a right to know what that document was, and that it should be in the hands of hon. Members, seeing that it was not in the Library, neither he nor anyone else was able to obtain it. He submitted that the Government of India as conducted by the India Office was dilatory in the extreme, that the hon. Gentleman who represented it in that House was to blame for its dilatory nature, and that the hon. Gentleman was badly served from India. These statements affected the character of the Government of India, and there was no other opportunity of discussing such matters than the present. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India had argued—and he (Mr. James Stuart) should like to know whether he did so at the present moment or not—that he had no right to give orders as Under Secretary of State for the Government of India with respect to any particular law or Bill which it might be desirable that they should pass. He (Mr. James Stuart) contended himself that the hon. Gentleman maintained an entirely unconstitutional opinion in the matter. If the hon. Gentleman desired to get up and tell him (Mr. James Stuart) that he did not maintain that position, then he would say no more; but if he was not prepared to do that, then he (Mr. James Stuart) should persist in concluding what he had to say, and in laying down what he believed to be the Constitutional relations between the Secretary of State for India and the Indian Government in the matter of legislation. On that matter he should be as brief as possible, because, in the first place ——

THE CHAIRMAN: The question the hon. Gentleman has been hitherto discussing—that of the extreme difficulty of getting the Government of India into action, and the subject of organization in India—is scarcely relevant to the Question before the Committee. And, certainly, the question he now proposes to examine—namely, the Constitutional Government of India, is altogether irrelevant.

MR. JAMES STUART said, he submitted to the hon. Gentleman's ruling; but he put it to him whether this was not abominable—namely, the misunderstanding of the Constitutional relationship between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, which at present existed on the part of the Under Secretary of State, which the Under Secretary of State had not dealt with, although he (Mr. James Stuart) had invited him to do so?

SIR JOHN GORST: I did not get up when the hon. Member invited me, because I thought that the question was out of Order.

THE CHAIRMAN: That question cannot be discussed at all.

SIR JOHN GORST: Hear, hear!

MR. JAMES STUART said, that the hon. Gentleman need not cheer that observation. That was the only opportunity they would have of discussing the question, and the matter was not a Party one; so far was it from being a Party question, that the arguments he (Mr. James Stuart) had used he should be prepared to address to any Government; even to one formed from his own

side of the House. He had never been backward in blaming his own Party when he thought they deserved it in these matters. Bowing to the ruling of the Chairman, he desired to say that it was a serious matter, if in the course of this debate, which was the only one which could take place during the Session on Indian matters, they were necessarily by the nature of the case precluded from discussing the Constitutional relationship, or rather the understanding of the Constitutional relationship, of the Under Secretary of State for India between the Indian Government and the Home Government. He believed that the India Office had laid down erroneous views.

SIR JOHN GORST: I wish to know if the hon. Member is in Order in discussing the views that the Under Secretary of State entertains as to the Constitutional relationship between the Home Government and the Government of India?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is a question which I have already said cannot be discussed.

MR. JAMES STUART: I suppose I should be called out of Order in asking whether there will be any opportunity of discussing that question?

THE CHAIRMAN: The fact that the hon. Gentleman has not been able to discover any opportunity for entering into that question does not entitle him to go into it now.

MR. JAMES STUART said, he bowed to the ruling of the Chairman, and took that as an illustration of the extreme disadvantage to which the 200,000,000 of people in India were necessarily put through the present method of Indian Government; because he took it that the relations existing between the Home Government and the Indian Government and the character of the connection and the method of carrying out everything which was resolved upon in the House of Commons, was a matter of the deepest importance to the whole of the people of India.

SIR JOHN GORST said, he really must say that the strictures which had been passed by the hon. Member who had just sat down, on the Secretary of State for India and on himself, fell on them quite easily, because they were based entirely on ignorance of the facts of the case. He would just take one instance as an illustration. The hon. Member had blamed the Secretary of State because, as he said, the formal despatch which related to the Resolution passed by the House was not sent out till nine or ten days after it had been passed. Now, the Resolution was passed on a Tuesday. The Council of the Secretary of State met every Tuesday; and, therefore, this meeting was held before the Resolution of the House was passed. The next weekly meeting was on the following Tuesday, and then the formal despatch was approved. That was done, therefore, on the earliest possible day, and the despatch went out on the Friday by the first mail after it was passed. Therefore the despatch was sent out on the earliest possible day, and there was no need of any complaint on the part of the hon. Member. As to the Government of India, what could be more unreasonable than the complaint made? On the 17th of May a despatch was sent by the Secretary of State giving directions to the Government of India for dealing with most important and delicate matters relating to the Cantonment Acts, and putting an end to certain practices condemned by this House. On the 9th of June a Resolution of this House was sent out on the subject. There had not been time to do more than to receive from Simla an answer by return of post to the despatch, and yet the hon. Member complained because he (Sir John Gorst) could not tell him and the House all the different measures which the Government of India intended to adopt in order to deal with that extremely difficult subject. When the matter was discussed, he remembered the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) saying that he agreed with him, that in this matter the Government of India ought to be treated with consideration and courtesy; but if the Secretary of State were to do as the hon. Member would have him do, and telegraph to India every day asking them what they were doing as to extremely difficult matters, it would not be treating the Indian Government either very considerately or very courteously. Let the hon. Member wait until the mails arrived, which would give him all the information, and then would be the reasonable and sensible time for going into the discussion of

these subjects. The hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. J. M. Maclean) asked how long it would take to complete the Special Defence Works. He (Sir John Gorst) believed it would take three or four years—that was for the works at present sanctioned. The Amendment before the Committee was that proposed by the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Wolverhampton (Sir William Plowden). That Amendment dealt with the two subjects of the separate Presidency commands and the Presidency Governors. As far as the question of the separate Presidency commands were concerned, it was not at all a financial question. The hon. Gentleman was in error in saying that the Commission was a fruitless Commission. It was not fruitless. [Sir WILLIAM PLOWDEN: I did not say that.] The hon. Gentleman said it was fruitless so far as economy was concerned. There were several departmental savings recommended, and these had all been effected; but he was informed that if the separate Presidency commands were now abolished, it would not effect any further pecuniary saving. It might increase the efficiency of the Indian Army by centralization; but it would not effect a reduction of expenditure. Then, as to the Presidency Governors, he had made what inquiries he could, and he believed, on the best information he had been able to obtain, that the total saving by the abolition of the separate Governorships for Madras and Bombay would be Rx.42,000 per annum. But the question was also a political question, and one of a magnitude which he did not think he ought to be called upon to discuss without notice at five minutes to 12 o'clock on one of the last days of the Session. The effect of such a change in regard to the treatment of the numerous Native States within the Bombay Presidency would have to be considered. The abolition of the Governorship of Bombay would throw on the Governor General an immense amount of work in connection with those States, which was now done by the Governor of the Presidency. Whether that would be an advantage to India and to the Native States was a point worthy of more consideration than it could receive that night. Another objection which he had to make to it was, that it was a reactionary measure altogether. The object of their policy in India ought not to be to centralize, but to decentralize as much as possible. The people of this country had now learnt that India was an aggregation of a great number of nationalities; and any step that tended to centralize in India was a weak one. The Presidency Governments of Madras and Bombay, being in the direction of decentralization, were institutions which ought not to be done away with, at all events, without much more consideration than it was likely to receive at that hour. He now turned to the speech of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), which raised issues of such importance that he felt quite unable to answer it in the limited period within which, with any regard to the time of the Committee, he must confine his remarks. The hon. Member for Northampton practically suggested an inquiry; but let him (Sir John Gorst) remind the Committee that there had recently been two great and exhaustive inquiries in India—one into the finances, conducted by the Finance Committee, and another called the Public Service Commission, which investigated the very subject which the hon. Gentleman and others had so strongly pressed on the Committee that night—namely, the employment of Natives in the Public Services. Both of those two inquiries had been very extensive and very exhaustive. Their Reports had been laid on the Table; but he ventured to say that very few Members indeed had read or looked at them. He advised hon. Members to study the Report of the Finance Committee, and that of the Public Service Commission and then let them have a discussion in the House, and after that, if they found that those inquiries were insufficient, or if any point required to be supplemented, let there be further inquiry.

MR. MAC NEILL. Will the Government give it?

SIR JOHN GORST said, that no one knew better than the hon. Member for South Donegal that the claims for inquiry were not made with a view to information. The fact was that hon. Members were in possession of all information. India was not now a remote and hidden country. It was a country with which there were improved communications, where half the Members of Parliament spent the winter. Everything which

went on was well known, and there were no secret and hidden facts which required to be inquired into. Inquiry was claimed only to disturb and discredit, if possible, the Government, and to unsettle people's minds by leading them to think that through the efforts of Members of that House some progress could be made in the direction of the revolution in India desired by the hon. Member for South Donegal. If, after discussion, further inquiry were wanted, neither the Government of India nor that of England would shrink from it. As he was speaking about inquiry, might he say one word about the Council of India? He had listened attentively to what had been said, because he was anxious to see whether there was anything tangible concerning the Council of India of which he could lay hold, and to which he could reply. As a matter of fact, those who had found fault with the Council of India had found fault with it in such vague and general terms that there was nothing he could say in answer; there was no charge he could lay hold of. All he could say was that, judging from his personal experience, the Council of the Secretary of State was an extremely valuable Body, which it would be difficult to replace, and that it conduced largely to the good government of India. The proposal of the hon. Member for Northampton was that legislation for India should be handed over as he said to the people of India—not, however, to the people of India themselves, but to a set of persons who were thought to be men of superior education and intelligence. The hon. Member proposed to create in India a kind of Venetian oligarchy. The duty of governing the people of India, that we had exercised for the last century, was to be transferred to this Body of educated gentlemen from Bengal, and of Mahrattas from Bombay and Madras, who were not in any sense the people of India. These persons were an urban class; the people of India were agriculturists. The people of Great Britain had no right to hand over their responsibility to other people. It was by the power of Great Britain that India was governed. So long as it was governed by the power of Great Britain, the British Sovereign and people were responsible for the good government of the country, and it was a responsibility they could not shake off on anyone else. We had no right to keep India under, in order that we might subject her to the domination of educated Baboos. He now passed to a subject which had been much spoken of to-night—namely, the employment of Natives. He would not enlarge upon it at length, but invited hon. Members to study the Report of the Public Services Commission. But he would like to observe that, while 30 years ago there were 962 Covenanted civilians in India, there were now only 964. Notwithstanding the enormous progress and increase which had been made in the administration of India, the Covenanted civilians had only increased by two. And while 30 years ago there were no Natives in the Covenanted Service, there were now 58, 10 of whom had entered by open competition, and 48 under the operation of statutory conditions. Thirty years ago there were no Natives in the Sudder or High Courts; now there was not one of those Courts in which there was not a Native Judge. Out of 2,624 inferior Judges and magistrates 2,473 were Natives, and in 1879 it was laid down that Europeans could not be appointed to such positions without the express sanction of the Secretary of State. There were five Legislatures under the Indian Councils Act, all of which had Native members. There were hundreds of Town Councils and Local Boards, many of them elected by the ratepayers, for the management of education, sanitary matters, public works, and local taxation. On these Boards most, and in some cases all, the members were Natives. A great deal had been said in the debate about the poverty of the Natives of India, and the hon. Member for South Donegal (Mr. Mac Neill) had talked as if their poverty was a new thing, a mischievous invention of the British Government. Though, no doubt, the people were poor, every sign pointed to the conclusion that they were better off than they were 30 years ago, and that they were continually advancing in prosperity. He would not talk about the increase of population; but he might remind hon. Members that there had been an extension of cultivation, of irrigation, and of railways, about which he would speak in a moment a little more at length. He was informed the standard of living

had risen, the selling price of land had risen, the number of carts and draught animals employed by the peasantry had greatly increased; the baked earthenware vessels, which were formerly in universal use, had been largely replaced by brass vessels; and articles of luxury, such as sugar, clarified butter, silk fabrics, and umbrellas, were used in much greater quantity. There was one thing which was some test of the wealth of the country, and that was imports and exports. The exports in 1856 were Rx.25,500,000 and the imports Rx.14,250,000. In 1887 the exports were Rx.90,500,000 and the imports Rx.65,000,000, and during the last 30 years there had been an absorption of gold and silver at the rate of £11,500,000 per annum. A good deal had also been said about salt. They had a discussion about salt at an early period of the Session, and he thought that everything that could be said on the subject was said. Certainly, the hon. Baronet the Member for the Evesham Division of Worcester (Sir Richard Temple) had already said enough to answer the remarks of hon. Gentlemen. Had the hon. Member for South Donegal (Mr. Mac Neill) reflected on the fact that, notwithstanding the small increase of the tax on salt which had been found necessary that year, the price of salt at that moment in Bengal, the Punjab, the North-Western Provinces, Oude, and Central India was lower than it was some years ago. Improved railway communication had done more to pull down the price of salt than the slight addition to the tax had done to increase it. Of course his statement did not refer to Bombay and Madras, where, no doubt, the price of salt had increased. But he did not think that those charged with the defence of the administration of the Government of India ought to be content with merely answering the objections that might be raised. He had said often in the House, and he believed it, that there was nothing of which the Sovereign and people of this country had more reason to be pround than of their administration of India. He hoped the Committee would pardon him if he once more drew attention to some of the chief improvements which had been effected in the last 30 years. The State was a great landlord, and it was in the administration of the land and Land Revenue, a subject which no one had mentioned to-night, that the welfare and well-being of the people of India mainly depended. During the last 30 years the survey of the whole of India, including the Native States, with the single exception of the district of Upper Burmah, recently annexed, had been completed. Outside the permanent settled estates there were now cadastral surveys, showing every field, of so improved a character that the revision for the purpose of re-settling the Revenue, which used to cost eight annas per acre, could now be done for three annas, and the operation could now be completed in between two and three years, whereas formerly it took five; and that reduction of time, be it noted, was an immense boon to the agricultural population. The rates of land revenue had been reduced in many parts of India, with the result that the cultivated area had enormously increased. In Lower Burmah, the increase of cultivation was more than 100 per cent. In Berar and Assam it was from 35 to 60 per cent; in Oude, 30 per cent; and 25 per cent in Madras, Bombay, and the Punjab. It might be safely said that over the whole of India the cultivated area of land had increased by 25 per cent, while the population had only increased by 15 to 18 per cent. How, then, could it be thought that the cultivators of the soil were poorer than they were 30 years ago? Prices had risen and were steadier; proprietors were guaranteed against enhancement, and petty occupiers in Bombay, Madras, Burmah, Berar, and Assam had been made proprietors. But one of the most extraordinary advances that had been made was the recognition, by Statute, of tenant right in Bengal, the North-West Provinces, Oude, the Punjab, and the Central Provinces. There was no doubt that some such tenant-right existed in ancient times, but 30 years ago Mr. John Stuart Mill wrote:—

"The rights of the Bengal ryots had passed away *sub silentio*, and they had become to all intents and purposes tenants at will."

That was the state of things 30 years ago, and what was it now? A recent cadastral survey in the populous part of Behar showed that 91 per cent of the small cultivators were in possession of tenant-right. Now as to the Customs

duties. All the Inland Custom line had been abolished from the Sutlej to Sumbulpore—a line of 2,000 miles; the inland duties on sugar had been taken off; and all import duties had been abolished except those on salt and arms. ["Oh, oh!"] He observed that some Liberal Members sneered at the abolition of import duties, quite forgetting their doctrine, as members of the Cobden Club, that the reduction of the import duties was, as he believed it to be, a boon to all consumers. All the export duties, with the exception of those on rice and opium, had also been abolished. He had not a word to say in defence of the Rice Duty, and the moment it was possible to do without the export duty on rice it certainly ought to be repealed. Now, might he point out some other marks of progress in India which were most striking? He would first take the Post Office, which was generally considered a good illustration of the progress of a country. Thirty years ago there were 700 post offices and pillar boxes in India, and there were now 17,000; while the letters and newspapers, &c. sent, which 30 years ago were 28,000,000, were now 259,000,000. Besides that, savings' banks, money order offices, and parcels insurance, and other offices conducing to the benefit of the people, had been established. So cheap now was the postal system of India, that a letter could be sent from Quetta on the borders of Afghanistan to Bhamo on the frontiers of China—3,000 miles—for a halfpenny. Thirty years ago there were 3,000 miles of telegraph lines, now there were 32,000 miles. Thirty years ago there were but few telegraph offices, now there were 1,837, and the number of messages sent, exclusive of railway messages, in 1886-7, was 2,500,000, making 4½ per cent profit on the capital, Rx. 4,000,000 invested. Great progress had been made in legislation and in judicial establishments. During the last 30 years Codes had been passed for the Criminal Law, the Civil Law, and the Law of Civil Evidence and Procedure. When the House recollected that they had never been able themselves to pass any Code at all, they must admit that there was some little merit in the Legislature of India. These Codes had been translated into all the important languages of the country. Many of the Judges in the advanced Provinces and all the Judges and most of the Magistrates of first instance were Natives. Corruption was now almost unknown amongst the Judges in the advanced Provinces, and even inferior Judges or Magistrates, such as the Tahsildars and Mamlatdars, had attained a much higher standard of rectitude than was dreamed of some time ago. One of the most remarkable improvements in the judicial administration of India was the institution of honorary magistrates, who, without pay, administered justice in very many parts of the country. Then with regard to hospitals, 30 years ago there were 142 civil hospitals and dispensaries, and there were now 1,411. And that occurred under a Government which the hon. Member for South Donegal (Mr. Mac Neil) denounced as cruel and barbarous. Thirty years ago the number of patients treated annually was 700,000; but now it amounted to 10,300,000. Vaccination had extended greatly, and in some places the yearly vaccinations were equal to the number of births. There were 25 towns which had a supply of pure water, and there were many others in which the supply had been greatly improved. All that sanitation had been carried out under the direction of Local Bodies, mainly, and very often exclusively, composed of Natives. In 1865 there were 26 Colleges, in 1886 there were 110. In the former year there were 1,582 students, and 10,538 in the latter. In the number of schools there had been an increase in the same period from 19,201 to 122,227, and in the number of scholars an increase from 619,260 to 3,314,542. The girls' schools had increased from 2,105 to 5,586, and the girl scholars from 42,327 to 99,510. It was calculated that there were now at school 19½ per cent of the boys of school age. He did not say that was final. He did not say that was a satisfactory condition of things to stop at, but he maintained it was progress during 30 years for which they might be thankful, and which might encourage them to proceed in the course they had adopted. Now as to Public Works. In 1857 there were 400 miles of railway; in 1887, 14,382; the passengers in the former year numbered 895,000, in the latter, 95,500,000; the goods traffic had increased from 77,000 tons to 20,000,000 tons. The railway

receipts in 1887 were Rx.13,468,000, and it had been calculated that it would have cost four times as much to move these goods and passengers without railways, and that, therefore, the Government of India might be said to have saved the people of India Rx. 54,500,000. These railways had, no doubt, cost the Government of India Rx.1,000,000 a-year; but by this time, if it had not been for the extraordinary fall in the rate of exchange, they would cost the Government nothing. Great advantages had also been secured by Irrigation Works, which, in the North of India, yielded a return of 4 per cent, and in the Madras Presidency gave very much larger profits. Trunk roads had been made, and turnpikes and tolls had been abolished. With regard to Local Government, he might point out that in 1858 there were scarcely any municipal towns, whereas now there were 462 of such towns, spending Rx.3,480,000 annually, and controlling the sanitary and local interests of a population of 14,250,000 persons. There were also Rural Boards and Port Authorities which provided for the education and sanitation of the districts, and for the improvement of commercial facilities at seaports, and these Boards and Governing Bodies consisted mainly of Natives. Reference had been made to the fact that certain Indian fabrics had been displaced by English goods; but that was the natural result of India coming into contact with a great manufacturing country which could manufacture more cheaply than themselves. But there was a great deal to be said on the other side. If some Indian industries had been displaced, there were other industries which had been developed, by contact with Great Britain—namely, railway labour, which employed 225,000 men, steamboat labour, indigo manufacture, cotton manufacture in Bombay, and jute manufacture in Bengal, and the timber and rice trades. There were 89 cotton mills with 2,250,000 spindles in Bombay; there were 24 jute mills, nine paper mills, and a number of timber and rice mills. The exports of cotton yarns and fabrics amounted in 1887 to Rx.4,250,000, and the manufacture of tea, coffee, jute, and cinchona employed 400,000 men, and the trade in these articles, which had not existed before the British occupation, now amounted to Rx.12,250,000, besides the Indian consumption. He thought that when it was possible to point to a record of that kind as the result of 30 years' administration of the Government of India, we had no reason to complain. He repeated, without fear of contradiction, that there was no national achievement which afforded greater satisfaction to the Sovereign and the people of this country than the just and noble administration of our Indian Empire.

MAJOR RASCH (Essex, S.E.) said, he desired to make an appeal to the Committee on behalf of a class of men who had no means of expressing their opinions except through Members of that House. He alluded to the non-commissioned officers promoted from the ranks and afterwards promoted to commissions in the Indian Army. The grievance of which they complained was as follows:—That the Statement made in January, 1884, by the then Secretary of State for India to the effect that the usages in the Indian Army and the English Army should be assimilated, had not been carried into effect. He did not want to multiply details or mention too many instances, and he would, therefore, refer to one or two only in which it had failed. One was that the non-commissioned officers promoted in the English Army were allowed £100 for outfit, whereas those in the Indian Army received nothing. Again, in case of the death of officers in the English Army, their widows had pensions of £80, whereas in the Indian Army the corresponding pensions were cut down to £36. He wished to call attention to the fact that the men on whose behalf he was speaking were, all of them, of many years' good and honourable service, who had been promoted in consequence, and, therefore, deserved all they were entitled to get. They were really hard working, practical soldiers; they were not men who counted their 10 years' Indian service, with five years' in a Volunteer battalion, two years at a depôt, and one year's leave, but men who had gone regularly through their period of service in India. He regretted that no hon. Member of higher standing than himself could be found to take up the cause of these deserving officers. That, however, was their misfortune, and not their fault; and he hoped his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of

State for India (Sir John Gorst) would give a favourable consideration to the few words he had said in their behalf.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he sincerely hoped that the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India would pay attention to the case which had been urged by the hon. and gallant Gentleman who had just spoken. Most hon. Members had listened with interest and attention to the harangue which had been pronounced by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for India in support of the many injustices which had been perpetrated in India. The hon. Gentleman had told the Committee that the railways had increased in that country, and implied that the Natives had at least sufficient confidence in their Rulers to embark in the railway carriages which were provided for them. The fact had been brought before him in the course of the last few days that on some of the railways passengers had to wait while a ticket was being written out. That was simply absurd; and he maintained that if they really wanted to promote the railway system in India, which had furnished the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary with some plausible arguments that evening, they should remedy such grievances as this. The position taken up by the hon. Gentleman appeared to him to be founded on the supposition that railways were never known before; but, as a matter of fact, progress had taken place all over the world, and because it had taken place in India the hon. Gentleman took advantage of the natural progress made as a set-off against the claims of hon. Members on behalf of the people of India. He had asked the hon. Gentleman a fortnight ago what the Government were going to do in connection with the India Medical Service, and he was good enough to put him off, maintaining at the same time that it was for the benefit of the Medical Service in India that it should be educated in India, instead of as heretofore. The subject was not, of course, one which would generally interest the Committee, and he should, therefore, be as brief as possible in the remarks he had to make. It was in the knowledge of the House that medical officers in India had been educated at Netley, at which place also the Army medical officers were educated, and great economy had resulted from that system. It should also be borne in mind that the officers belonging to the Army Medical Staff, serving as they must in India, were likewise educated at Netley. What was now proposed to be done? It was, he believed, that candidates for the India Medical Service would have to be examined in London by practically the same staff as that which examined for the Army Medical Service at the present time. Those gentlemen who satisfied the Examiners would have then to proceed to India to three or four medical schools which were not at present in existence, and for which no provision had been made. The hon. Gentleman had told them that there were hospitals in India, but he had on two occasions distinctly evaded answering his Question as to whether those hospitals were provided with the necessary means and resources for bringing the students to the state of efficiency to which they had hitherto been brought at the medical school at Netley. He was speaking in the interest of a very large class, whose grievance if not attended to would result in the supply of really qualified men, when they were wanted, being conspicuous for its absence. The Government by this course were proposing to relieve themselves of a very moderate expense, and transferring it to the people of India; they were trying to carry out a very unwise proposal, and in confirmation of what he said he had only to refer the hon. Gentleman to one of the leading medical newspapers of the country. In this matter, although an Irishman, and there were many Irishmen in the India Medical Service, he was speaking as a medical man. The proposal of the Government implied a certain amount of contempt for the Medical Profession, because they seemed to think that because there were doctors now there would always be doctors. He recollected that in the Queen's University, Ireland, which was a Government institution, placards were put up telling gentlemen who were becoming qualified members of the Profession not to join the Indian or Army Medical Service. The Government had on that occasion to cry "peccavi," and they might have to do so again. He asked the Government to pause in time, and look into this matter with the seriousness which it demanded.

SIR WALTER FOSTER (Derby, Ilkeston) said, he rose to call attention to a case of injustice done to a medical officer of his acquaintance (Deputy Surgeon General Joynt), who had been retired on a lower pension than he was entitled to receive. This gentleman had served 26¼ years in the India Service and received a pension of £500, although it was the general practice to give a pension of £700 after 25 years' service; he appeared to have been known throughout his career as an excellent officer, and to have been complimented by his superiors. He had also been refused the opportunity of serving longer to complete his term. He brought this case before the hon. Gentleman, because he thought it undesirable that the repeated complaints of this officer should remain unanswered.

SIR JOHN GORST said, he regretted that he had not received Notice of the circumstance which the hon. Gentleman had brought forward, because he was unable to give any reply upon it. If, however, the hon. Gentleman would put a Notice on the Paper, or if he would communicate with him, the subject should be inquired into and a reply given.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 36; Noes 105: Majority 69.—(Div. List, No. 272.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Resolved, That it appears, by the Accounts laid before this House, that the Total Revenue of India for the year ending the 31st day of March 1887, was Rx.77,337,134; that the Total Expenditure in India and in England charged to Revenue was Rx.77,158,707; that there was a surplus of Revenue over Expenditure of Rx.178,427; and that the Capital Outlay on Railways and Irrigation Works was Rx.5,670,484, besides a Capital Charge of £4,914,546 involved in the Redemption of Liabilities.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (MONEY) BILL.—[BILL 354.]

(*Mr. Jackson, Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 3, inclusive, *agreed to*.

Clause 4 (Amendment of 50 & 51 Vict. c. 31. s. 9, sub-sections (*a*), (*b*), (*e*), (*g*), (*h*), (*i*), (*l*), (*m*), s. 10, s. 11, sub-section (i)).

MR. FIRTH (Dundee) said, he did not like to go into the various items of this clause, but would put a question to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) with reference to one or two of the sub-sections. He desired to know, as to the 1st sub-section, whether the Board had settled any scheme for the expenditure of this £35,000 for the Fire Brigade? As to Sub-section 3, he might say that he had thought the expenditure closed. Would the hon. Gentleman tell them what the remaining £11,000 was for? Already £135,000 had been spent in this direction. Then, as to Sub-section 8, it gave powers under the Various Powers Act for the expenditure of £81,000 more this year than was given under the Act of 1885. He wished to ask which of the various powers of the Act of 1885 were to be carried out under this expenditure. Lastly, as to Sub-section 9, it was proposed to take £131,000 for, he thought, main drainage and sewers. This, he believed, had nothing to do with the outfall, but was a separate matter. Why did they want to spend so large a sum, the system being practically complete?

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) said, that as to Sub-section 1, he understood that the power here given in respect of the Fire Brigade was in lieu of the power given under the Metropolitan Expenses Bill of last Session which had not passed into law.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, the hon. Member had not been present last night when this matter was explained. So far as the Metropolitan Fire Brigade was concerned, it had nothing to do—no connection with the Bill introduced into the House. This was a capital expenditure on hydrants and matters of that kind, with a view of making better provision for fires occurring in different parts of the Metropolis. In reply to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dundee (Mr. Firth) as to Sub-section (i)——

MR. FIRTH said, he had asked if they had settled anything in this matter, as the expenditure was abnormal?

MR. JACKSON said, that, no doubt, it was an abnormal expenditure, because a further extension of the scheme had

been decided upon and an additional sum was being asked for. The hon. and learned Gentleman had asked, as to Subsection 3, why this expenditure was not closed? The reason was because the work done in 1887 was less than had been expected, and the additional expenditure was consequently thrown on the present year. The hon. and learned Gentleman would understand that as the amount placed at the disposal of the Metropolitan Board of Works last year had not been expended it had been surrendered.

MR. FIRTH: Yes; but they are asking for £4,000 more.

MR. JACKSON said, he understood that it was in consequence of less work having been done in 1887 than was expected, more work being thrown on the present year. This caused the sum taken in 1888 to be larger than the amount originally estimated. The hon. and learned Gentleman asked as to Subsection 8, and desired to know if the money was to be expended on special works? Well, he (Mr. Jackson) understood that the Supplemental sum was due to the fact that in this case also the work that was expected to be done in 1887 was not done in that year, and threw more work upon this year. It was work in connection with the Woolwich Ferry. As to the expenditure under Sub-section 9, the engineer estimated that everything had been got into working order, and that the work would proceed more rapidly than when the Estimate was prepared.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Powers to expend money for the purposes of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Various Powers) Act, 1888, Thames Tunnel (Blackwall) Act, 1888, Hampstead Heath Enlargement Acts, 1886 and 1888, Clissold Park Act, 1887, Vauxhall Park Act, 1888, Brixton Park Act, 1888, and the Metropolis (Whitechapel and Limehouse), &c., Confirmation Act, 1888).

MR. FIRTH (Dundee) said, he desired to draw attention to certain words in this clause especially bearing on the lending authority—namely, the words "as the Board think fit." Would there be any objection to altering the words into "as the London County Council think fit?" The London County Council would have to consider the authorities to whom so much money was to be lent. The discretion of the Metropolitan Board of Works was a vanishing quantity, both in public esteem and in fact.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he thought the hon. and learned Member would see that, though it might be that the County Council when established might alter the manner of dealing with this matter of lending, in the meantime, so far as the Metropolitan Board of Works was concerned, the words "as they think fit" must stand. The work would have to be taken over by the new Governing Body, and the transfer of authority would be covered by the general legislation.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Power to expend money for sundry purposes during year 1889).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill. —(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) said, he was afraid he should have to ask the House to bear with him for a few moments, whilst he gave reasons for opposing Sub-sections "*h*, *i*, and *j*." It was proposed by this clause to authorize the Metropolitan Board of Works to spend a very considerable sum of money on artizans and labourers' dwellings improvements, and for purposes of street improvements. He had first of all to complain, in regard to the clause to which he referred, that the dwellings erected in the Metropolis were of a most unhealthy character. He asked any Member of the House to visit any of the blocks of buildings which had been erected, and to ask themselves whether they would care to reside within them? He did not know who was responsible for the blunders which had been committed—whether it was the architect or the Board of Works, or whether it was any particular Department of the Government; but there was not a single block of artizans' dwellings in the Metropolis—excepting those which had been erected under the Shaftesbury Park Estate Company, and over which the Metropolitan Board of Works had no control—which was fit for human habitation, and he said that advisedly. The windows of the dwellings were more like pigeon holes than

windows. They were set back from the brick work 14 inches, and in some cases as much as 18 inches. Every effort seemed to have been made by the architect or surveyor of the Board of Works to exclude light and air from these dwellings. In some of them there were from 1,400 to 2,000 windows; and, to say nothing as to the injurious effect upon the people who resided in them, a considerable saving might have been effected in the construction of these dwellings had the windows been as large as they should have been, as glass and wood was much cheaper than bricks —especially the brick walls that were employed in artizans' dwellings. He had first of all to complain of the shameful way in which the people were housed in the so-called improved dwellings of the working classes. He would ask hon. Members, between now and the next meeting of the House, to judge for themselves as to the accuracy of his statement by visiting the artizans' dwellings in the Metropolis. They need not go far. There was a block in Bedfordbury where a considerable amount of money had been spent, though how people managed to subsist in it was to him a perfect mystery. The windows, as he had said, were more like pigeon-holes than windows, and reflected the greatest amount of discredit upon those who were responsible. He assumed that the Metropolitan Board of Works, more than anybody else, were responsible for the construction of these dwellings, from which light and air were excluded. Then he objected to arming this Body with powers for what were called street improvements. He would ask the Committee to bear with him for a few moments whilst he referred to two thoroughfares which were now well known in the Metropolis. He referred to the new street from Charing Cross to Tottenham Court Road, and the Shaftesbury Avenue. Eleven years ago the Metropolitan Board of Works, or someone who was connected with that Board, thought it desirable to purchase a number of houses on the site of these improvements, and they paid, in many instances, considerable sums of money by way of compensation to the persons occupying the houses. Many of those houses were closed for six or seven years before they were pulled down. One would have thought that the Metropolitan Board of Works, if they deemed it necessary to acquire these houses, would have let them until such time as they were prepared to pull them down, without burdening the Metropolis with the interest which had to be paid on the money wherewith the purchases had been made. Ten or 11 years ago there existed in Nassau Street a snug little hotel which might have been known to some Members of the House who were fond of dishes cooked in the French fashion. The Metropolitan Board of Works paid the proprietor of the hotel some thousands of pounds by way of compensation, and the house remained empty four years. He (Mr. Cremer) believed it was afterwards let for some trifling sum; but it was 10 years after the house was purchased, and after thousands of pounds had been expended in compensation to the proprietor, that the Metropolitan Board of Works pulled the place down. All this time the Board of Works was paying interest on the money given to the proprietor of the hotel. Again, the proprietor of another house at the corner of Hayes Court was paid for being dispossessed of his business. The Board let the house to another tenant; and would hon. Members credit it when he stated that the Board paid to the man who took it, after he had remained in it two or three years, compensation for depriving him of his business? A third man obtained possession of the house, and he also tried it on with the Board of Works, and very nearly succeeded in obtaining compensation. That was the way in which the money of the ratepayers had been squandered by the Board of Works; and the House was now asked to arm them with authority to continue this process of wasting the ratepayers' money. When the new street was constructed from Piccadilly to Broad Street, the Board constructed, and very properly constructed, a large subway. He admitted that this subway was admirably constructed. He had watched its progress, and had congratulated himself that a little common sense had been infused into the business of the Board, and that in the future, in that street, at any rate, they would not see the road torn up every two or three weeks for the purpose of operating on the gas and water pipes. The Board constructed that subway, and they knew that they were going to con-

struct another street from Tottenham Court Road to Charing Cross. Any schoolboy could have told them that it was desirable to construct what was known in the trade as a junction, so that when the new subway was made from Tottenham Court Road to Charing Cross it might have been easily connected with the subway then existing. Nothing of the kind took place, however, and what happened? Why, 12 months after the first subway was constructed the Metropolitan Board of Works had to pull up the road, break into the subway at Cambridge Circus, and spend a large sum of money in making the junction, which should have been constructed when the first subway was built. These were a few instances of the way in which the money of the London ratepayers had been wasted by the Metropolitan Board of Works. He had no hesitation in saying that the Board, in the instances he had referred to, had the opportunity of constructing magnificent thoroughfares of which the inhabitants of London might have been proud; but if anyone would walk through these thoroughfares and look about him, he (Mr. Cremer) would undertake to say that he would find the streets full of angles and bungles. He could go on multiplying instances, but he should be sorry to waste the time of the House by going into more details, as he assumed that there was no one who had not made up his mind as to the general character of the Board which they were now asked to arm with these additional powers. He, for one, would go into the Lobby against a Board which had so disgraced itself that its name was a bye-word and reproach not only in the Metropolis, but throughout the whole civilized world. Even if no one went with him, he should feel it his duty, on behalf of the ratepayers of London, to protest against arming the Metropolitan Board of Works with the new powers contained in this clause.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 101; Noes 31: Majority 70.—(Div. List, No. 273.)

Clause 7 (Special power to expend money for purposes of main drainage and main sewers).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. FIRTH (Dundee) said, he did not know whether it was worth while discussing the Bill, but he had one observation to make upon Clause 7. He supposed the £142,000 was for the experimental works that had been carried out at the outfall at Barking. Last year they voted £170,000 for the same purpose, and he understood that the total cost of the work was estimated at over £1,000,000. He would like to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury whether he could tell them what the total cost of the work was likely to be; and whether he himself approved of the system of purification of sewage which had been adopted?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he was afraid he could not give the hon. and learned Member any information as to what the ultimate cost of the work would be. He had, personally, little experience in dealing with matters of this kind, and therefore he would not dare to make an estimate. But it must be obvious that, whether the system adopted was approved or not, some attempt must be made to deal with the sewage. He did not think that at this late hour of the Board's existence, so to speak, they could usefully hinder or suspend their operations. A very large amount of money had been spent upon the works, which were now in progress. He understood that very considerable progress had been made with the works at Barking, and that the Board were hopeful—he would not put it higher than that—that the plans they had adopted and were carrying out would be successful. Anyone who had any experience of dealing with the purification of sewage, or kindred matters, would speak with very great caution as to certainty of success, and even as to the expenditure which would be involved.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) asked the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury if it was not possible for the Government to use their influence with the Board of Works in order to prevent any further expenditure in this direction, pending an inquiry into the Report which had recently been published in regard to the remarkable success which had attended the utilization of the sewage in Berlin? Hon. Members of the House might probably have seen the Report, and those

Members who were acquainted with the City of Berlin 10 or 11 years ago would remember the terrible sanitary condition of that city before the system of canalization was introduced. If the Report was a reliable one, he certainly thought it would be worth while, on the part of the Government, to use any influence they possessed with the Board of Works to induce them to stay their hand, and not expend any more money on a scheme which, he believed, was condemned by every expert, until an inquiry had been instituted and a Report made as to the accuracy of the statement which was recently published with regard to the successful result of the system adopted in Berlin.

MR. JACKSON said, the hon. Member would see that to suspend the works at this moment and in their present condition would, to say the least of it, be a very large waste of money. It would, moreover, give rise to very difficult questions. It was quite certain the Metropolitan Board of Works had before them the information the hon. Member had represented to the Committee—their attention had been drawn to the Report. In view of the fact that these responsibilities of the Board were about to be taken over by a new Body, whose duty it would be to carry out these works, he thought it would be extremely unwise for the House of Commons to impose any new conditions, or stop works which were going on, and which had received Parliamentary sanction.

MR. FIRTH said, that, as a matter of fact, this money would be expended in constructing additional settling tanks. The opinion of many competent authorities was that the expenditure of this money would be absolutely waste—that in a few years the settling tanks would be absolutely useless.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause 8 and 9 severally *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Extension of amount of loans to the managers of Metropolitan Asylum District).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) said, that he called attention to the subject of this clause yesterday, but he did not receive much satisfaction. The object of the clause was to increase by £50,000 the power of the Metropolitan Board of Works to lend money to the Metropolitan Asylums Board. As he said last night, he thought this was a very unfortunate time for the Metropolitan Asylums Board to come to that House and ask them to increase its possibilities of borrowing money, for he was sure he did not exaggerate the case when he said that, possibly with one exception, the Metropolitan Asylums Board was the most unpopular Body in the Metropolis. It was certainly believed to be the most extravagant. The expenditure of that Board had grown with frightful rapidity. In 1872 the Board's expenditure was £197,000. In 10 years it had grown to £386,000. In the next year it was £420,000, and in 1885 it was £566,000. In 1886 there was a drop, but a very slight one, for the expenditure was £524,000. The Board had the administration of a mere corner of the whole field of the Poor Law, and yet the sum he had mentioned was no less than 23 per cent of the whole cost of the Poor Law administration in London. Taking the case of his own constituency, he believed that the contribution of Bethnal Green was as large as 9*d.* in the £1 of the rateable value. But, large as this expenditure out of the rates was, they had also to take into consideration a very large expenditure out of loans. He did not want to weary the Committee, and therefore he would only give two figures. In 1885 the expenditure out of loans was £90,000, and in 1886 it was £101,000. And then there was, perhaps, the still more serious aspect of the expenditure of the Board which was presented to them by the fact that the amount of outstanding loans was constantly increasing. He found that on Lady Day, 1883, the amount of outstanding loans was £910,000; on Lady Day, 1886, it had risen to more than £1,000,000, and at Christmas, 1886, it had risen to more than £1,100,000. What it was now he could not say, because they had no information. He thought they had much reason to complain of the fact that although they had now arrived at the 9th of August, 1888, and were called upon to assent to the financial operations of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, they had not yet received a Report of that Board for the year 1887. The issue of

that Report ought to be expedited, so that it would be in their hands, at all events, when the Money Bill for the following year was presented for their consideration. He referred last night to the suspicion which rested on the Board, and he did not want to labour that aspect of the case; but the answer which, no doubt, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would make would be that none of this money could be lent without the sanction of the Local Government Board for the expenditure. It was perfectly true that such sanction had to be obtained, but the argument was not conclusive. If they provided the money they took the first step, at all events, to enable the Metropolitan Asylums Board to get possession. He would like to impress on hon. Members the fact that there was no more persistent Body in the Metropolis, or perhaps in the world, than the Metropolitan Asylums Board. The Board was constantly going to the Local Government Board and pressing for consent to schemes. It frequently happened that, in the first place, consent was withheld; but, nothing daunted, the Board returned to the charge, and in many cases successfully. He was afraid that in the cases they had now in view the virtue of the Local Government Board might not be able resist these constant and persistent assaults. Let them protect the Local Government Board against the pressure which was constantly applied. If the Metropolitan Board of Works had not the money to lend, it was clear the Metropolitan Asylums Board could not get it from them; and, considering the character which the Metropolitan Asylums Board had at present, it was the plain duty of the Committee to take precautions against the Board unduly increasing its responsibilities. No reason had yet been alleged—at least, he was unable to elicit last night from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury any reason whatever for extending the power of the Metropolitan Board of Works to lend to the Metropolitan Asylums Board. In the absence of satisfactory reasons he should certainly feel it his duty to divide the Committee against the clause.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he was sorry his answer last night had not removed the hon. Member's objection. He certainly endeavoured to supply him with a reason why the clause should not be omitted. He took it that the object of the hon. Member was to prevent expenditure by the Metropolitan Asylums Board. Let him point out that even if the hon. Gentleman's suggestion were adopted his object would not be effected. Although they might strike out of the Bill the power of the Metropolitan Board of Works to lend money to the Metropolitan Asylums Board, they would not thereby prevent the Metropolitan Asylums Board borrowing money in other quarters. The hon. Member was quite right in saying that the Asylums Board had been very persistent in its demands; but he could trust the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) to be equally persistent in refusing to accede to any demands made by the Asylums Board until the Board convinced him that the demands were honest and ought to be met. The hon. Member would see that the Metropolitan Asylums Board having got the sanction of the Local Government Board to certain expenditure for the extension of their Asylums and having got the power to borrow money either from the Metropolitan Board of Works or in the open market, his object would not be attained even though he prevented the Metropolitan Board of Works lending the money. But there was an advantage, which the hon. Gentleman would admit, both to the Metropolitan Board of Works and to the Asylums Board, that one should lend money upon ample security and at a reasonable rate of interest, and that the other should borrow money without paying too high a price for it. The striking out of this clause might cause the Asylums Board to borrow money at a higher rate of interest than was necessary.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) said, he was sorry he was not able to be satisfied with the answer of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury. From time to time greater facilities had been given to the Asylums Board to borrow money. It was all very well to say that the Local Government Board would use their discretion, but the Local Government Board had many duties to perform, and in the case of a persistent Body like the Asylums Board it was very

likely that sometimes they might be caught napping. As long as they had these Boards in London which were not directly elected by the people, which consisted of nominee members, it was his and his hon. Friend's bounden duty to prevent them having facilities to borrow money in the large manner they would be able to borrow if this clause were passed. It was absurd for the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to say that if this clause was not passed the Board could go into the open market and borrow money, possibly at a higher rate of interest. What would be the effect of the omission of this clause? For the first time the expenditure of the Asylums Board would be brought under the notice of the public; and, therefore, they would have to be much more careful how they expended money than they had hitherto been.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he shared, to some extent, the distrust hon. Gentlemen had expressed of the Asylums Board; but the course they now proposed to take would not carry out the object they desired to secure. The Bill conferred no power upon the Metropolitan Asylums Board. It was a re-grant of an old existing power on the Metropolitan Board of Works—to do what? To lend such sums of money as the Metropolitan Asylums Board were authorized to borrow with the consent of the Local Government Board. He did not see that they could have a better control than that of the Local Government Board. He should be compelled to vote against the omission of the clause, though, at the same time, he would not like his vote to be taken as an expression of confidence in the Asylums Board. He hoped to see the time when London would be as other great Municipalities were, independent of Parliamentary control in its financial matters. They could trust Birmingham and Manchester to spend their own money, and he hoped London would be trusted to the same degree and extent. But this clause simply said that if the President of the Local Government Board, in the exercise of the power already vested in him, sanctioned the borrowing by the Asylums Board of certain sums of money, the Board should be able to go into the cheapest market to get the money.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said, they desired to press their protest to a Division. The Metropolitan Asylums Board should have no further powers of borrowing. That Board was a corrupt Body, and they desired to see it swept away. The sooner it was made the subject of inquiry similar to that held by the Commission into the doings of the Board of Works, and the sooner the Board was deprived of the power of spending the ratepayers' money, the better.

MR. FIRTH (Dundee) said, he did not understand what the money was for. He was given to understand it was for the extension of hospital accommodation; but, as had been pointed out, the hospitals provided by the Board cost a very much larger sum than others. Hon. Members who were responsible to the ratepayers of London ought to have some control over this expenditure. His hon. Friend had used some very strong language in respect to the Board; but if anybody would refer to *The Spectator*, which, he thought, was a Conservative journal, more or less—at all events, a journal of very high respectability—it would be found that in reference to the Homerton inquiry the language of his hon. Friend was mild as new milk compared to that used by this respectable, sober, high-class journal. The Committee should know what this money was for. It might not, it was said, be borrowed at all; but if it should be, the ratepayers would have to find the interest, and the Representatives of the ratepayers were entitled to know something about it.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) said, the hon. and learned Member asked what the money was required for, and though he could not give information as to all the items he could assure the hon. and learned Member that it was after a great deal of negotiation with the Board that the Local Government Board satisfied themselves as to the propriety of the demand. The item for the erection of huts for convalescent small-pox patients had in the course of the inquiry been reduced to one-half the sum first mentioned. The accommodation was absolutely essential in the interest of London in view of the possibility of the outbreak of a small-pox epidemic; but the Local Govern-

ment Board thought that in their first proposal the Metropolitan Asylums Board were proceeding in much too costly and large a manner. The Local Government Board urged that, so far as possible, existing buildings should be availed of, and that these should only be supplemented where they would be likely to be required in a case of a small-pox epidemic. Ultimately the Asylums Board adopted that view, and, in consequence, the original sum asked for was reduced by about a-half. The Local Government Board sanctioned the borrowing of money for the erection of sheds, and though it was to be hoped that these would not be required, yet it was essential that provision should be made. To say that no further borrowing powers should be given to the Asylums Board was a proposition that could not be entertained for a moment. The Asylums Board might not be constituted in a satisfactory manner, and he was willing to admit that the time must come when the entire management of matters of this kind should be transferred to the County Council; but in the discussion of the clauses of the Local Government Bill he gave reasons why he thought these powers should not now be transferred. The time, however, must come for the transfer. He must guard himself against being supposed to agree with the hon. Member for the Hoxton Division of Shoreditch's attack on the Board. The Board had done great service to the people of London, and very often when it was by no means a pleasant duty. Whether the Board was constituted in a satisfactory manner or not, and whether or not its functions should be transferred to the new authority about to be created, the people of London owed to the Board a debt of gratitude for services rendered. This was no very large item of expenditure; it had the sanction of the Local Government Board, and he hoped the Committee would assent to the Metropolitan Board of Works lending the sum.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) said, before the Division was taken it should be made quite clear that it was because the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board disregarded the advice tendered by Metropolitan Members, when the Local Government Bill was under consideration, that those Members now felt it their duty to divide the Committee on this question. He merely referred to this because the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) seemed to have fallen into the error of supposing that the County Council would have control over the Metropolitan Asylums Board; but it was because the County Council would have no such control over the Board that hon. Members felt it their duty to make this protest. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton was probably under a misapprehension. [MR. HENRY H. FOWLER: No.] Well, then he was misunderstood by the Committee, for there were several ejaculations of dissent when the right hon. Gentleman made the statement. Had the County Council possessed the control the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board was urged to confer upon it, there would have been no need for the protest about to be recorded.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 100; Noes 28: Majority 72: — (Div. List, No. 274.)

Clause 11 (Power to lend to School Board for London).

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth) said, he desired some explanation in reference to the borrowing powers of the School Board for London. The School Board borrowed under powers vested in them by Act of Parliament. If the Bill referred to previous Acts, then, by reference to the Schedule, it would be seen that the unexhausted borrowing powers of the London School Board at the end of last year was £250,000. He asked whether this authority now asked for to lend and borrow £300,000 was in addition to that borrowing power of £250,000? If not, then it would seem that the amount in the clause ought to be reduced to £250,000. As the House did not seem to have any means of estimating how this money was to be spent, and as there was not in this case, as in the case of the Metropolitan Asylums Board, the check of the Local Government Board, the Committee ought to be put in possession of a short summary or estimate of what the money was wanted for. He had heard it stated that part of the money had already been expended;

and, if that were so, it made the want of control rather more dangerous and somewhat a farce to ask the House for these powers without limitation or supervision by anybody.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he thought it would be clear to the hon. Member and to the Committee that in Table 2, to which the hon. Member referred, the £250,000 was merely a statement of the borrowing powers that expired on December 31, 1887.

MR. KIMBER said, no; powers that expired at the end of this year—Table 3 was the one he referred to.

MR. JACKSON said, that this had nothing to do with the powers of the School Board. Of course, they were governed by another Act. This simply gave to the Metropolitan Board of Works power to lend to the School Board to an amount not exceeding £300,000.

MR. KIMBER asked, was it in addition to the £250,000?

MR. JACKSON said, it had nothing whatever to do with it.

MR. KIMBER said, but the Board would have the power to raise the money.

MR. JACKSON said, of course, the Metropolitan Board of Works could not lend to the School Board any sums, large or small, that the School Board had not Parliamentary powers to borrow. So far as the Metropolitan Board of Works Bill was concerned, all the Committee had to deal with was this lending power. The Board asked Parliament to give them power to lend out of their moneys £300,000 to the School Board. The School Board, of course, must have authority to borrow, else the Metropolitan Board of Works would not have the power to lend; and, assuming the security to be sufficient, he did not see any objection. There was the precaution that none of the money could be borrowed by the School Board or lent by the Metropolitan Board of Works unless with the sanction of the Education Department and of the Treasury; therefore, there were as many safeguards as could possibly be needed.

MR. KIMBER said, the hon. Gentleman did not see his point. ["Oh, oh!"] He did not often trouble the House, and was sorry to do so now. This clause said the Board might lend and the School Board might borrow a sum not exceeding £300,000; so that these were new borrowing powers. ["No, no!"] If they were not, if it was only power to lend the School Board that which the latter had already—the power to borrow—then the maximum sum should be £250,000; why the power in the clause to lend £300,000?

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, the hon. Member was confusing the borrowing powers of the School Board with the lending powers of the Metropolitan Board. The Schedule dealt with the lending power of the Metropolitan Board of Works on December 31, 1888, and the powers of the Board in that respect would expire on that day. They had the power to lend the School Board to the extent of the School Board's unexhausted borrowing power. To strike out the clause would be to place the School Board at a disadvantage, for they would have to raise the money they might require in the open market, instead of going to the Metropolitan Board of Works on more favourable terms. With the policy of School Board expenditure the clause had nothing to do—it was simply the question of giving the Board of Works power to lend to this among other Public Bodies; there was nothing in it giving the slightest borrowing power to the School Board.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 12 (Power to lend to the Receiver of the Metropolitan Police).

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) said, the Committee would be very captious if it objected to Metropolitan Members criticizing these clauses one by one, seeing that they dealt exclusively with the Metropolis and the liability of Metropolitan ratepayers. After all, it was not often they troubled the House with questions peculiarly concerning themselves, while the claims of other sections of the House were frequently allowed. The Representatives of 5,000,000 of population were entitled to ask that these vast sums of money should not be expended so long as Parliamentary control was assumed without adequate examination. When the Local Government Bill was under discussion—[*Cries of* "Question!"]—this affected the question—the right hon. Gentleman the

President of the Local Government Board said it was necessary Parliament should have control over Metropolitan expenditure on account of the fatness of the Metropolis; and on that ground he desired to know why there was this power of lending to the Receiver of Metropolitan Police? Although former loans might have been justified, this required a special defence. Former loans were justified, because it was said it was desirable to give unity and coherence to the debt of the Metropolis; but he could not look upon the Metropolitan Police as a local force in view of the fact that ratepayers had no control over it, and the police area was not co-extensive with that under the jurisdiction of the Board of Works. Why, then, should the Metropolitan Board of Works be under any liability in respect to the Metropolitan Police district? It was said, though he did not agree with it, that the Metropolitan Police must be an Imperial, not a local, force; but, if that was so, why should the Metropolis be put under any liability for the sake of the Metropolitan Police? Some defence was surely required for this clause.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he was extremely sorry that the hon. Member had not paid a little more attention to the clause about which he had spoken. The hon. Member was under the impression that it imposed some charge upon the ratepayers of the Metropolis.

MR. LAWSON said, it was exhausting the amount of borrowing power.

MR. JACKSON said, it conferred no power on the Receiver of Police that he did not otherwise possess. The whole action of the clause was limited simply to this—it gave the Metropolitan Board of Works power to lend to the Receiver of Police certain sums of money the Board had in hand. The Receiver of Police had authority to borrow certain sums of money; and whether he borrowed from the Board of Works, or in the open market, or from whatever source, it was entirely a question of the rate of interest at which he could get what he required. The clause did not really impose a penny of obligation upon the ratepayers of the Metropolis. It did, however, afford the Metropolitan Board of Works the opportunity of lending on good and adequate security money that would otherwise have to be obtained elsewhere. If hon. Members wished to discuss the expenditure on the Metropolitan Police this was not the opportunity of doing it—this was merely the question of lending to the Receiver of London Police a sum of money which the Board must lend or invest in some way, and he supposed hon. Members would not deny that the security was adequate. It really afforded the Metropolitan Board of Works the opportunity of safely investing the money.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said, the point of objection was the power to lend the ratepayers' money to Bodies over whose expenditure the ratepayers had no control, and the interest upon which borrowed money the ratepayers had to pay.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 13 to 25, inclusive, *agreed to.*

FIRST SCHEDULE.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, the clauses having been disposed of and the majority of hon. Members present having succumbed to the influence of Morpheus—[*Cries of* "Order!"] It was a fact, unwilling as supporters of the Government might be to recognize facts. It was surely time to report Progress. Surely Her Majesty's Government would recognize the propriety of this at half-past 2 o'clock.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Schedule stand part of the Bill."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

DR. TANNER said, he would remind the Chairman that he had moved to report Progress.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he declined to put that Motion, being of opinion that it was an abuse of the Rules of the House.

Schedule *agreed to.*

Remaining Schedules *agreed to.*

Preamble *agreed to.*

Bill *reported*, without Amendment.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) said, he agreed to the Motion, but hoped that next year the Bill would be taken at a different time and earlier in the Session. The attempt to debate it had been made under constant expressions of impatience from the other side of the House, but, in the interests of those he represented, he trusted it would be treated in a different fashion when it was brought forward under the auspices of the new County Council.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he believed it was a very unusual proceeding to take three stages of a Bill at Sitting, and he should certainly oppose it were it not that hon. Members near him acquiesced. But the Government must not imagine that other Bills down for Committee stage would be allowed to pass with the same facility.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*.

PUBLIC WORKS LOANS BILL.

(*Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

[BILL 355.] COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Grants for public works and Scotch Fishing Boards).

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he had on previous occasions endeavoured to raise his feeble voice to show that the Irish Board of Works, to whom a sum of £1,000,000 sterling was proposed to be advanced, was not deserving of that confidence and trust bestowed upon it by Her Majesty's Government. The hour was very late; and, having made his protest quite recently, he would only now accentuate that by moving that Progress be reported, and the discussion might be deferred to an occasion more fitting. The Irish Board of Works had been impeached, and found guilty of manifold acts of gross injustice almost amounting to fraud.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Dr. Tanner.*)

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he hoped the hon. Member would not persist in his Motion. He need only indicate how extremely inconvenient it would be to Members of the House to be detained two or three days longer to pass Bills that must be passed. It would be for general convenience if the hon. Member would withdraw his Motion and allow the Committee to proceed.

DR. TANNER said, he always recognized the fair and honourable spirit displayed by the hon. Gentleman; but the question to be considered was, why was the Board of Works to get control of this sum of £1,000,000 sterling? He mistrusted the payments to Grand Juries. His own experience was that Grand Juries were capable of actions of the grossest fraud; and accordingly, when he saw it set forth that certain money was to be given by the Commissioners to Grand Juries to pay off certain amounts, and also that certain other monies were to be paid to tenants, he could not help letting his mind dwell on the old proverb. He knew perfectly well that these people were quite capable of corrupting the tenantry of Ireland, and he believed he was doing his duty, though the hour was late and hon. Members impatient, in raising the question why should this money be given to a corrupt Body like the Irish Board of Works? Again and again had he brought before the House cases of wanton, wilful expenditure and misapplication of public money, and he could not avoid expressing his explicit remonstrance on this proposal to give the Board control of £1,000,000. To go thoroughly into the matter was too late; but he might just call attention to one item, the expenditure of £123,151 on the Clare Slob Land reclamation. Last year, in connection with this expenditure, a Colleague of his——

MR. BYRON REED (Bradford, E.) rose to Order. Was not the hon. Member trifling with the Committee?

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member (Dr. Tanner) must remember he had moved to report Progress, and must address his observations to that Motion.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, no one admired more than he did the usefulness and vivacity of his hon. Friend's contributions towards debate; he would, however, remember that the arrangement and the intention of the Govern-

ment was to take the first seven Orders of the Day, and that Irish Members were waiting to take part in the disposal of Irish measures. He would submit to his hon. Friend that he was inflicting severe physical penalties on his Colleagues.

DR. TANNER said, of course, he was bound to regard any rebuke, no matter how hard it was to bear, from a senior Member of his Party, and one of the most eloquent Members of the House. He had moved to report Progress, and was about to point out in a very few words—when he was interrupted by the hon. Member opposite—that during the debate this time last year, this Clare Slob Land Scheme——

MR. BYRON REED again rose to Order, and asked, was not the hon. Member still trifling with the Committee? If he were in Order he would claim to move that the Question be now put.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must again remind the hon. Member (Dr. Tanner) to speak to the Motion to report Progress, and try to be more succinct.

DR. TANNER said, since he was not allowed to explain, and was subject to interruptions from hon. Members who had just woke up, he would content himself with having made his Motion.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) said, he was in accord with his hon. Friend (Dr. Tanner) in his criticisms upon the Board of Works; but considering that the Bill contained items for labourers' cottages in Ireland, and that there would be other opportunities for enforcing his protest, he would add his voice to that of his hon. Colleagues in asking his hon. Friend to allow the Bill to proceed.

Question put, and *negatived.*

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) said, he did not know whether he ought to raise the question, and expect an answer from the hon. Gentleman in charge of the Bill (Mr. Jackson); but there was an item for the improvement of leaseholds, not a large, but still a substantial sum. Could the hon. Gentleman give any explanation in regard to this application of public money——

THE CHAIRMAN said, the question had no relation to the 1st clause; the hon. Member was probably referring to the Schedule.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 2 (Certain debts not to be reckoned as assets of the local loans fund).

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) said, he should like to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury whether he thought the loans to tenant farmers for the improvement of their holdings was a discreet outlay of public money? He had heard suspicions expressed as to the manner in which examinations took place in regard to these advances, and seeing the unfavourable position of Irish tenant farmers, and noticing, moreover, that the repayments were exceedingly small, it was not a profitable proceeding. The sums were small, and he did not know in what part of Ireland these particular tenants were; but that was not material. Then there was the Slob Land Reclamation Company, £129,000 odd, and it must be perfectly clear to anybody who knew anything about the matter that the money was thrown away, and finally lost. He would ask whether or not the outlay was entirely finished; and, if so, whether this would be accepted as a caution in time to come to refrain from listening to private speculators and swindling promoters of schemes? Let the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury put his foot down firmly for all time to come—to lend no ear to any schemes unless *bonâ fide* security could be shown.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, hon. Members might be under the impression that this was a sum about to be lent; but he might just say that he quite agreed with the hon. Member as to the necessity for security, for he was afraid these must be looked upon as bad debts. As to putting his foot down and refusing loans for any such purpose, he thought hon. Members were aware that he held in very high esteem the desire to limit the obligations of the Treasury in this direction, and he could promise, as far as possible, to keep a firm hand on the public money.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, that was all very well; but he would point out that practically the House was asked to sanction more expenditure in the same direction. It was too grossly absurd and grotesque. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Hon. Members who interrupted should have some experience of the slob land, and they would understand this

better. If this £1,000,000 were entrusted to the Board of Works, as probably it would be, without proper consideration, there was every reason to fear that these bad precedents would be followed in spite of repeated warnings, and the desire of Irishmen that the money should be spent in works really productive and benefiting the country.

Clause *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses and Schedule *agreed to.*

Bill *reported*, without Amendment; read the third time, and *passed.*

NATIONAL DEFENCE BILL.—[Bill 235.]
(*Mr. Secretary Stanhope, Mr. Brodrick.*)
COMMITTEE. [*Progress 25th July.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 2 (Calling out for actual military service of yeomanry and volunteers).

Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

The SECRETARY of STATE for WAR (Mr. E. Stanhope) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle) said, he proposed to postpone for another opportunity this controversial clause that had reference to the Volunteers.

Mr. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) said, he was sure there was no wish on the part of Volunteers that the clause should not be proceeded with; and there would be a feeling of regret among the Force generally that it should be implied by the Bill that they occupied an inferior position to the Yeomanry and Militia.

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, holding it to be a matter of high national importance that the Bill should pass before the Adjournment he would withdraw the clause, which had provoked much difference of opinion, for a more convenient occasion.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Clause 3 (Calling out for actual service of naval artillery volunteer corps).

Mr. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) asked, did the right hon. Gentleman propose to take the same course with this clause?

Mr. E. STANHOPE said, certainly not.

Mr. MOLLOY said, he had not so much information in reference to Naval Volunteers; but as the Act would pass in a few days, and become operative at once, recruits for the Naval Volunteers would not have information as to its effect and the conditions of their service. In order that they might have due notice when they joined, he proposed to insert as an Amendment, in line 13, the words "for six months after the passing of this Act."

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 13, to leave out the words "at the passing of this Act," and insert the words "for six months after the passing of this Act."—(*Mr. Molloy.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

The FIRST LORD of the ADMIRALTY (Lord George Hamilton) (Middlesex, Ealing) said, the number of persons to whom it would apply would would be very small, and he would not object to the Amendment.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Words *inserted.*

Mr. MOLLOY said, a consequential Amendment would be required in line 15.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 15, to leave out the words "passing of this Act," and insert the words "last-mentioned date."—(*Mr. Molloy.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 4 *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Amendment of 44 & 45 Vict. c. 58, s. 115, as to supply of carriages and vessels in case of emergency).

On the Motion of Mr. E. Stanhope, the following Amendment made:—In page 4, line 9, at end, to insert the words—

"And in determining the amount of the purchase money for any carriage, animal, or vessel purchased regard shall be had to any injury caused to the trade or business of the person furnishing the same, by reason of his being required to furnish a larger proportion of his carriages, animals, or vessels than other persons in the same trade or business are required to furnish."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

New Clause—

(Calling out for actual military service of yeomanry.)

"(1.) Whenever an order for the embodiment of the militia is in force, it shall be lawful for Her Majesty the Queen to call out for actual military service all or any of the corps of yeomanry of Her Majesty's military forces, and sections eighteen to twenty-five (both inclusive) of 'The Militia Act, 1882,' so far as they relate to embodying and disembodying the militia, shall apply to the yeomanry in like manner as if embodying were calling out for actual military service, and disembodying were releasing from actual military service, and as if the said sections were herein re-enacted, and in terms made applicable to the yeomanry.

(2.) Every corps of yeomanry when called out for actual military service shall be liable to serve in any part of Great Britain until released from actual military service, but before being released shall be returned to the county to which it belongs.

(3.) Nothing in this section shall apply without his consent to a man enrolled in any corps of yeomanry at the passing of this Act, but as regards all men enrolled after the passing of this Act, the Acts specified in the first schedule to this Act shall be repealed to the extent in the third column of that schedule mentioned," —(*Mr. E. Stanhope.*)

—*brought up*, and read a first and second time, and *added* to the Bill.

On the Motion of Mr. E. STANHOPE, the following Amendment made:—In page 5, Schedule 1, Column 3, leave out the words "sub-sections one and three of section eighteen."

Schedule, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining Schedule *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

MUNICIPAL FUNDS (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Jackson, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

[BILL 371.] COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 4, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 5 (Costs of promoting or opposing Bills to require sanction of meetings).

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, the Bill was modelled on the Act of 1872; but in line 27 of this clause there was a divergence from that Act. The proposal here was to be submitted to the Local Government Board or the Chief Secretary, and they might disapprove; and they were to have a month or as much time as might be necessary for consideration. It was undesirable that the period should be unlimited, for the delay might render nugatory any proceedings in reference to a Private Bill. A month was surely long enough; otherwise the Governing Body would never really know whether the authorities disapproved or not.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, in ordinary cases a month would be sufficient; but it might happen that a project might be of such magnitude that that time would not suffice; and then there would be an advantage in having some elasticity in the system. As a rule, a month would be a sufficient interval.

MR. SEXTON suggested that some words should be inserted, so that the Governing Body should receive information, and not be left in suspense for an uncertain interval.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, it was rather difficult to make the alteration now; but he would consult with the draftsman to-morrow, and see if anything of the kind could be done.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Vote of the electors).

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, in order to save the borough from the expense and vexation of a poll at the instance of individuals entertaining some crotchet, though the feeling of the ratepayers might be almost unanimous in one direction, the objection should be on the part of some reasonable number of ratepayers—say, a dozen.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 21, to leave out the word "person," and insert the words "twelve persons."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, the difficulty about accepting that was that the words of the clause followed the lines of the English Act, and he could not assent to the alteration without some consideration.

MR. SEXTON said, the English Act was passed when the ideas of local

government were not so advanced as they were now. Take Dublin as an illustration. Public opinion was generally in favour of the action of the Town Council; but it might happen that because the judgments of some two or three persons were not satisfied, the ratepayers might be put to the heavy cost of a poll. He would not press it, however.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

To add, at end of Clause—"All expenses properly and necessarily incurred in giving notice, and in convening and holding a meeting in regard to this section, and all expenses necessarily and properly incurred in taking a poll and providing polling stations, shall, whether the Bill is proceeded with or not, be charged to the borough funds or rates to which the expenses in favour of a proposal or in opposing the Bill are made chargeable under this Act."—(*Sir James Corry.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. JACKSON said, the Amendment had not come before him in time to consult with his Colleagues in reference to it; and, therefore, he hoped that, though he accepted it, it might be held as still open for consideration.

MR. SEXTON said, the Amendment was absolutely necessary, for it might happen that although on a poll it might be found that a majority of the ratepayers differed from the Corporation, still the latter might have acted unanimously and in perfect good faith for what they considered the good of the borough, and it would be a grievous hardship if individual members should be saddled with expenses that clearly ought to fall upon the common fund.

MR. JACKSON said, that if the provision were necessary here, then it ought to be necessary in the English Act. He did not know that there were any complaints in this respect of the English Act, though he had known a case in which the action of the Corporation was not supported on a poll, and the expenses were paid, though from what fund he could not say.

MR. SEXTON said, he could not admit that what in either case would be a hardship should be submitted to in Ireland because it had not been complained of in England.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Bill *reported.*

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he might fairly ask that the example set by the Government might be followed, and that the third reading should now be taken.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he must ask the House to defer Consideration until the next Sitting. He had assented to an Amendment without having had an opportunity of consulting the draftsman, and had promised to consider another. It would be improper for him to assent to the Bill outright, without careful consideration of the whole of the circumstances it was intended to cover. There would be no actual delay in letting the consideration of Report stand over for a day.

Bill, as amended, to be considered *To-morrow.*

MARRIAGES VALIDATION BILL [*Lords*].

(*Mr. Stuart-Wortley.*)

[BILL 370.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

COLONEL SANDYS (Lancashire, S.W., Bootle) said, when he formerly asked that the Bill might be postponed, it was because he had a suspicion of what might be effected under cover of the measure. Having since then satisfied himself that the only object of the Bill was to relieve the unfortunate people from the anomalous and invidious position in which they were placed, an object with which he had every sympathy, he would offer no opposition to the Bill.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed; considered* in Committee, and *reported*, without Amendment.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he hoped the House would now agree to take the third reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Jackson.*)

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, the Government had passed over the preceding Order, the Local Bankruptcy Bill for Ireland. It was practically a Government measure, though not marked so, and there was an understanding that it should be proceeded with. In such an expectation, he and his hon. Friends had waited while the Government made progress with their Business. If they were to be humbugged after all, he certainly should object to any further Business being taken. There was no opposition to the measure.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Very well.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed,* without Amendment.

LOCAL BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) BILL

[*Lords*].—[BILL 344.]

(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) said, there seemed to be much anxiety to have this Bill passed; but, so far as he could see, its primary object was to carry out a small job of an electioneering nature in West Belfast. If the Government thought proper to assist in carrying out such an object, he would not throw any obstacle in the way.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) hoped his hon. Friend would forego his objection.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) said, he desired to say, on behalf of many traders in the South of Ireland, that they were deeply interested in the passing of the Bill. Whatever motives there might be elsewhere, the traders of the South of Ireland desired facilities by which they should have the means of coming to arrangements with their debtors. He doubted not that similar desires existed in other parts of Ireland, and he did not think his hon. Friend (Mr. Biggar) represented any serious opposition.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON, Belfast W.) said, he thought his public life would be sufficient answer to any imputation of sitting in that House to promote any electioneering job in West Belfast, or anywhere else. As the hon. Member for West Cavan was nominally his Colleague, he refrained from using language he might otherwise employ.

SIR WILLIAM EWART (Belfast, N.) said, the measure had been much desired for many years, and he had great pleasure in supporting it.

MR. M'CARTAN (Down, S.) said, that, as a Belfast resident, he repudiated any such motive in supporting the Bill as that suggested by the hon. Member for West Cavan (Mr. Biggar). It was one of the few things upon which the opinions of all classes in Belfast were united. It was intended to do away with jobbery, to prevent debtors' estates being eaten up by costs in Dublin, and to give creditors a fair share in the assets.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

MOTIONS.

DIVISIONAL MAGISTRATES (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Jackson, Bill to make provision for the Office of Divisional Magistrates in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Arthur Balfour.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 374.]

ADJOURNMENT.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, that having now reached the end of the Government programme, he believed he should be carrying out the general understanding in moving the adjournment of the House.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr Jackson.*)

MR. DILLWYN (Swansea, Town) said, he did not rise to oppose the Motion, but only to express his great disappointment that he had not had an opportunity of bringing before the House, in consequence of the way in which Business had been managed, the very serious feeling that he knew existed in Wales, and he believed to a great extent in England, at the unjust im-

prisonment of Mr. Dillon and other Members. He knew it would be useless for him to attempt to bring on the Motion which stood on the Paper now, and he would offer no observation beyond the expression of his great disappointment.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at half after Three o'clock in the morning.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 10th August, 1888.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Imperial Defence * (276); National Defence * (277); Municipal Funds (Ireland) * (278).

Second Reading — Members of Parliament (Charges and Allegations) (263); Oaths (272), *discharged.*

Second Reading — Committee negatived — Bail (Scotland) * (262); Municipal Corporations (Local Bills) (Ireland) * (255).

Second Reading—Committee negatived — Third Reading — Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) * (268); Public Works Loans * (269); Expiring Laws Continuance * (270); Hawkers * (271), and *passed.*

Royal Assent — Consolidated Fund (No. 3) [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 26]; Recorders, Magistrates, and Clerks of the Peace [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 23]; Supreme Court of Judicature Act (Ireland) (1877) Amendment [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 27]; Railway and Canal Traffic [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 25]; Merchant Shipping (Life Saving Appliances) [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 24]; Forest of Dean Turnpike Trust [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. cxciii].

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS) BILL.—(No. 263.)

(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, I have to move the second reading of this Bill, which has come to us from "another place" under the short title of the Special Commission Bill, 1888. It is for the examination of certain charges and allegations against Members of Parliament and others, which it is thought necessary, for the avoidance of public scandal, should be inquired into. The matter and purpose of it is one which is familiar to your Lordships from discussions out-of-doors and in this House. The agitation which for the last few years has prevailed in Ireland has followed two parallel lines. There has been a Party professing to act by Constitutional means, and, to a certain extent, doing so, which has had for its main object an alteration of the Constitutional relations between this country and Ireland, and it has worked in the ordinary Constitutional manner. I do not say that it has not even confessedly used some methods which are not Constitutional; but in the main its action had been by means of of Parliamentary movements, electoral organization, and public addresses to the constituencies in these Islands. But parallel with that movement there has been a movement of another kind—an organization that has acted by crime, which has been guilty of violence, intimidation, mutilation, and murder, and has used these means for the purpose of intimidating their Constitutional opponents, and of forcing from this country the concession of a change which this country is not prepared to adopt. These two organizations have been professedly apart, and the violent measures resorted to by the more violent of the two organizations have been loudly repudiated by many members of the other. But they always worked for the same end. They have had the same friends and the same enemies. They have carried out the same plans, and have injured the same persons, and the natural result has been that an impression has grown up that they were not so far apart as they seemed to be, but that there was communication and complicity between them. The impression to which I refer is one which I am not prepared on the present occasion to examine, or to express any opinion upon, in respect of its probability or truth; but I will only say it is an impression to which body has been given by a series of elaborate, careful, and powerful statements in the leading newspaper, *The Times*, which has distinctly accused the more Constitutional organization, which I may call the Nationalist organization, with being practically in harmony, and complicity and conspiracy with the other and more violent organization to which the name of Fenian or Invincible has been given.

These statements were made last year so conspicuously, so emphatically, and were supported with such an elaborate array of apparent justification that they excited a great deal of attention and a great deal of scandal, because what they practically amounted to was that the Members of Parliament and others who were professedly maintaining the Constitutional agitation were in reality guilty of full knowledge and complicity with, and were practically accessories in a system of outrage which often culminated in murder. This scandal became so serious that a Member of Parliament in the other House, unconnected with the Government, and certainly by no means at the instigation of the Government, brought the matter before the House of Commons as a question of Breach of Privilege. The House of Commons refused to entertain Sir Charles Lewis's proposal on general grounds which make both Houses of Parliament unwilling to enter into conflict with the Press on matters of this kind. But it was felt that the scandal was so great that some means of dissipating it were highly desirable. Ordinarily, when men are accused of something so terrible as complicity with murder, and there is no justification of the accusation, appeal is made to the Courts of Justice in this country, and the accused person clears his reputation by an appeal to the tribunals of his country. The Gentlemen incriminated on this occasion abstained from and declined to take that course. Lest there should be any difficulty of a pecuniary character, or lest it should seem that they came before the tribunal with insufficient authority, the Government made a very special and unusual offer, in order to enable them to clear their reputations, which had been so gravely assailed. It was proposed that by order of the House of Commons a suit for libel or a criminal information —I forget which—should be instituted against *The Times* newspaper, and that it should be conducted, as all such proceedings are, by the Attorney General; but in order that full satisfaction might be given to those whose characters were assailed, they should select any Queen's Counsel they pleased to act with the Attorney General on the occasion. They declined, however, to accept this offer, and therefore there was no means by which this grave scandal could be submitted to the arbitrament of the tribunals of the country and the characters of Members of Parliament cleared from so deep a stain. They themselves proposed that it should be submitted to a Committee of the House, and I think with very good grounds the Government held that a Committee of the House under the circumstances could not be looked upon as an impartial tribunal, and the House of Commons itself was of that opinion. The matter, however, was allowed to rest for a short time, and then it appeared that all the Members of the Irish Party were not willing to leave their characters in this manner undefended, and that there was one gentleman who was at all events resolved that, as far as he was concerned, his reputation should be cleared in the way and by the methods which men ordinarily employ on such occasions. Mr. O'Donnell, who had been a conspicuous Member of Parliament, but who was not, I think, very closely within the allegiance of Mr. Parnell, but who had taken a prominent part, and also an independent part in that Party, brought an action against *The Times* for libel against him. Of course, no further steps were taken by the Government or by anybody else while this action was pending. The action in due time was tried, and it came to a rather remarkable end. The defendants pleaded two different kinds of defence. They pleaded, in the first place—I am, of course, not capable of giving a technical description of the pleadings, but I give what I believe to be the essential meaning of them—that Mr. O'Donnell was not in fact attacked in the documents which were characterized as libellous, and they also pleaded that, as regards the persons against whom they were in reality directed, the statements were in fact and substance true. The result of that pleading was that necessarily the whole of these allegations were set out in the opening speech of the counsel for the defendants. But when the matter came to be decided by the Court they decided upon the first plea that Mr. O'Donnell was not really struck at by the statements set out, and that consequently the trial was at an end. There was, therefore, no ground for going into the question of the truth or falsehood of the charges which the counsel for the defendants had set out at length. They re-

mained, therefore, stated in a Court of Justice as matters which he was prepared to prove in evidence, but he never had an opportunity of showing whether he could prove them or not. This was a renewal and a very aggravated renewal of the scandal of last year. For the statement was no longer one which appeared only in the columns of a newspaper. It was one which had been repeated in a Court of Law by a responsible counsel, and which he alleged he was able to prove by evidence that he would bring. Still, however, the gentlemen who were implicated declined to avail themselves of the ordinary means of clearing their reputations from this attack by a criminal information for an action of libel. They stated—it is not easy to ascertain what their grounds of action, or rather their grounds for refusing to act, were—they stated that they distrusted a British jury, which they thought might be prejudiced on the subject. But that consideration alone would not have decided it, because these libels had been published in Ireland, and it was perfectly competent to them to bring the action before an Irish jury if they preferred it. However, they declined to take this action, and the scandal remained unabated. They again demanded that the matter should be referred to a Committee of the House of Commons. The Government again took that demand into serious consideration. But they were compelled to observe that by the action of the House of Commons itself it had been established that such a tribunal was not a fit one for the decision of questions in which grave and deeply contested political issues were closely interwoven. Now, we have been in the habit for the last century of trying Members of Parliament before Committees of the House of Commons. It was not for a very grave offence, you may say; it was only the allegation of bribery. But still bribery is precisely one of those charges into which political feeling is deeply interwoven. From the time of Lord Granville down to 1867 the question of the allegation of bribery was constantly submitted to Committees of the House of Commons. Their form was repeatedly changed in order to obtain a more satisfactory and impartial tribunal. But at last in despair, the Government in 1867 proposed to Parliament that it should abandon this attempt, and that the trial of Members for bribery should be committed to the ordinary Judges; and that wherever there was ground for thinking that bribery had extensively prevailed, and had been the act of many persons, and that light could be thrown upon the manner of its committal by a more careful investigation, then a species of Commission had been instituted which had large powers of discovery, and, among others, that most important power of giving an indemnity to witnesses against the results of any confession which they might make before the Commission for the purpose of facilitating its operations. This seemed to us a precedent which should guide us. To submit again a matter of this kind, deeply connected with political controversies of the most exasperating kind, to a Committee of the House of Commons was to go back upon the experiment, to use again the weapon which was condemned, to repudiate all the experience which the century had given us. It was a retrograde proceeding to renounce the weapon which had succeeded and to recur to the weapon which had failed, and we could not but observe, looking back to the time when these Committees of bribery existed in the House of Commons, that the House of Commons as a body, in those days, was much more capable of furnishing an impartial tribunal than it is now. I am not, of course, using any language that is in the slightest degree intended to be disrespectful to the Members of that House. I am only taking notice that political conflict is much more keen and acute than it was 20 or 30 years ago. In the days of Sir Robert Peel there were many Liberals who sympathized with Sir Robert Peel, and in the days of Lord Palmerston there were many Conservatives who sympathized with him; and there was a central body in the House from whom you might expect a considerable amount of impartiality. I doubt whether such a tribunal could be framed at the present time. We thought it better, therefore, to take the precedent of Election Commissions, especially as in two remarkable instances it had been fortified by application to another kind of subject—an application which had met with singular success. This system of Commission has twice been used for matters other than bribery. It was used for the Sheffield outrages of 1867, and it

has been used during the present year for the misdeeds of the Metropolitan Board of Works. In both cases the success has been very remarkable. The disclosures that have been made are useful, and no one has suggested, even by the most distant hint, that absolute justice has not been done. We, therefore, resolved that the only way left to us on this occasion to abate this great scandal was to propose a Commission of the kind I have indicated. At the same time we felt it was to a certain extent a matter that must depend upon the concurrence of Parties in the House of Commons. If any considerable Party in the House of Commons had said when the Bill was introduced or read a second time, that they were not prepared to accept this method of solving the difficulty, that they objected to the course we were taking on principle, at all events we should very carefully have considered our course, because we should have felt that such a position offered considerable difficulties to the action of the Commission. But no such obstacle appeared in our way; the Commission as we proposed it was accepted by the House of Commons on the second reading without a dissentient voice. A misapprehension seems to have arisen that in promising this Commission we had also promised to allow the terms of it to be altered and modified much as various Parties in the House might wish. But that was a matter clearly outside our duty. If we make ourselves responsible for such a Commission at all, it could only be on the terms we thought just—and the terms we thought just were that it should be a Commission consisting of the most impartial men and possessing the largest and most unrestricted powers. Efforts were made to restrict these powers; but in those we were unable to acquiesce, and we felt that such a Commission, having once been accepted by the unanimous voice of the House of Commons on the second reading, it was no longer competent for us to retire or withdraw such a proposal, for we should be exposing ourselves to the charge, which was not dimly foreshadowed in some of the speeches we heard, of insincerity in the proposals we made. My Lords, the Commission so adopted is that which we now submit for your Lordships' concurrence. I do not say that it is a proposal that we make with any satisfaction. We make it as the only means of dissipating a great and serious scandal. We have touched the matter with much reluctance; but because our belief is that the Commission will do good, that it will put an end to controversies of a most painful and dangerous kind, we have recommended it to your Lordships, and we have full confidence that justice will be done. We have nominated in the Bill three of the ablest and most impartial members of the judicial Bench. If there have been words impugning the impartiality of one of them which have fallen from men who ought to have known better, they have not left the faintest stain upon the distinguished man against whom they were uttered, but they have covered with dishonour the lips from which they issued. I believe the effect of this measure will be to solve these painful controversies. It is not well that men of the high position of Members of Parliament should be accused, should be openly accused, in the most conspicuous, formal, and solemn manner, of having tampered with outrage and murder. Let us know the truth. We only wish to know the truth, whatever the issue may be. We are sure that we have done good service in having driven away from the atmosphere of public discussion a cloud of dangerous and scandalous doubt.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

LORD HERSCHELL: My Lords, if I consulted my own inclination I should certainly observe silence on the present occasion, because I am too painfully convinced that, whatever caution I may maintain in the language I use, it will be subjected to misconstruction, and most probably to misrepresentation; and if I needed further proof of that than is supplied by the experience of the past, I should have received it in the closing words of the noble Marquess opposite. My Lords, I shall have something to say on that point by-and-bye. But I must at the very outset repudiate the charge and imputation which the noble Marquess has flung at my late Colleagues in the other House because they took the course which their conscience and their judgment dictated as the right one, and which they were bound to take, holding the views they did, and for which I for one venture to

insist they are not in the slightest degree deserving of blame. The views which I entertain, and, whatever imputations may be made to the contrary, honestly entertain, with reference to the measure before your Lordships' House, are so strong that I dare not keep silence, painful as it may be to say some of the things which I may have to say. My Lords, it appears to me that the measure is one unfortunate in its origin, unfortunate in its scope and object, and unfortunate in the circumstances which accompanied its passage through the other House. It appears to me to establish a precedent most novel and fraught with the utmost danger. Let me ask your Lordships to look at it in its broad aspects for a moment without personality. Charges of the gravest character are made against men taking an active part in political life. Charges no doubt of a serious character have been made, and to test these charges and inquire into them a tribunal has been appointed at the absolute discretion of their most vehement political opponents, who have always been most bitterly opposed to them, and those who entertain these feelings towards them have also determined what shall be the limit and the scope of this inquiry, and as to which they have listened to no word of remonstrance or protest whatever. That is the bald aspect of the case, and I beg you to ponder for a moment what such a precedent may mean. No doubt your Lordships believe that it may well serve the present occasion. Is not that a matter of the utmost moment when looking to the possible development of such a precedent in the future; and the development may be one which those who support this Bill may most regret to see? Has not such a transaction as this at least the colour and appearance of unfairness? and I think I shall show you that the unfairness is more than it seems. Let me say at the outset that I do not charge Her Majesty's Government with the slightest intentional or conscious unfairness in the course which they have taken in reference to this Bill. I fully allow they have acted with perfect honesty and the most complete intention to act fairly between the parties. Unhappily, however, political passions run strong, especially on the matters with which this measure deals. The noble Marquess himself has said that this question, into which inquiry is to be made, is deeply connected and interwoven with political questions; and if I wanted proof of how judgment may be biased by the political excitement on this subject, I have it in the language used by the Home Secretary with reference to this measure. He was explaining the reasons of the Government for not assenting to a Committee, and he said that they who had been engaged in conflict very often with Members of the League were disqualified by their hostility, while, on the other hand, Members opposite were disqualified by sympathy and association in a common political struggle. On these grounds the Home Secretary said they refused to appoint a Committee. If the question then is one which excites such strong political excitement, and if excitement has proceeded to this length, that no Conservatives or Liberals were to be trusted to try a fellow-member for fear they should deal harshly with him, then I say it is unreasonable to suggest a want of complete and absolute trust in the ability of Her Majesty's Government to deal perfectly fairly and justly with this question? May such a feeling not be reasonable? I will say this word in passing with reference to the appointment of a Committee. I deeply regret that a Committee was not appointed, and I entertain the strong conviction that if an appeal had been made by an English Member whose personal character had been attacked, a Committee would have been granted. I dare say those opposite honestly differ from me. I regret that, considering the heated condition of feeling between those on the Irish side of the Channel and those on this side, we should seem to be less willing to grant such an inquiry to Irish Members than to English. I believe, I for one believe, that such an inquiry would have been a better course and a wiser course to take, and a safer and a less dangerous course to take, than that proposed in the measure introduced to your Lordships. I will ask you to look for a moment at the origin of this measure. About a year ago, as the noble Marquess has said, there appeared in a newspaper a series of articles, the work of an anonymous writer, having obtained his information we know not whence, with what justification for his statement we have no information,

These articles contained, no doubt, charges against some Irish Members, mixed up with a vast number of vague general allegations and accusations and insinuations out of which it was very difficult indeed to extract the particular charges which were to be depended upon, and I shall show your Lordships paragraphs which have no meaning unless they are intented to convey some insinuations. That was the origin. Thereupon the position was taken up that a Member of Parliament or any honourable man who had been thus accused by an anonymous writer in the Press was to be deemed, in spite of his denial, guilty of the acts laid to his charge, unless he brought an action to establish his innocence. This is a novel doctrine indeed. I always understood it was one of the cherished maxims of our law that a man is to be deemed innocent until he was proved to be guilty—a maxim which has permeated the political and common life of the country, and one which I trust may long continue to be cherished. But now it is said, if only the charges are grave enough and raise scandal enough, though made by an anonymous writer in a newspaper connected with your political life, unless they are disproved, everyone has a right to deem them established. That is a doctrine against which I shall never cease to protest and resist. If yielded to, it would make public life in this country intolerable. Accusations are made against public men in proportion as newspaper competition goes on, and if we are told that accusations are to be dealt with in this way, then it seems to me a precedent is being made which will be in the highest degree mischievous and terrible. My Lords, these were accusations made by a newspaper, strongly supporting the Conservative Government, against the opponents of the Government, but one has seen accusations made in a Radical newspaper against a Conservative Member of Parliament, on what foundation I know not, but he has brought no action. He has never disproved the charges, and two Members of the Government have gone down to his constituents to countenance him and support him. If such a view as this is to be adopted it ought to be adopted impartially, whatever the political character of the newspaper. But I protest against it from whatever quarter it comes, and I say I would sooner quit public life to-morrow than consider myself bound to take action for libel in a newspaper, however grave it might be. Those who had not had so much experience as I have had, talk glibly enough about bringing actions, and that this is the course which every man would take. It is a course which men have abstained from taking, and they were thought none the worse for it. Accusations of the most serious character have been launched against public men, and they have lived them down. Did Cobden bring an action when accusations were made against him some 40 years ago, when he was charged with inciting to violence and outrage and even to murder? No man now has a doubt as to how unjust the charges were; but I protest against the view that a man is bound to defend himself against charges in the newspapers. At the least he subjects himself to serious expense, and if it is in any way bound up with politics or political associations, to serious risk. We are told that with the light of publicity glaring upon them neither Conservative nor Liberal Members are to be trusted to give an impartial judgment. Yet these men are to be deemed guilty if they were not willing to trust themselves to a tribunal, chosen by chance, of 12 individuals, whose political antipathies may be more intense than those of Members of Parliament, who are declared by the Government to be unfit to inquire into the charges. To say that men are to be deemed guilty because they do not bring an action for libel is to lay down a doctrine which all of us will live to regret. But this Bill is framed not merely with a view to inquire into statements made in these newspaper articles. The noble Marquess made it a case of inquiry into allegations made in a speech in a Court of Justice. It is altogether without precedent to treat that as an accusation which must be investigated in order to clear the character of any person. It is true the statements were made by Her Majesty's Attorney General, but it was not the Attorney General who made them. It was the counsel for *The Times* newspaper who made them, and he made such statements as he was instructed to make. He was there considering the interests

of *The Times*, and the interests of nobody else; and it is instructive when we are referred to the action of Mr. O'Donnell, who was met with the statement that the charges did not affect him, and who was mulcted in costs. It is not very encouraging for others who were told to go to the Law Courts to clear their character. But I protest against a speech made by any counsel, however eminent, being treated as *primâ facie* evidence. I will venture to say there is no counsel living who has not over and over again made statements of facts to the jury which, when the matter came to be sifted in the course of the trial, were found to be unworthy of any substantial consideration; and, therefore, I altogether repudiate the doctrine which is incorporated in this Bill, that charges made by counsel against Members of Parliament, and others in a suit brought between two private persons is ground for appointing a Commission of Judges to investigate those charges and determine upon them. Now, my Lords, upon this matter having taken place, there appeared in *The Times* last year, and there was again before the jury the other day, two letters, alleged to be written by Mr. Parnell, from which the inference was drawn that he was approving of murder or inciting to murder. It was natural that Mr. Parnell should ask, as he did, that a Committee might be appointed to inquire into those charges. Well, my Lords, the Government took time to consider what course they would take, and, having considered it, they made this offer to Mr. Parnell—that they would appoint a Commission, consisting mainly of Judges, to inquire into the charges against Members of Parliament; and the First Lord of the Treasury said—

> "If the hon. Gentlemen are prepared to accept the offer which has been made, I am prepared to put on the Notice Paper a Motion for leave to bring in a Bill with reference to the Judges;"

and on a later occasion he told Mr. Parnell that it was a matter for him to accept or to reject, at his pleasure. Now, if it was a matter concerning Mr. Parnell—I mean if it was to be an inquiry directed to those matters with which Mr. Parnell had personal association, if it was a question of writing those letters, or of personal association with crime, no doubt it would have been natural, and it seems to me would have been proper, to allow him to accept or reject an inquiry subject to this; that he was placed, I must say, in a very difficult position. He was told—"Accept this before you know what the tribunal is to be—a tribunal which we, certainly not your warmest friends, have constituted—accept it before you know what the reference is to be; or else reject it, and then lay yourselves open to the charge that you are unwilling to submit those matters for investigation." What next transpired? At that time the only reference made to the nature of the measure was that it was to be a measure to inquire into charges and allegations against Members of Parliament. In some respects the scope was wide enough, but still there was a considerable limitation, to apply only to a few men; but when the measure was introduced it was found to be one to inquire into charges and allegations made against Members of Parliament "and other persons." When the first offer was made to Mr. Parnell, when he was told that he must either accept or reject it, there was no mention made of these "other persons." I will show in a moment how serious a change that makes in the scope and nature of the inquiry. We are now informed that when that offer was made the words "and others" were omitted by a slip.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: The words were printed in the Notice Paper next morning before the Bill was introduced.

LORD HERSCHELL: Yes, I am aware of that; but Mr. Parnell was asked before that by the First Lord of the Treasury, whether or not he accepted the proposal of the Government, the Leader of the House saying—"I will then put on the Table the Motion for introducing the Bill." The introduction of the Bill, he was told, depended upon his acceptance or rejection of that proposal of the Government. I am not intending to charge the Government with any intentional bad faith towards those with whom they are dealing; but I would ask them and other Members of your Lordships' House to try and put themselves, for a little time, in the position of those to whom undoubtedly they are bitterly opposed, whose views they detest, whose action they have been opposing. We cannot judge

any man justly unless we try to see the thing from his point of view, and try to understand how we should feel if placed in his position. Now, I come to the scope of the inquiry. It is an inquiry into the charges and allegations made in the Attorney General's speech against Members of Parliament and other persons. What does this involve? It involves the action of every human being connected with the Land League or the National League in Ireland for the last nine years. They all come in under those stupendous words—"and others," which are used in the first clause of the Bill. Now, my Lords, first consider for a moment the position in which it places Mr. Parnell and the other Members against whom certain distinct and specific charges have been made which have gone home to the public mind, and which even Conservative Members in the other House have said are the only matters which the public cares about. In the second reading debate all the actions of the various members and officials of the Land League and of the National League throughout the whole of Ireland became the subject of this inquiry. If it had been understood that this Commission was to deal with a general reference of that sort, there might be something to be said for the Bill; but when we consider the origin and nature of the Bill and the offer which the Government first made, which was at once to be accepted or rejected, is there any one of us who would like an inquiry into definite, specific, and disgraceful charges against us to be mixed up with an inquiry as to everybody connected with political associations with which we have had to do? But that is not all. This is an inquiry into charges and allegations—allegations which are not, properly speaking, charges. I do not know whether your Lordships have read the articles, or whether you read the speech; but, if so, you will know that it is full of vague suggestions and innuendoes; that it is full of statements and admitted facts about which there has never been any dispute or question—all of which are within the scope of the inquiry and are to be inquired into. Those who were accused claimed that the charges they had to meet, so far as they were concerned, whatever else might be determined upon by the Commission, should be specific, so that they should know what they had to meet, and could defend themselves. They asked that their cases might be taken separately, and individually dealt with. How was that proposal met? It was met by the taunt that their only motive could be a desire to conceal what they had done and escape from the inquiry. This claim was termed, I regret to say, by a lawyer, a passionate plea for technicalities. Now, there is no man living more hostile to technicalities than I am. They are pitfalls to the unwary suitor, and they often defeat the administration of justice. But there are technicalities of a different character. There are so-called technicalities bound up with our system of jurisprudence—one might just as well call a technicality the maxim that a man should be heard before he was condemned, as to style the objections taken to this Bill as a technical objection. There are many so-called technicalities constituting our system of procedure which have been evolved by the experience of the past and sanctioned by the wisdom of those who have gone before, and among those technicalities is that which entitles any man if he has to meet a charge to have a definite statement of what the charge is—aye, and even such particulars as can be given him of time, place, and occasion, so as to enable him as best he may to meet it. I venture to insist that all those matters which the parties concerned claimed they were justified in claiming, and more than that—I say that if the truth is to be elucidated and justice done it is essential that some such procedure should be followed. Let me point out one or two instances of injustice which it is possible may result from this method of inquiry. It is obvious that Mr. Parnell—I take his case only as an illustration—will think it right to be represented before this tribunal by the best legal assistance he can obtain. Certainly, those who have attacked him and will attack him again will not be found wanting in that respect. Now, counsel of eminence are an expensive luxury. They are an expensive luxury if a case lasts for two or three days or a week; but if the inquiry lasts for months, then, it seems to me, that the expense is likely to become absolutely ruinous; and will any man suggest that it will be safe for

Mr. Parnell or any other incriminated man to withdraw his counsel during any portion of this inquiry? He will never know on any day what evidence may be called and what witnesses may not appear against him, and he must be there with his legal assistance; and if the inquiry last weeks or months, the expense, I say, may become to him absolutely ruinous. And this does not only concern him. This is a dangerous precedent, for who may not be ruined hereafter by its being followed? It is true that for a time political associations may come forward and find funds to help the accused, but, after all, beyond a certain point it is difficult to rely upon them. It seems to me that in this matter you are imposing a burden of a most terrible character which I am sure no one of us would ever like to be subjected to. Now, of course, we know as regards the scope of this inquiry that there has been a great amount of crime in Ireland —outrages, murders, and violence, that every person of right feeling must deplore. Those are matters with which we are perfectly well acquainted. We know that violent language has been used, which may be differently construed; which some may construe as mere political agitation, and which others may regard as inciting to crime. That language will probably be differently viewed according to the political feelings and bias of those who use it. But, my Lords, all this is to be brought before this judicial tribunal for review and consideration. The noble Marquess spoke of the point at issue being complicity with crime. He used that language more than once. I was struck with the fact that the noble Marquess made that the point at issue. He said that that was the scandal which it was desirable to inquire into. I know that in the other House one who is a supporter of Her Majesty's Government said that, in his opinion, this inquiry ought to be limited to the connection of Mr. Parnell with murder and violence; but there is no such limitation in this Bill. That is not made one whit more the subject of inquiry than violent speech or action. They are all included, and upon all of them the learned Judges are asked to report. I confess that I feel somewhat sensitive upon this point. I have a peculiar reason for feeling sensitive. My belief is that there will be most serious risk of injustice—assuming the innocence of Mr. Parnell and his friends of any real complicity with crime —in this respect, that speeches which are published in the Press and acts of violence or intimidation, or other discreditable acts, by whomsoever committed or however far removed Mr. Parnell and those persons may be from complicity in these acts—all these will be attributed to them, and they will get the discredit of all. Now, my Lords, as I have said, I am peculiarly sensitive upon this point. The noble Marquess referred to a Commission over which I have the honour to preside. But it seems to me to be a Commission as remarkably unlike that with which we are dealing as two Commissions can well be. That was a Commission to inquire into the working and action of a Public Body, and not with charges with regard to individuals, and in that case there is no political controversy. I have seen in that matter—and this is it that makes me sensitive—what a tendency there is, when facts are proved discreditable to the character of two or three or half-a-dozen persons, to attribute these things to the whole body of which these persons form a part. I have heard serious complaints of the injustice which has been felt with regard to this. It is impossible in the case to which I am referring to avoid this; but in any such case as that with which we are now dealing is it not obvious that with this inquiry going on day after day, week after week, the public, far more even than they have done in attributing the faults of two or three on the Metropolitan Board to the whole body, will attribute everything to Mr. Parnell and his leading Friends? And while this Bill is called the Members of Parliament (Charges and Allegations) Bill, the noble Marquess has said it is not; that it is the Special Commission Bill. That is the short title by which it may be called, which is often a very different thing indeed from the real title, for which the short title is allowed to be substituted. The title of the Bill is "Members of Parliament (Charges and Allegations) Bill," and as a matter of fact that title has not been altered. But of this I am sure, that outside this House it will be called the Parnell Commission. It is called so already. I see that appearing in newspaper after newspaper,

Lord Herschell

and do you suppose that every attack that is made upon the reputation of certain individuals, not necessarily connected with Mr. Parnell or his Party, will not be immediately attributed in the public mind to Mr. Parnell? I am bound to say that, in my opinion, if that is to be the inquiry to be entered upon, the Judges are the last persons that ought to be called upon to undertake it. You are mixing up two very different things—inquiries into charges directly affecting individuals, and inquiries into charges of outrages and offences which have marked the last few years in Ireland. There ought to be a deeper probing, a wider investigation than this Bill contemplates. These offences and outrages have, no doubt, been connected with the Land League and the National League, but were there not crimes and outrages as terrible and as numerous before even the Land League or even the National League existed in Ireland; and would it not be at least as important to inquire how far these political organizations, these agrarian organizations, and outrages are the independent outcome of a social system which has produced the same rank fruit before, as to assume that because people connected with the Land League or the National League have committed crime that therefore the crime could not be committed but by the Land League or the National League? We know better. We know that when you have political agitation, and excitement and excesses connected with it, men will fasten themselves on to these organizations. It is impossible to prevent or avoid it. But, my Lords, that seems to me to be a question far wider and deeper than any which the Commission can inquire into. When this was pointed out in the other House, then a different position was taken up by the Government, and I think a different position from that taken by the noble Marquess. It was then said—"The charges against Members are of quite subordinate importance; they fall into the second rank; the important point is the connection of the Land League and the National League with crime." When did that become the primary object? When did it become clear that it was essential to the public interest that there should be such an inquiry? It was never suggested in the years following 1880, when the noble Marquess and his Party were in Opposition, and since that they have been in Office two years; it was never suggested till now. Did the Government think such an inquiry necessary when they made the offer to Mr. Parnell—"Accept or reject this Commission at your pleasure?" I could imagine that if it had been a matter of Mr. Parnell's character to be inquired into, the Government might have allowed him to accept or reject this inquiry; but that they should do this with reference to an inquiry which they hold to be in the interests of the country is to me perfectly unintelligible. I do not believe that the Government intended anything of the kind when they made that proposal; it would be unjust to them to suppose so. I believe that as time went on they drifted away from one position into another, until at last they took up the position of the inquiry not being one into the charges against Members, but into a political organization. I say that, if there is to be any such inquiry into the Land League and the National League and their actions, that inquiry ought to have been made years ago. We are going back through a period of nine years, or, at least, a period of six years. I maintain that, if such an inquiry is expedient or desirable, the long delay may prove a difficulty. There is not only the danger that witnesses may forget, but the—to my mind—greater danger of a too active imagination on the part of witnesses who have really forgotten. That, at all events, is my experience. I will give one illustration of how a difficulty may arise. One of the allegations made at the late trial which are to be inquired into was that Mr. J. Redmond, on the day after the Phœnix Park murders, proposed a resolution condemning in strong terms the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish, but made no mention of Mr. Burke, and that it was hence to be inferred that he approved of the murder of Mr. Burke. According to the statement of Mr. J. Redmond, that gentleman wrote immediately to explain that at the time he was not aware of Mr. Burke having been killed, but *The Times* did not insert his letter. Attention was called to the question in Parliament, and when this matter was dealt with in these articles last year, the charge was again made against Mr. J. Redmond, in spite of his having taken

the course which he had. What is the statement of *The Times* with regard to it? They say that the time which has elapsed disables them from verifying the facts; and they cannot say whether he had written to them or not. May not the same difficulty occur with regard to events which have taken place at even a longer interval? If it be essential that there should be such an inquiry as this, it should be a separate one, and it ought not to be entrusted to Her Majesty's Judges. The noble Marquess spoke of this Commission as being analogous to the Election Judges. But that is strictly a judicial proceeding. With regard to the constitution of the tribunal, I know that I am treading on delicate ground; nevertheless, what I believe it right to say I will say, no matter what imputation any man may cast against me for saying it. My Lords, I should have thought that, when that tribunal was to be constituted for the trial of matters deeply involving those who were the political opponents of those who instituted it, it would have been well to have sought at least one member of that Commission whose political sympathies are rather with the political views and aspirations of those whose interests are so deeply and vitally at stake, because we are told that this is a matter deeply interwoven with politics. I would appeal to your Lordships—if your character was going to be inquired into in a case closely connected with politics, would you not have the right of demanding that some of those who were to carry on the inquiry should have some sympathy with your political views? I know it is said that these Judges are non-political. If by that is meant men who have never taken any active part in politics, that is a matter of small importance. If by non-political Judges you mean men who have never thought upon politics, who have no political sympathies, who have passed their lives indifferent to those things in political life which concern their fellow-men, I do not believe that such Judges exist. Some people seem to think that there are Judges who live up in a balloon in the air, and who take their seats on the Bench, and again disappear, who never enter a club to chat about the topics of the day with their fellows. I do not believe that such Judges exist. My noble and learned Friend (Lord Bramwell) near me will permit me to use him as an illustration. Some four or five years ago my noble and learned Friend would have been classed among non-political Judges. But does anybody who has listened to my noble and learned Friend in this House fail to see that he entertains and enforces most precise, vigorous, and decided views with regard to most political questions, and that he gives to them an incisive expression to which we listen with delight? Do your Lordships suppose that all those strong views have germinated in that active brain during the last few years, and that while he was a non-political Judge he cared nothing for political questions? I believe that any of the Judges, whatever their views or sympathies, would do their best to act honestly, justly, and impartially; but when we are told that the selection has been made because these Judges are the most impartial, I confess I cannot help regretting that an effort was not made, before the names of those constituting the tribunal was made public, to ascertain whether any strong or decided objection was entertained to them or any one of them. If that had been done, some of the criticisms upon which the noble Marquess has made strong comments would have been avoided. I feel myself placed in this matter in as painful a dilemma as I was ever in in the course of my life. I do not exaggerate when I say I have spent anxious hours in considering what it was my duty to do in this matter. I am in this dilemma. If I am silent I may be taken to approve of the tribunal constituted, and my silence might be used as an instrument for the purpose of prejudicing my Colleagues who have spoken in the other House. If I speak I am assumed to criticize the Judges and their qualifications, which may have a mischievous effect. My difficulty has been increased by what was said in "another place" by the First Lord of the Treasury, that the constitution of the tribunal had the approval of all whose judicial experience made them worthy of attention. I do not think for a moment that I was included by the First Lord of the Treasury among those whose judicial experience makes them worthy of attention, and of that I do not complain. But from the Office I held, however unworthily, I feel bound to speak, and I know there are multitudes in this coun-

try who will proclaim the same faith. The worst of it is that when you drag your Judges into these matters you cannot avoid the criticisms of which you complain. Finding myself in this dilemma, all I will say is this, that if I am silent with reference to the constitution of this tribunal it must not be inferred that I imply my approval of it. If any such inference is drawn and used against me after I have explained my reasons for reticence, it will be most unjust and ungenerous. I have a most serious objection to this measure, and it is that it is a political inquiry with a political object, closely connected with that field of politics which has excited the strongest feeling; and that the Judges of the land are to be taken from their proper functions and brought into the arena of political battle I am convinced will one day be regarded as a serious evil. When you charge this man with this offence or that man with another, you raise a clear and distinct issue upon which the opinion of the Judges may be accepted; but when you leave to these Judges an enormous mass of allegations from which to infer the political action of men engaged in politics for a number of years, whatever the decision of the Judges may be, it cannot and will not escape criticism. If they are proposed to decide in favour of those against whom the Commission is directed they will be criticized by one party; if they decide adversely they will be criticized by another. Do you suppose that men to whom those charges have been the breath of their political life for years, and who have gone about the country maintaining them, will abandon their views because the Judges may have reported against them? "On questions of fact," these men will say—"The judgment of the Judges is no more to be respected than ours. If it were a decision upon a point of law we should bow to it, but the action of this man or that is a matter on which the opinion of a Judge is no better than that of any other man." That is the sort of language which will be used, and I believe it cannot be used without injury to the usefulness of the Judges who are made the subject of it. They will go back to their ordinary work, but their position will not be what it was before, and never can be. I have for all the best of my life been connected with the administration of justice and the practice of the law; for the character and reputation of the Judges no man is more concerned. I shall care to be remembered more as a lawyer than as a politician. Therefore, I confess I read with pain criticisms on the action of Judges. I think them unjust. But when I look forward I cannot but think how inevitable it is that this criticism should fall upon those who are going to deal with this matter. My Lords, I will not detain your Lordships any longer. The matter is unfortunate, and I feel bound to point out that the whole matter has been made the more unfortunate by some of the incidents which accompanied the passage of the measure through the other House of Parliament. The noble Marquess has spoken of this measure as if it had received the unanimous assent of the House of Commons. I must say that shows how political opinions may affect one's judgment or understanding of the commonest recent events. It is true there was no Division against the second reading of the Bill in the House of Commons; but the measure in the form in which it was drafted was protested against as vigorously as protest could be made. How could those who did not oppose the second reading anticipate, or how were they bound to anticipate, that Her Majesty's Government would not listen to their remonstrances or regard any of their Amendments when the Bill came into Committee and its details had to be determined? The objection of the Irish Members never was to the Bill as a whole, but to the details and scope of the inquiry, and under those circumstances I say they were right in assenting to the second reading, and right in trying as best they could to amend the provisions of the measure in accordance with their views as the Bill passed through Committee. One of the unfortunate occurrences to which I have alluded was that the Attorney General was called into consultation in connection with the proposal which the Government were going to make to the House. He had been connected with the matter as counsel for *The Times* newspaper; it was true he was also Law Officer to the Crown; but it is very difficult for the public mind to separate action in one capacity from action in another. Noble Lords will admit that it would have

been better that he should not be consulted, and that it was not unnatural that suspicion was excited on his being consulted. Let me take the opportunity of saying that I have read with regret the imputations which have been made against the honour and integrity and fair action of my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General. I have known him nearly a quarter of a century, and I am sure that, however much he may have been mistaken in the course which he took—and into the merits of which it would be profitless to enter here—I am satisfied of this, that he has done nothing which has been inconsistent with the most absolute integrity and with the most perfect belief in its prudence and justice. As counsel for *The Times* his sole duty was to them, but as Law Adviser of the Government his duty was also to them, and unfortunately in the public mind his action in these two-fold capacities has become somewhat interwoven. Another complaint is with regard to the obstruction that it is said was made to this Bill in Committee in the House of Commons. It appears to me to be rather a curious view to take—at one time to represent this measure as accepted by and acceptable to the great majority of the House of Commons without distinction of political views, and at another time to complain that a large section of the House had done their best for a long time to obstruct its passage. I think that the extended discussion which took place in Committee was legitimate and was natural. It arose, some of it, from the unfortunate incidents to which I have just alluded, and some of it from another occurrence. An interview had taken place between the First Lord of the Treasury and the proprietor of *The Times*, the defendant in the action of "O'Donnell *v.* Walter and another," while this matter was pending, and at such interview there had been some conversation with reference to the Bill. My Lords, I think that that was a most unfortunate occurrence. Let noble Lords consider what they would have felt under like circumstances. Do they suppose, if that had happened to them, that they would not have had their suspicions excited and been likely to use somewhat vigorous language, and to consider the incident somewhat more important than probably it really was? In the heat of political conflict we do not judge things with the most exact balance. But, my Lords, there was another and, I think, a still more unfortunate incident, which I confess appears to me most grave, because it was setting a precedent of a dangerous character. I mean the mode by which the Government brought the discussion to a close, by moving that the further consideration of the Bill in Committee should practically terminate at a particular hour. That has never been done before under such circumstances. There was much said about a similar method being applied to expedite the passing of the Crimes Act last year, but that measure was at least pronounced to be urgent. Here is a measure as to the urgency of which no one can pretend that it makes any difference whether it passes a fortnight sooner or later. It is true that this has been done by a Conservative Government about a measure in which they are interested. Naturally men get irritated by long discussions about anything; but I will ask your Lordships to remember how fatal a precedent has been set. That precedent can be used in time to come to limit the consideration of other measures for which no urgency can be pleaded except the dislike of their supporters to discussion. There exists in the House of Commons a Rule which can be used to put a stop absolutely to undue discussion, and there is only one thing to limit its application—that is, that it shall be used at the discretion of the Speaker or Chairman. That weapon was in the hands of the Government, and was used by them from time to time. They have exercised that power in the past, and all discussions are stopped by that means which the Speaker or Chairman shall pronounce to be undue. That power was given to the Chairman or Speaker as a check in favour of the minority against the action of the majority; but the action of the Government has entirely done away with that check. The discussion in Committee was closed not because it was undue in the opinion of the Chairman, but because it was undue in the opinion of the Government; they say that the Committee shall be closed at a certain date, and that no further Amendments shall be considered. It is a most grave matter that the Government should take advantage of a measure such as this to introduce so serious a precedent. There is one other consideration which I

will present to your Lordships' notice. I cannot but think that an inquiry such as this, bringing again to the front all the acts and the bitter feelings of past years, is not likely to improve the state of feeling between Englishmen and Irishmen, or to cause it to become less bitter than it is at present. I have always looked forward with hope to the time when that feeling should become less bitter than, unhappily, it has been in the past, and I cannot but think that Her Majesty's Government must have entertained the same hope, and must have had the same object in view, although we may be seeking its realization by different roads. But just conceive for a moment what will happen under this Bill. You are, I suppose, going to bring over from Ireland all the witnesses to be examined, except the Members of Parliament who are attending to their duties in the House of Commons. I do not suppose it is intended to send a tribunal of English Judges into Ireland to examine witnesses there, so you are going to bring these men over here from the remote shores of Galway and from the most distant parts of Ireland; they will be taken far from their homes, to be examined by a tribunal of Judges on matters personally affecting themselves, though they may, it is true, appear by counsel or solicitor, whom they may obtain here or bring over from Ireland. Can anyone conceive anything more likely to create irritation and ill-feeling than proceedings like this? Multitudes of men may be taken for days and weeks together from their business, occupations, and friends in order that the charges of which the Commission will take cognizance may be investigated. They may not have the means to defend themselves. Suppose the matter was reversed; suppose the Commission sat in Ireland, and people were taken from England to Ireland to answer charges made against them. I want to divest myself, in speaking of these matters, as far as possible, of that prejudice which I know naturally is likely to affect the judgment of many of us against this Bill, which all of us ought, as far as we can, to be on our guard against. I am, however, fortified in the view I have taken by the knowledge that there are some—I believe not a few—who are as far as possible from sharing my political opinions who share the views I have ventured to put before your Lordships to-night. My Lords, I have spoken at times perhaps with warmth—I admit that I have felt deeply—but, at least, I hope I have spoken temperately, and in no respect unfairly. I shall not, as far as I am concerned, though I do not know what course will be taken, put your Lordships to the trouble of dividing on the Bill, though I confess the language of the noble Marquess renders it difficult for those who entertain the views I do to abstain from taking that course. I shall, however, feel compelled to say "Not-Content" in order that it may not be taken that the measure is passed with my consent. For my part, I feel that some of us will not be sorry, when they see the consequences of this measure, that their names did not appear as supporters of it. So strong is my feeling in reference to this Bill that, although I shall not ask the House to divide, I will, at least, say "Not-Content," for I believe it to be a measure which is as dangerous as it is novel, and which may be fraught with consequences hereafter which we may all of us most deeply regret.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: My Lords, the noble and learned Lord opposite has had a very difficult task, and he has peformed it with consummate ability. He has exerted all the resources of his long experience and high forensic powers to cast a glamour, if I may say so, round the cause he has undertaken. I shall not attempt to follow the noble and learned Lord through all the windings of his able speech; indeed, so extremely technical was it in some parts that it would be imprudent for a layman to attempt to follow him. I have no hesitation in giving my full support, as an individual, to the course the Government have taken, for the best of all reasons, that the provisions which are embodied in this Bill were recommended by me as earnestly as I could find words to do, just about this time last year. Your Lordships will remember that about April or May last year there appeared in *The Times* a series of charges which were followed up by the publication of a letter in *fac simile* of Mr. Parnell's writing. Such a charge, happily, had never been made before, and such a charge had never been attempted to be substantiated in the same way. It led to an angry and a heated contro-

versy. Mr. Parnell expressed his willingness to accept a Committee of the House of Commons. The noble and learned Lord opposite dwelt very favourably on that Committee as a solution of the difficulty. I confess that I cannot agree with him on that point. Indeed, I can conceive no tribunal in the present state of the House of Commons so absolutely disqualified for dealing with such a question. On the other hand, Her Majesty's Government proposed to Mr. Parnell to offer all facilities for instituting proceedings in the ordinary Law Courts; but neither Party would waive their own view and accept the proposal of the other. Not merely were these hideous charges levelled against individuals, but a large and important section of the House of Commons was placed under the direct stigma of crime. They brought the character of the House of Commons into issue. The noble and learned Lord argued this question as if it rested with Mr. Parnell and as if individuals were the main consideration. The interests of any body of individuals when charged with such monstrous crimes become, to a certain extent, public property; but in this instance the House of Commons and the great institutions of the country were dragged into the controversy. It was under these circumstances that I urged so strongly on a former occasion the advantage of appointing a Commission; whether it consisted, as now, wholly of Judges, or whether it was composed in part of Judges and in part of laymen. I never supposed for a moment that such a tribunal was applicable to ordinary cases, but this was an extraordinary and exceptional case, so mixed up with Constitutional questions that it deserved special treatment. The proposed Commission will meet the reasonable requirements and claims on each side as far as any human tribunal can do so. It will combine a clear and searching professional inquiry with all the fairness which you can expect from human beings. When I spoke of Constitutional questions I spoke advisedly. The fair fame and usefulness of the House of Commons seem to me to be mixed up in the satisfactory clearing up of this question. I can conceive now, as I thought last year, nothing so ruinous to the fair fame of that House as to allow such a charge as this to remain unsettled. Consider what it really means. It means that you have a large section of the House of Commons so condoning and so conniving at the most hideous crimes that they become participators in those crimes. I can only recall two cases in any degree analogous to this state of things in the whole history of the House of Commons. In the beginning of the last century you had a large Jacobite Party in the House of Commons. There were many serious and grave charges levelled against them, and history had failed to clear up many points. They were pledged to upset if they could the existing dynasty. They plotted with outside opponents of the existing state of things, and grave charges were brought against them. But I venture to think that none of those charges were so grave as that with which we have to deal at the present moment. Again, at the close of the same century there was a Party in the House of Commons who sympathized warmly with the French Revolution, and whose language carried them to the extreme verge of disloyalty to the Crown and the country. But no one ever brought such a charge against them as has been repeatedly, unequivocally, and distinctly levelled against the followers of Mr. Parnell. My Lords, if this grievous charge remains uncleared can anyone doubt the pernicious influence it must have upon the House of Commons? It seems to me that wisdom and eloquence and the other retinue of Constitutional and Parliamentary qualities are hurrying down, not a gentle slope, but a very steep incline. Night after night we have a saturnalia, orgies, and rowdyism, and if that state of things continues the whole of the respect which formerly was accorded to the House of Commons by the country will pass away; and, important as the Irish question may be, you will have matters still more important—namely, the institutions and the Constitution of the country, which will be brought into controversy. I will not follow the noble and learned Lord in what he said in regard to the composition of this tribunal. I can conceive easily the delicate and difficult position in which he found himself. He regretted that Judges should be in any degree mixed up with these political matters. My Lords, I cannot share that regret. The same apprehen-

sion was expressed at the time when it was proposed to hand over the election and bribery Petitions to the Judges. There was then even more reason for apprehending a serious result; but no such result followed. I believe myself that of all the tribunals which could be constituted for such a difficult case as this a tribunal composed of English Judges is the fairest. If I were compelled to appear before any tribunal, I should desire no better nor safer one than the Judges. But I admit that if I had not such great confidence in them there would be ground for anxiety. The powers are great which are given to them, and Party enmities run so high that men's judgment at the present day may easily be distorted. But I think all reasonable men desire that the inquiry should be not indefinite, not irrelevant, and not too much of a fishing nature. I think they desire also that both offences and persons should, as far as practicable, be specified, because that is the practice, I take it, and the spirit of English law. Lastly, I believe they desire that the offences which come before that tribunal shall be heinous offences, such as I understood from my noble Friend who introduced this Bill it was intended to take cognizance of—murder, conspiracy to murder, violence, mutilation, and so forth. There are, no doubt, many other crimes which are cruel and abominable, and which, in the ultimate course of crime, may lead to something still graver; but, after all, we should not constitute special tribunals for the trial of such cases as these. The ordinary Law Courts are good enough for that purpose. What we intend to be dealt with by such a Commission as this are those heinous crimes which have sent a thrill of horror through the country, and which make it impossible to accord to men who remain under the stigma of them the same respect which otherwise they would be entitled to. There are two charges now before us on which public attention is fixed. The first question is whether the letters alleged to have been written by Mr. Parnell are genuine letters or forgeries. The second question is how far the Irish Party in the House of Commons is, as a whole, in complicity with that violent and criminal class to which my noble Friend alluded. I trust the Commission will clear these matters up thoroughly and effectually, and, if I may say so, speedily also, because if the parties accused are innocent, it is contrary to all justice that charges should hang over their heads one day longer than is necessary. But, on the other hand, if they are guilty, it is to the public interest to declare that guilt in the plainest words, and that no delay should be taken as to the further steps which must of necessity follow. I believe that this tribunal, composed as it is, will discharge its onerous and grave duties, and so believing I, for one, am content to leave the matter in its hands.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY): My Lords, I waited to see whether there was any noble Lord on the Opposition Benches who was disposed to take part in the debate before I thought it right to say anything in answer to my noble and learned Friend. I wish to add my testimony to the candid and high minded tone which pervaded the speech of my noble and learned Friend. I am very glad that he has spoken as became him on behalf of those who have no opportunity of defending themselves in this House. I recognize to the full the tone and spirit in which my noble and learned Friend has approached this question. But there are two errors into which he fell, which exhibited the fervour of the forensic rather than the calm of the judicial mind. My noble and learned Friend's first error was in supposing that the Government have any interest in the guilt of those who are accused of these various crimes. I believe they have no such interest. I believe it would be a far more useful factor in the pacification of Ireland if it should be established by these men that there was no connection between the Parliamentary Party and the party of violence, because one of the most mischievous impressions on this question is that the latter party have the support and sympathy of the Irish Party in the House of Commons; and, so far from its being the interest of the Government to prove the guilt of the persons incriminated, their interest ought to be, and I believe is, the other way. The other mistake is that the Government are responsible for the promotion of this Bill. One would suppose that the Government had proposed this as an independent mea-

sure. That is an entire mistake. The Government had no more to do with the action of "O'Donnell *v.* Walter" than my noble and learned Friend himself. What happened was this—The cause lasted some time, and came to an untimely end owing to the interposition of the learned Judge, who declared that he could not permit considerable portions of the opening of the Attorney General to be proved. Up to that time everybody had supposed, including the Attorney General himself, that he would go on to give evidence, I do not say to prove the truth of his client's allegations. If the matter had rested there the Government would have had no more interest in the question than any of Her Majesty's subject. But in renewal of an application made on a former occasion, Mr. Parnell and his friends thought it desirable that there should be some inquiry into these allegations. What charges and what investigations were they that Mr. Parnell asked that a Committee of the House of Commons should inquire into? It is absolutely impossible to try any one of the facts alleged in the Attorney General's speech without bringing it into relation with the others. Suppose we take what my noble and learned Friend refers to as one of the most definite of the charges, the writing of certain letters. What do they prove by themselves? The first letter in itself contained no charge, but simply contained a reference to something which had been done beforehand; it was neither in the nature of complicity beforehand, nor was it anything in the nature of absolute approbation afterwards. Suppose anybody had thought right to investigate that charge before any tribunal, limiting the question strictly to the authenticity of the letter? The first thing would be that the Judge would say, "I cannot try that question by itself; it must be proved what the reference was to, what the writer's relations were to the person to whom the letter was written, who the other persons are with respect to whom it was necessary to make the excuse that for public motives there must be some disavowal." I think my noble and learned Friend has hardly done justice to the Bill in its passage from the House of Commons. My right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury said the Bill was an offer—after he had taken up the position—rightly or wrongly, that a Committee of the House of Commons was about the worst tribunal you could select, inasmuch as the question of moral delinquency was mixed up with political questions. It could not be suggested that to decide a question of that character those who sat night after night in bitter hostility to the incriminated persons could form a fair tribunal. Then as to the words "other persons" being omitted by a slip from the verbal offer, a sufficient answer to that is the reply of the Opposition—"Put down your Notice, do not leave it vaguely. We will see what it is, and then we will say whether we will accept it or no." The Notice accordingly was put down, and the words "other persons" appeared on it, for very obvious reasons. That did not put the Government in a different position; but I quite admit that the position of the Government has been altered since that offer was first made. The offer not having been accepted or rejected, and the Bill having been read a second time without a single dissentient voice, the position of the Government became a very different one. It was no longer an offer made to an individual, but the deliberate voice of Parliament, which the Government was bound to respect and give effect to. So far as the question of Amendments being made in Committee are concerned, and the charge that the Government refused to make any concessions, the answer is to be found in the main lines of the Bill. The limits of the inquiry were, over and over again by Members of the Government, asserted in the face of Parliament to be essential, and they declared that they could not permit any alteration of those general lines in the Bill; yet, in face of these warnings, the Bill was read a second time without a single dissentient voice. What position, I ask, would the Government be in if, after having refused Mr. Parnell a Committee, they had not presented him with an alternative tribunal? It would have been said, "You will not allow these charges to be investigated by the tribunal we ask for, and you substitute no other, limiting us to bringing an action against *The Times* and submitting ourselves to the judgment of the jury." I will not advance the proposition that everybody who is abused in the news-

papers should bring an action for libel. Here is a case in which a newspaper of high authority and great respectability——

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: No; not more so than others.

LORD HALSBURY: My noble Friend says "No." I cannot agree with him. I think there are some newspapers in this Metropolis which are an absolute disgrace to journalism, and with respect to whom I should not condescend even to notice the abuse which from time to time they level at public men. I think *The Times* and many other papers are of such a character of respectability that no public man can afford to disregard such grave charges as are made in this case. If Mr. Parnell would not bring an action, he ought not to complain if an effort was made, even by his political opponents, to give him the opportunity of clearing his character. I come now to the same delicate ground which my noble and learned Friend trod with such delicate steps. I do not say that any tribunal which is to be selected is to escape criticism. It is right that Parliament should criticize tribunals; but is it necessary to use insulting and reviling phrases about gentlemen whose only offence is that they have consented to take these difficult and arduous duties on themselves, with respect to which, however they are discharged, as my noble and learned Friend said, it is hopeless to expect that they will escape calumny? Is it necessary to abuse individuals, to use coarse and vulgar invective about the Judges even before the Bill under which they are to act has passed through Parliament, and before, therefore, they have entered on the inquiry? I think my noble and learned Friend must have misunderstood the observations made by the Prime Minister. I think that such phrases as have been used with regard to one of the Judges do cover the lips which utter them with disgrace; but the Prime Minister did not suggest that there should not be any criticisms with respect to the tribunal itself. I care little about the imputations cast upon myself. I have no doubt those who uttered them cannot believe in a better motive, or invent a worse one, than the objects they have attributed to me in the selection of the tribunal. I do not condescend to defend myself against such invective; but I do feel that I owe it to the Members of the Commission, who have consented to serve their country, to say that I believe if you poll Westminster Hall, or that which is its substitute, you will not find a dissentient voice against the statement that they are all men of high honour and integrity, and that they are Judges of experience. It would be impertinence in me to speak abstractedly about them—their competence to do this or the other. They are English gentlemen and experienced Judges, and I think that might have saved them from any personal attack. My noble and learned Friend indulged in some impassioned rhetoric about giving an inquiry of this sort to Judges at all. They were to be treated as of no more consequence than anyone else. Did he always think so?

LORD HERSCHELL: I did not say that; I referred to the political aspect.

LORD HALSBURY: If my memory serves me right, the Government of which he was a Member instituted such tribunals in Ireland, where questions of life and death were involved. Why was that done? Because the ordinary tribunals were not able to do justice. He thought then, or at least his Colleagues did, that it was consistent with the maintenance of respect for the law that a tribunal of Judges should inquire into questions of life and death, and this by selected Judges.

LORD HERSCHELL: I do not call that a political question.

LORD HALSBURY: Even there I cannot agree with him. Does he mean to say that these particular murders which the Judges were to inquire into in Ireland were not political? No one has ever suggested that there was ever any difficulty in getting, in ordinary cases of crime unconnected with the agrarian question, a good and proper verdict from an Irish jury. But it was because you could not get that in agrarian cases, touching on political matters, that you were obliged to constitute these tribunals. I think it is a little too late for Her Majesty's Opposition to complain as to the Constitutional question in connection with a tribunal which has no power of life or death, no power to inflict punishment on those who may, nevertheless, be reported to be guilty. I think my noble and learned Friend criticized in a technical spirit

the proposals of the Prime Minister. He referred to the trial of Election Petitions, and, "Oh," said my noble and learned Friend, "these are not Judges." They are Judges. I owe an apology to your Lordships for having occupied so much time. I repudiate as earnestly as I can the notion that the Government are here as prosecutors on one side, and Mr. Parnell and his friends are on the other side as defendants. I utterly repudiate such a suggestion. It is for the advantage of the State, and to clear the House of Commons of a grave and important scandal, that the Government have interfered—not to try themselves the accusations, not to give Mr. Parnell and his friends a partizan tribunal, but to select persons who, in our judgment and belief, are thoroughly above and beyond all Party bias. We are determined to acquiesce in the decision of that tribunal, which, notwithstanding all that my noble and learned Friend says, will, I believe, carry weight in the country, whatever that decision may be; and, although, no doubt, whatever the result, there will be some mean and paltry minds on both sides in politics who will attribute mean motives, and refuse to acquiesce in the decision, I believe the great body of our countrymen will recognize that the Judges have undertaken a difficult and onerous duty, and that they have honourably discharged it to the State.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I do not suppose that anyone will seriously hold that the Government are not responsible for this measure. We are told that in some manner they were compelled to propose this marvellous measure, and yet that they are not responsible for initiating it. I do not believe that I shall hear the noble Marquess disclaim responsibility for this measure. Reference has been made to the second reading having been passed in the other House unopposed. If the Opposition had opposed it, it would have been carried all the same, and it would have been alleged that the Opposition did not want to have an inquiry—that they wished to conceal certain things. But in assenting to the second reading they meant to consent to some inquiry. They never intended to consent to inquiry as unlimited as it is now. The Government are now going into an inquiry extending over the last five or six years, and into the whole state of the country. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack has criticized rather severely what was said by my noble and learned Friend (Lord Herschell) upon the subject of the Judges. I am not disposed in the least to go into their antecedents, or express an opinion upon their personal qualifications; but I protest against the notion that, when these extraordinary powers are about to be entrusted to the Judges, we in Parliament have not an absolute right to criticize individuals. I cannot admit for a moment that, provided the remarks were made in a proper and temperate tone, there is any dishonour or discredit in bringing forward any opinion which may be entertained with regard to one of the Judges. I have no opinion of my own on the subject, because I have no knowledge on which to form an opinion; but I am bound to say that I have heard repeatedly from men of high character, and beyond suspicion, remarks which convince me that a grievous mistake has been made in the constitution of this Commission. More I will not say than that. With what my noble and learned Friend said about the novel doctrine with regard to the repelling of attacks made by newspapers upon political men I associate myself most absolutely. It is perfectly intolerable it should be laid down that because an anonymous writer thinks fit to bring forward charges against some public man in this country, such public man is bound to bring an action for libel against the newspaper, or else remain for ever under the shadow of the accusation. With regard to the authority of the newspaper, it depends very much whether the person happens to be of the same colour as the newspaper or not. Newspapers have got functions to discharge as advocates of one particular view in politics, and nobody for one moment imagines that it is possible for any political journal to be impartial in regard to its comments on individual public men. What is regarded by one person as almost a crime is exalted every day by another equal in ability as being honourable and admirable. I maintain that in these matters it is impossible to regard attacks which are made even by newspapers of the highest

class as a thing which an honourable man is bound to take notice of. My noble Friend has referred to the evil which he thinks will result from the practice, if it comes to be a usual one, of employing Judges for purposes of this kind. I do not think that the employment of Judges even in inquiries into corrupt practices at Parliamentary elections has been altogether without evil. It is not for the advantage of our Judicial Bench that they should be engaged in our political controversies. I am glad that no great harm has resulted; but, after all, inquiries into Parliamentary elections are very different affairs from this. An investigation into a political election is a local matter; but here you have what I may call an indictment of a nation, or a large part of it—that is to say, 85 out of 101 Members who represent the Sister Country. And remember that this charge is not confined to Members of Parliament who follow Mr. Parnell, but it involves the whole field of inquiry with regard to the connection between the National Party and crime. I was not a little astonished to hear the noble and learned Lord liken this inquiry to the tribunal of Judges proposed by the Government with which I had the honour to be connected to try certain murders in Ireland. But the Judges in the case alluded to would have had specified charges of murder to try, and the only question was whether it was fit that the Judges should try the case without a jury; but surely that is quite a different matter from a roving Commission to inquire into the events of the last six or seven years, to return not a verdict upon particular charges, the result of which might be life or death to a man, but a general report regarding a number of vague matters affecting the reputation and honour of many men without their having the opportunity of facing specified charges and knowing what they have to meet. It was said by the noble and learned Lord that whatever may be the result it will carry conviction to men's minds. I observed that the present Chief Secretary for Ireland, in a speech he made the other day, declared, in effect, that even if all these things advanced by *The Times* were disproved it would not have any effect on his mind —that his mind is made upon altogether different grounds. The minds of men are made up, and whatever be the result of this political indictment it will be a mere move in the political game. I do not say that it may not damage this Party or that to a certain extent, according to the nature of the evidence that may be produced; but I make this confident assertion—that, whatever the result, there will be found one large Party in this country who will take the most unfavourable view of all that has been done in Ireland, and another very large Party who will take quite the contrary view. This is a pure political matter, to be judged on political grounds. No one disputes that these accusations in *The Times*—of course, justifiable from their own point of view—are brought forward for the purpose of doing as much harm as possible to the Home Rule Party, and it is upon that ground, and that ground only, the matter will be judged. I say it is an unprecedented thing in the history of this country that you are about, by a majority, to confide to certain Judges the investigation of a political controversy without a definite issue, the result of which must be great dissatisfaction to one side or the other, which I do not believe will conduce to the interests of the country, and which may do some harm to the Judicial Bench. And what possible good can result from this on the relations of England and Ireland? Do you really suppose that after all that has taken place in the last few years this inquiry of yours can have any effect but to aggravate evil passions, to rake up matters which, to some extent, might be forgotten, to increase the unfortunate bitterness which exists between the large majority of Irishmen and Englishmen, not only not to advance what we all desire—namely, a better understanding between the two countries—but greatly retard that period, and all for what? All because one newspaper published in London has thought fit to publish some letters the authenticity of which is in question.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND (Lord ASHBOURNE): In the speech which we have just heard from the noble Earl we have had nothing to tell us what he would do if he were master of the situation, nor, indeed, in the other House of Parliament have any of his Friends ventured so to speak. They allowed the second reading to be

taken *nemine contradicente*, and not one of them gave a voice or a vote against the third reading. The noble Marquess the Prime Minister, in introducing this Bill to your Lordships, stated that its object was to provide able and impartial Judges to sift and examine these questions with the widest powers. Nearly every criticism made to-night from those Benches has been contrived so as to indicate in half-sentences that a tribunal composed of some of the most eminent Judges of England is not worthy of having attributed to it the characteristic given to it by the noble Marquess—namely, that it was composed of the most able and impartial men that could be found in the country. The rest of the criticisms were intended to work out this idea—that the powers given to this tribunal should be mutilated so as to compel the Judges to act with their hands partly tied, and with their discretion seriously impaired. What alternatives are suggested to this Bill? The noble Earl has suggested hardly any; his position has been that of one "willing to wound but yet afraid to strike." But, as far as any alternative at all was present to the minds of noble Lords opposite, it was that of a Committee of the House of Commons. But every single objection that can be taken to the form of an investigation conducted by a set of men trained to the work can be advanced with tenfold greater force against a Committee of the House of Commons, which is not even presided over by any Judge trained to judicial methods, and which would have as wide a discretion as that which it is now proposed to give, but which noble Lords deny should be given, to Her Majesty's Judges trained to every method for the discovery of truth. If it is looked into, the comparison which noble Lords opposite make between the two tribunals is absolutely untenable. But there is one other alternative that might be suggested. It is very well worthy of note that this debate has come to such an advanced stage without any statement or suggestion being given that the ordinary tribunals of the country might not have been appealed to. It is almost ludicrous to speak of these charges as anonymous statements in a newspaper. Were ever charges put forward with more exceptional force? These charges have been repeated in a Court of Justice. I have listened with considerable attention to the speeches made by the noble and learned Lord and the noble Earl opposite, but I have failed to find any suggestion on their part that any conceivable human tribunal would have satisfied them. The noble and learned Lord opposite, with regard to this tribunal appointed to ascertain the truth in this case, said that an offer might have been made to get a Judge who had some sympathy with Mr. Parnell.

LORD HERSCHELL: That was not my statement.

LORD ASHBOURNE: It is a paraphrase of it.

LORD HERSCHELL: No.

LORD ASHBOURNE: Well, the thought which the noble and learned Lord conveyed to my mind was that an offer might have been made to find a Judge who had some sympathy with the Party represented by Mr. Parnell.

LORD HERSCHELL: The words I used were "political views."

LORD ASHBOURNE: The noble and learned Lord says that an offer should have been made to get a man so political that it was notorious what his political views were. I think that is the fair inference to be adduced from the words of the noble and learned Lord.

LORD HERSCHELL explained that his argument was that all this talk about Judges with no political sympathies or antipathies was ridiculous, and that if there were three Judges it was at least desirable to have two of them who thought in one direction and one in another.

LORD ASHBOURNE: I expect that the noble and learned Lord is rather sorry to have used his original sentence. He seems to me now to have somewhat recast it, and presented it in a slightly different form; but, as I understand the noble and learned Lord, he is unable to suggest any tribunal that would be pleasing to him, and appears almost to suggest that in a tribunal composed of Judges of the highest character, those whom the charges affect should have to do, not only with the constitution of the tribunal, but with the framing of the indictment, possibly in the drawing up of the judgment. The noble Earl, in speaking of Her Majesty's Judges, followed the caution of the noble and learned Lord.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: I said that I had no personal acquaintance with the Commissioners, and had no opinion on the constitution of the Commission; but that many things had been said which I deeply regretted to hear.

LORD ASHBOURNE: I admit that the noble Earl was in an enormous difficulty on the subject. If he said nothing he possibly feared that it might be said that he was not party to the observations made in the other House, and if he said anything it might seem to indicate that he desired to make reflections on Her Majesty's Judges. The truth is that the Judges selected are three as able and eminent Judges as could be found in the judiciary of any country, and that not one single syllable can be urged against the fairness and reasonableness of the tribunal. I venture to think that the Judges will fulfil their responsible duties as honestly, honourably, and fairly as may be expected from the eminent men they are, and I venture to think that the tribunal appointed by this Bill is a tribunal that will be found to satisfy the statement of the Prime Minister that it is composed of able and eminent men, clothed for the purpose of this investigation with the widest possible powers.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I can only say that if the Government are satisfied I am perfectly satisfied, so that for once we are a united family. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack, any more than the noble and learned Lord who has just spoken, did not say one word with regard to one portion of my noble and learned Friend's speech which was of some consequence—namely, that which referred to to the gross injustice done to the persons to be brought before the Commission, and also to the extremely dangerous precedent set for the future. Not one word did either of these noble and learned Lords say on that subject, as to which it might be thought your Lordships would be anxious that the public mind should be satisfied. The noble and learned Lord referred to the history of the Bill in passing through the House of Commons. I certainly understood him to say that the organ of the Government in the House of Commons made a precise statement. I think it was this year that Mr. Smith said if he was anything he was a man of business. If a man of business comes down to the House of Commons and, not trusting to his memory, reads from a written paper——

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: May I ask the noble Earl whether this is perfectly in Order?

EARL GRANVILLE: I thought that after the references made by the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack to what had passed in the House of Commons I should be allowed to give my answer. It has always been the custom in this House to refer to what has been said by responsible Ministers in the other House, and no objection has been made to it. But if the noble Marquess objects I will relinquish that point, though I think it makes my case very strong indeed. First of all there was a proposal made in the most formal manner which the noble and learned Lord said was a mere slip, and yet he said afterwards that it was the conduct of Mr. Parnell which made the Government change their front.

LORD HALSBURY: I only repeated the words used by the noble and learned Lord.

EARL GRANVILLE: The noble and learned Lord who has just spoken made an attack upon the Opposition because he said they did not approve of any tribunal. But Her Majesty's Government refused a House of Commons' inquiry, which would have been in accordance with all precedent. The noble Marquess objected to it very much on the ground of the deterioration of the present House of Commons.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I said nothing of the kind. I spoke of anger and Party feeling.

EARL GRANVILLE: During my experience I have seen just as much anger and Party feeling as at present. But, be that as it may, taking men like Sir John Mowbray, Mr. Whitbread, and scores of others whom I could mention, men of known integrity and impartiality, you would have had as impartial a tribunal as you could conceive; and, at all events, you would have had the advantage of starting with men whose minds have not been cast in the same mould. The noble and learned Lord said, I believe, that the Bench and the Bar were unanimous in thinking that the three gentlemen named were Englishmen, gentlemen, and Judges. No doubt they are; and I do not believe that there is

a man in the country who will dispute that they are men of honour. But will the noble and learned Lord go a little further and say that there is this perfect unanimity at the Bar and on the Bench that this tribunal is a good thing abstractedly, or that the persons composing it are satisfactory?

LORD HALSBURY: I certainly cannot answer that question, because I have not heard anything from the Bar or the Bench on the subject; but I do not want it to be inferred from my silence that I have heard anything to the contrary.

EARL GRANVILLE: With regard to this Bill, we have been reproached with the unanimity of feeling in the House of Commons on this subject. That unanimity I entirely deny, and while I agree with every word advanced by my noble and learned Friend (Lord Herschell) against this Bill, I say it is impossible for me to separate my action from that of my former Colleagues in "another place" on a matter affecting the honour and credit of one of their Members. I will only add that I think it would have been better if this House had an opportunity of going into the details of the Bill. But, knowing the demand on the time of the Government, and gathering from the speeches which have been made that there is no chance of their departing from the principles they have laid down with regard to the scope and intention of the inquiry, I do not wish to offer any objection to a more rapid procedure than in other circumstances I should think right.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, there is, as you know, a considerable section of this House which, while not acting on the same political lines as the present Government, is, nevertheless, in sympathy with them as to the manner in which Irish affairs should be conducted; and on the part of those Members I feel bound to say that we take our full share of responsibility for this measure, which we accept as being, in all the circumstances of the case, necessary and wise. I do not wish to go again over the same ground as noble Lords who have preceded me; but this I will say—that though many criticisms have been uttered upon the decision to which the Government has come, not much has been said as to the alternative course which should have been taken. In the first place, ought there to be an inquiry, or ought there not? I quite agree in what has been said, that it is not the duty of public men in ordinary cases to prosecute for a scandal uttered against them. But this is not an ordinary case. It is not a charge supposed to be dictated by the political prepossessions or private malice of some individual. It is not a charge confined to a single newspaper. The imputations, be they true or be they unfounded—and upon that I am expressing no opinion—have been stated throughout the country and circulated throughout the country in every form. They do not rest upon the authority of any single newspaper, and, undoubtedly, they have been very generally believed in this country. Any gentlemen engaged in public life against whom such accusations are made are bound to take some steps to vindicate themselves. Well, if that be so, in what manner is the inquiry to take place? I believe it is the opinion of nine out of ten that an inquiry of some sort should be held. But if there is to be an inquiry, the ordinary and natural course would be to have the matter submitted to a legal tribunal. But the gentlemen against whom these attacks are made decline to take that ordinary and natural course. They say—"We should have to go before an English jury, and in the present state of political opinion we have no hope of justice from an English jury." But they are not tied down to that course. They have the choice of going to an Irish jury, and so avoid the prejudices which they fear would prevent their obtaining justice here. To that they make no answer, but they still refuse to bring the case before an Irish jury. They propose an alternative method. They say, "Let us have an inquiry before a Parliamentary Committee;" and that I was surprised to find was the course approved by my noble and learned Friend behind me. To my mind that is absolutely the most unfit tribunal you could find. What is the objection they take to a jury? Simply that a jury would be composed of political partizans who would not do them justice. But if a jury is not fit because it contains some persons whose political feeling would interfere with their strict impartiality, where is the sense of going to another tribunal every one of whose members must be more or

less connected with a Party system and imbued with Party feelings? It may be said that the result of both Parties being represented on a Committee would be that one side would neutralize the other; but the inevitable result would be a Majority and a Minority Report, and naturally the prepossessions from which none of us are free would cause these decisions in each individual case to follow strict Party lines. I do not think such a result as that would be either creditable to the House of Parliament in which it originated, or calculated to lead to a satisfactory decision. But when we have to deal with a Party which will not go before a jury, and when there are a majority of men who say that there are practically insuperable difficulties in the way of trusting an issue of this kind to a Parliamentary Committee, what other alternative is there but that of referring the questions to a Commission constituted in some such manner as this? Objections have been raised to employing the Judges in inquiries of this kind; but I would ask whether it is not part of the ordinary duty of Judges to preside at trials which sometimes are more or less of a political character? If it had been determined to keep them out of the question, any other Commissioners who could have been appointed would necessarily have held an inferior position, and would have been wanting in the same experience. If a new tribunal is constituted, it is surely desirable that the most competent persons should be selected as Judges. With regard to the question of the expense to which the accused persons may be subjected if the inquiry resulted in proof of their innocence, or, what is the same thing, in the absence of proof of their guilt, I think that the question of expenses is one which at a later period, if any injustice is done, might reasonably be rectified. The objection does not, however, come very well from those who professed themselves anxious to have these questions fought out before a Select Committee. With regard to the time of the inquiry, there would probably be greater delay if questions of this kind were to be threshed out before a non-judicial body, or before a tribunal less accustomed to deal with evidence and less familiar with judicial rules and procedure. A great objection has been taken to the inclusion in the inquiry of charges against "other persons" besides Members of Parliament. On that point I may observe that you may spread your net so wide that you will catch nothing; but, on the other hand, where an inquiry of this sort is concerned, it would be extremely unsatisfactory if an inquiry which promised to lead up to some important result had to be summarily cut short, because it might turn out to be an inquiry into some particular piece of evidence not concerning any Member of Parliament, but some other persons. If you limited the inquiry, the proceedings would necessarily be imperfect, and possibly inconclusive. For my own part, I am not insensible to the difficulties and causes of objection which may be urged against this Bill in the very peculiar and difficult situation in which the Government and Parliament are placed by this inquiry; but I do not know of any course which would not have been open to greater objection and led to greater abuses.

LORD DENMAN said, that he had given Notice of a Motion to postpone the Bill; but, as the noble and learned Lord (Lord Herschell) had not intended to vote for it, he could only state his reasons for this step. He believed that the inquiry must be very protracted, and if reported from day to day all the securities against collusion by witnesses after the first day would be greatly increased, and many unwilling witnesses might be called; but even the present Government and Parliament would not have made them answer all questions. He (Lord Denman) believed that Mr. Parnell had not written or sympathized with the letter attributed to him—his conduct in lamenting the deplorable event, the very naming of which gave pain, which took place only four days after his release from Kilmainham, proved, to his (Lord Denman's) mind, that he abhorred the design of Casey, and that his detestation of it did not arise from its being the cause and excuse for a very severe Coercion Act. The absence of himself and his Friends in voting for the exemption of Secret Societies from visits at night from the police convinced him that their desire was to restore order. He had been subjected to constant annoyance and provocation; but, like the late Emperor, he had known how to suffer without com-

plaining. With the rules of evidence so relaxed as they were, a cause might have lasted for days, and no man could be forced into a Court of Justice. In a criminal information the party aggrieved was a necessary witness; but punishment of the offender gave little satisfaction. The loss of circulation was the greatest punishment that could be inflicted on any journal, and sometimes vindication of truth had enabled a falsifier almost to ruin a rival. One letter from Mr. Parnell had been published by *The Times*; by correspondence in newspapers the whole truth might be elicited. He (Lord Denman) had many friends of all parties and ranks in Ireland, and while he regretted that such words as "Take a firm grip of the land" had been followed by consequences far more grave than their authors could have foreseen, he hoped that tenants might be convinced that farming without capital never could succeed, and that ejectments were the only mode in all civilized countries of change of tenancy, which tenants would find true if they wished to dispose of their property after letting it to a tenant. If the Commissioners were to find that Mr. Parnell's denial were incontestably true, they might shorten the proceedings, and not go beyond the finding that evils had arisen *post hoc*, but not *propter hoc*. He rejoiced in the quiet of Sheffield which had followed the inquiry, and hoped that this inquiry might elicit the truth. Notwithstanding his sense that this mode of inquiry was unnecessary, he would not press his Motion.

On Question, *resolved* in the *affirmative*: Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow*.

OATHS BILL.—(No. 272.)
(*The Lord Herschell.*)
SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

LORD HERSCHELL said, he understood that some objection had been taken to the second reading of this Bill. He had hoped that it might be possible for their Lordships to pass the Bill before the Adjournment; but as he understood that there was opposition to that course he did not propose to press the matter upon the House, and to insist upon the second reading being discussed at the present time. The Bill would, therefore, stand over till November.

Order *discharged*.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

THE Lord KINTORE (*E. Kintore*) chosen Speaker in the absence of the Lord Chancellor and the Lords Commissioners.

House adjourned at a quarter past Twelve o'clock A.M., till Twelve o'clock NOON.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 10th August, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE — *Report* — Small Holdings [Inquiry not completed] [No. 358].

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Registration Act (1885) Amendment * [376]; Court of Criminal Appeal * [377]; Cruelty to Children (Prevention) * [378].

Second Reading—Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks [348]; Suffragans' Nomination [363]; Divisional Magistrates (Ireland) [374], *debate adjourned*.

Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—Waltham Abbey Gunpowder Factory [273].

Committee—Local Bankruptcy (Ireland) [344] —R.P.

Committee.—*Report* — *Considered as amended* — *Third Reading*—Imperial Defence * [346], and *passed*.

Committee — *Report* — *Third Reading* — Lloyd's (Signal Stations) (*re-comm.*) * [372], and *passed*.

Considered as amended—Re-comm.—Committee—Report—Considered as amended—Third Reading —County Courts Consolidation and Amendment * [263], and *passed*.

Considered as amended—Third Reading—Mortmain and Charitable Uses * [285]; National Defence * [235]; Municipal Funds (Ireland) [371], and *passed*.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

STANDING ORDERS—AMENDMENT.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (Mr. COURTNEY) (Cornwall, Bodmin), in moving a number of Amendments to the Standing Orders with respect to Private Business, said, that the alterations he proposed should be made in them had been agreed upon after very careful consideration in concert with the House

of Lords. The alterations had been proposed to carry out three special objects. Many schemes now came before them for making tramroads as distinguished from tramways—that was, trams across the country, as against trams in the streets—and one set of Amendments defined these two kinds of tramways, and brought both more fully under the supervision of Parliament. The second object was to simplify to some extent, both as to their scope and repetition, the Notices to be given; and the third set secured that Private Bills in which any Public Offices might be interested should come before those Public Offices. For example, Bills in any way touching the relations between the Mother Country and the Colonies would come before the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) remarked, that some of the proposed alterations appeared to be of considerable importance; but when they had the assurance of so high an authority as the Chairman of Committees that he had carefully considered them, he thought that at that late period of the Session they might be agreed to without debate.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.) asked, what was exactly intended by the alterations with respect to tramroads?

MR. COURTNEY replied, that tramways running along highways would be left exactly where they were. It was proposed to give additional powers with regard to tramroads running across country which had not hitherto been sufficiently under control.

Motion *agreed to*.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

POST OFFICE — TELEGRAPH ACT, 1868—PRESS TELEGRAMS.

MR. COCHRANE-BAILLIE (St. Pancras, N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether, in view of the Report of the Committee on the Revenue Departments, he can state that the Government will bring in further legislation to relieve the country from the loss incurred by the present agreement in connection with the sending of Press telegrams?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I can assure the hon. Member that I am quite in accord with the Committee on the question of the transmission of messages on behalf of the Press; but having regard to the fact that the charge rests upon the statutory powers conferred by the Telegraph Act of 1868, and that the charges levied have been in operation for upwards of 18 years, I fear that it would be difficult to make any change. The question of fresh legislation is, however, one more for the First Lord of the Treasury than for myself.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL FOR SCOTLAND—ISLAND OF LEWIS.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is the case that crofters in the Island of Lewis, though assessed for the upholding of roads and bridges in the Island, have no voice in the management of the Road Trust, which is composed of the proprietrix's factor and a few nominated large farmers; whether it is the case that no meetings are held of the Trustees; that no accounts of the Trust are ever printed or published; that crofters in several districts, though assessed, have no public roads to their townships; whether it is the case that William Gillanders, in the employment of Lady Matheson, the proprietrix, is the collector and treasurer to the Trustees at a yearly salary of £40; and, will the Government include the management of the roads in the Island of Lewis in the proposed Local Government Bill for Scotland?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): I have received to-day the following telegram from Stornoway:—

"The Lewis Road Trustees are annually elected in terms of Section 80 of the Ross and Cromarty Road Act, 1866, which limits the qualification to tenants rented at no less than £50 per annum, four Trustees are annually appointed by the Parochial Boards of Lewis, and four nominated by the proprietor, the proprietor and factor being Trustees *ex officio* in terms of the Act. Meetings are held, when necessary, in addition to the annual statutory meeting, and the accounts are audited and open to inspection; but to save expense, and as the Act does not require it, they are not printed. All lands and heritages in the Valuation Roll are assessed in terms of the Act. Several townships have no road to them. The Trustees have no power under the Act to construct new roads or bridges. William Gillanders, accountant in Lady Matheson's employment, is clerk, collector, and treasurer to the Lewis Road

Trustees, the salary attached to these combined offices being £30, and not £40 as stated. The roads within burghs are managed by the Police Commissioners alone. Remarks only apply to landward district."

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND)—EXAMINATION CENTRES, BELFAST.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the gentleman appointed this year by the Commissioners of Intermediate Education to select Examination Halls for the Belfast centres, and to receive and distribute the signature rolls and boxes containing the examination packets and stationery to the Centre Superintendents of Belfast and the North of Ireland, had thereby, unavoidably, an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the centre numbers, the names of the students attending the centres, and the schools or Colleges at which such students studied; whether the gentleman referred to acted also as General Superintendent at Belfast, visiting from time to time the different centres in that town, and also acted as one of the examiners in English of the junior and senior grade, and was able to identify a student as belonging to a particular school or College in Belfast, or the North of Ireland, by means of the centre number written on the back of each student's envelope enclosing the answer books; and, whether he will consider of devising a system by which the name of the student and the place of education will be unknown to the examiner?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Assistant Education Commissioners inform me that under the system of the Intermediate Education Board the students examined are known to the examiners by their examination numbers only. It is true that one of the examiners in the present year also acted as supervisor generally of the conduct of the examinations in Belfast. In the latter capacity the gentleman in question received from the office and distributed certain signature rolls which contained the numbers and names of students, but not their school or College addresses; and there is no reason to suppose that he made use of his position for the purpose of identifying any of the candidates whose papers he subsequently examined.

UNITED STATES—AMERICAN COPYRIGHT—THE PROPOSED ENACTMENT.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the President of the Board of Trade, If the injury which will be caused to British authors and publishers, no less than to paper makers, compositors, and kindred industries of the United Kingdom, by the proposed enactment in the United States of the legislative provision that American copyright shall only be given to works composed by American labour upon American paper, has been under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government; and what action has been taken in the matter?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): My attention has been drawn to these provisions of the proposed legislation on the subject of copyright in the United States. I think the provisions generally are favourable to English authors; but no doubt there is a portion of the Bill which may be injurious to English publishers and the printing trade in England. I inquired into the subject, and ascertained that so much importance was attached to these provisions in the United States that it was not at all likely that any representation from Her Majesty's Government in favour of their withdrawal would be entertained. I shall, therefore, not be able to move the Foreign Office to make any such representations. I think, however, that the matter may be further considered with advantage when we deal with copyright legislation in this country.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) supposed the right hon. Gentleman would not undertake the responsibility of impeding legislation which conferred benefits on British authors?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, his impression was distinctly that the proposed legislation would be beneficial to English authors; and he should be sorry, on their account, to lose the legislation, in spite of the provisions to which his hon. Friend (Mr. Howard Vincent) referred.

CONSULAR SERVICE—THE HOSPITALS AT CONSTANTINOPLE AND SMYRNA —FEES.

COLONEL HILL (Bristol, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can now state the intention of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the excessive dues at present levied on British shipping for the maintenance of hospitals at Constantinople and Smyrna?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): I regret that I am not in a position to state the intention of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the excessive dues at present levied on British shipping for the maintenance of hospitals at Constantinople and Smyrna. The matter is still under the consideration of the Departments concerned.

WAR OFFICE—ENLISTMENT IN THE ISLAND OF LEWIS.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) (for Dr. R. M'DONALD) (Ross and Cromarty) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the case of three young men from Branish, in the Island of Lewis, named respectively Donald Macritchie, aged 19, Donald Mackinnon, aged 17, and Malcolm Buchanan, aged 20, who, having enlisted in Stornoway while under the influence of drink on July 3, were arrested as deserters on July 18, and compelled by the local police to walk to Stornoway, without food or refreshment of any sort, for a distance of 44 miles, and have been in prison ever since; why was the bail that has been offered for their liberation not accepted; if he can explain why Mackinnon, who is under age, has been imprisoned as a deserter, when he ought not to have been enlisted without some proof of his being the full age; and, whether, if a certified copy of his birth register is produced, he will be set at liberty?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle), in reply, said, his attention was first drawn to the matter by the hon. Member's Question, and a full Report had been called for.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—ISLAND OF LEWIS — THE SCHOOLHOUSE OF CROMORE.

DR. R. M'DONALD (Ross and Cromarty) asked the Lord Advocate, If it is a fact that in the Island of Lewis the schoolhouse of Cromore is eight miles from a public road, that of Planasker or Macraig nine miles, those of Keosharder, Graver, and Lenmera respectively four miles; whether the average attendance at those schools ranges from 45 to 55 children, and whether each family in the district are bound to pay 10*s.* per annum for road money; and, whether, considering the poverty of the people and the facility with which cheap labour can be got in this district, the Government will act on the recommendations in Mr. Machoil's Report, and bring pressure to bear on the Road Trustees to have roads made in this district, or give a grant-in-aid to carry out this necessary improvement, and at the same time prevent a number of families from dying of slow starvation for want of adequate food?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): The facts in the first two paragraphs are not quite correct—Cromore schoolhouse being distant seven and not eight miles, and that of Planaskar or Macraig being eight and not nine miles distant from a public road. The average attendance ranges from 36 to 57, and not 45 to 55 as stated. The Government have no power to bring pressure upon the Road Trustees in order to compel or induce them to make roads in any district. The question of a grant-in-aid for local public purposes is a very large one, and is one of general public policy. I would point out to the hon. Member that even were such grant given the relief would only be of a temporary nature, as has already been proved by the former employment of the inhabitants for the formation of roads by the proprietor of the Island.

FISHERIES (SCOTLAND)—CONFISCATION OF FISHING GEAR AND COBLE IN THE CROMARTY FIRTH.

DR. R. M'DONALD (Ross and Cromarty) asked the Lord Advocate, If, on

May 10 last, a fisherman of the name of Robert Hogg, belonging to the village of Saltburn, near Invergordon, had his fishing-gear and coble confiscated by the water-bailiffs of the district while fishing in the bay near his residence, without any explanation being given as to the reason for the confiscation; by what right, or under what statute, such confiscation has been made; whether he is aware that the said Hogg has fished in the Cromarty Firth for the last 20 years, in the locality in which he has now been interfered with, with a similar boat and nets, without once being interfered with; whether the water-bailiffs have a right to hold Hogg's property, as they still do, for an unlimited period; and, if he is guilty of a criminal offence, why he is not prosecuted for the same, instead of being deprived of his means of making a living for an indefinite length of time?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. H. A. MACDONALD) (Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities): Last year Hogg was suspected of illegally taking salmon, and was cautioned. He was again cautioned in February last. On the occasion in question, he was seen illegally fishing during the night for about three hours, aided by three other persons, and in his boat 38 fish were found. The net was of a mesh forbidden bye-law, and was made like a salmon-fishing net. The seizure was made under Sections 26 and 27 of the Act of 1862, and Section 15 of the Act of 1868. I am not aware that Hogg had fished for salmon for 20 years with such nets and boats; but if he did so he committed an offence against the law. As already stated, he was twice warned before this seizure. The delay in instituting legal proceedings has been, in my opinion, most improper; but for this the criminal authorities are not responsible, as these cases are not reported to, or conducted by, the Crown Prosecutor. I have, however, called attention to the impropriety of a prosecution being so long delayed, particularly where articles have been seized; but I must add that it is incorrect to say that Hogg is deprived of his means of living. He has since the seizure been pursuing his proper avocation as a deep sea fisher, for which the boat and net seized were quite unsuitable.

Dr. R. M'Donald

POST OFFICE (SCOTLAND)—CARRIAGE OF MAILS IN THE NORTH.

DR. R. M'DONALD (Ross and Cromarty) asked the Postmaster General, If any progress is being made in the negotiations with the Highland Railway as to the carriage of mails in the North, and at what stage they have now arrived; if it is a fact that a letter, posted at 3 p.m. in Invergordon for Dingwall, 12 miles distant, with several trains passing to and from each place daily, does not arrive at the latter place till 11 a.m. next day; is it the case that letters posted North of Invergordon are carried past there to Inverness, and are returned thence from Inverness and delivered next day about 2 p.m.; if all letters from Golspie to Inverness, 66 miles, are carried on to Inverness, sorted there, and returned Northwards again, causing a delay of about a day in the delivery of letters in the intervening districts; is it a fact that the Highland Railway Company demand £5,000 per annum more for the postal work than they used to get; if the matter has been referred to arbitration; and, at what time negotiations were entered into to have the matter settled before June 30, when the contract expired?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): It is understood to be the intention of the Highland Railway Company to refer to arbitration the question of the remuneration for the conveyance of the mails on the Highland Railway. The facts as regards Invergordon are stated by the hon. Member with substantial accuracy. Some portion of the correspondence from the North, however, is delivered, not the next day, but the same day. Letters from Golspie to Inverness are certainly carried on to Inverness; but this is an arrangement which I presume must be satisfactory to all concerned. If the hon. Member, however, refers to letters from Golspie to places between Golspie and Inverness—such as Dornoch, Tain, Dingwall, and so on—I have to state that they are sent in direct bags, and delivered the same day. It is a fact that the Highland Railway Company demand for a renewal of the contract £5,000 a-year, in addition to the high payment previously received. I have considered it my duty to resist this

demand, and leave the Company to their remedy. Various communications respecting the renewal of the contract passed between the Railway Company and the Post Office prior to June 30, the earliest being in February last. The arbitration will probably take place in October next.

IRISH CHURCH ACT — SECTION 25— RELIGIOUS SERVICES ON THE ROCK OF CASHEL.

VISCOUNT GRIMSTON (Herts, St. Alban's) (for Colonel SAUNDERSON) (Armagh, N.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he is aware that the Secretary of the Board of Works gave permission to the Roman Catholic Dean of Cashel to hold religious services in the Ruin on the Rock of Cashel on July 15 last; whether he is aware that such permission is in express contravention to the 25th section of the Irish Church Act; and, whether he will take steps that no such violation of the law shall again occur?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): My right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has asked me to answer this Question. The Board received an application from the Rev. Mr. Kinane for permission for a procession of Temperance and other Societies to visit the Rock of Cashel on July 15, and stating it was their intention to wind up with some prayers. He was informed, in reply, to the following effect—

"That the provisions of the Irish Church Act strictly prohibited any structure vested in this Board for preservation as a national monument being used as a place of public worship; but as the Board understood that the proposed procession did not, strictly speaking, come within the prohibition above referred to, they would not raise any objection to its taking place."

The Board, on learning by the newspaper reports that a formal religious ceremony had been held on the occasion referred to, immediately wrote to the Rev. Mr. Kinane to the effect that such proceeding as that which had taken place was a violation of the provisions of the Statute, and that they would not permit any religious ceremony to be held by any denomination at any national monument under their charge.

FIRST OFFENDERS ACT, 1887—NEW ZEALAND.

MR. S. HOARE (Norwich) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the great success attending the working of the First Offenders Act in New Zealand, and to the fact that it saved the Colony in prison expenses last year no less a sum than £3,226 5*s.* 9*d.*, and to the large number of first offenders brought back to honest livelihood under its operation without being subjected to the contamination of prison influence; and, if he can give any particulars as to the operation in the United Kingdom of "The Probation of First Offenders Act, 1887."

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir; I have seen the Report of the Inspector of Prisons in New Zealand showing that this Act has been successfully carried out there. I have no official information as to its operation in this country; but I will take steps to ascertain, as far as possible, to what extent the Act has been put in force, and with what result.

WAR OFFICE—THE ARMY RESERVE— DEFERRED PAY—CASE OF J. W. EVESON.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, after serving for five years or thereabouts in the Scots Guards, J. W. Eveson was by consent transferred, about three or four months ago, to the Army Reserve, and received £15 of deferred pay; whether, on being offered private employment on condition of purchasing his discharge, he was informed by the War Office that the cost would be £18; whether, on subsequently forwarding his papers, he was then for the first time made aware that he must refund his deferred pay in addition; and, whether this was demanded in virtue of a Royal Warrant; and, if so, what was its date?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The proceedings in connection with the discharge of J. W. Eveson, of the Scots Guards, were entirely in accordance with Article 609 of the Current Pay and Promotion Warrant, which is a reproduction of similar Articles in force since

1881. If repayment of the deferred pay were not insisted upon in such cases any soldier could purchase his discharge from the Army Reserve with his deferred pay, and thus avoid all Reserve service.

ADMIRALTY (MACHINERY, &c.)—ENGINES OF H.M.S. "BLAKE."

MR. LEATHAM BRIGHT (Stoke-upon-Trent) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is correct, as stated in the Press, that the contract for the engines of H.M.S. *Blake* has been given out; whether the engines are to be built to a Government specification; and, whether the makers of the engines, building to a Government specification, take upon themselves absolute responsibility in regard to their efficiency in every particular?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Wigton) (who replied) said: The information given by the Press as to the contract for the engines of Her Majesty's ship *Blake*, to which the hon. Gentleman alludes, is correct.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSIONERS BUTLER AND GREGORY.

MR. W. ABRAHAM (Glamorgan, Rhondda) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that Sub-Commissioners Butler and Gregory, in May last, while engaged in valuing the farm of Timothy M'Carthy, a tenant of Lord Muskerry, partook of luncheon provided by the landlord; if it is contrary to any Rule or recommendations of the Land Commission that Sub-Commissioners should accept hospitality from a landlord while performing official duty; and, considering the decisions of the Limerick Sub-Commission have given such dissatisfaction that a public meeting was recently held in Newcastle West with reference to the insufficiency of the reductions given to tenants by this Sub-Commission, he will direct Messrs. Butler and Gregory to refrain from a practice which may have the effect of lessening public confidence in their impartiality?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, the Land Commissioners informed him that they had asked the Assistant Commissioners for a statement with regard to the alleged occurrence.

CIVIL SERVICE WRITERS—SUPERANNUATION.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Treasury Minute of June 1, 1882, relative to the superannuation of writers, is applicable to writers transferred to the establishment of the Civil Service since the date of the Minute in question?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): This Minute applies only to copyists whose original employment commenced before August 19, 1871, and continued without interruption until their transfer to the establishment. It does not apply to copyists whose continuous employment commenced at any later date.

WAR OFFICE—FOOD SUPPLY OF INFANTRY SOLDIERS.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to a statement by Colonel Onslow, reported in *The Times* of June 7, to the effect that "The Infantry soldier did not have enough meals;" whether his attention had been called to a statement by Lord Wolseley, reported in the same issue, as follows:—

> "That our men did not get enough to eat went without showing, because there was not a regiment in which the men did not, in a large measure, supplement the rations given them. It would be, he was sure, a wise thing if the rations of the soldiers were increased;"

whether, in view of these statements, he will make such arrangements as may be necessary for the fulfilment of the promise made to the men on enlistment that they should have "free rations;" and, whether the Commission, now sitting on the Army, could be instructed to take evidence as to the general welfare of the rank and file of the Army?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): As I stated a few days ago, I have decided to appoint a strong Committee to consider fully the subject of soldiers' rations; but I do not think that it would be a proper subject to refer to the Royal Commission which is now sitting.

METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE—FIRE ESCAPES.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will cause inquiries to be made as to the expediency of making arrangements with Captain Shaw (Chief of the Fire Brigade) to provide for a continuous attendance of men with fire escapes, so as to avoid, as much as possible, the lamentable and fatal results which occurred at the Edgware Road and Wigmore Street fires?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have communicated with the Chief of the Fire Brigade on this matter; and he informs me that, with the present number of firemen in the Brigade, it would not be possible to provide a continuous attendance of men with fire escapes; but the suggestion of my hon. Friend is a valuable one, and will, no doubt, engage the attention of the new authority in which the control of the Brigade will shortly be vested.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked, whether, in the right hon. Gentleman's opinion, this great city should be left exposed to a risk of loss of life, which they now knew was not speculative, from recent calamities between now and the appointment of the new authorities?

MR. MATTHEWS said, he would be extremely happy to supply any remedy for the undoubted shortcomings as compared with the needs of the Metropolis, but he had no means to do so without legislation.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON said, that £5,000 would cover the whole of the expense necessary.

POST OFFICE — CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY — CONTRACT FOR CONVEYANCE OF MAILS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE (Exeter) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the terms of the contract for the conveyance of the mails between Canada and Hong Kong have been finally agreed upon between Her Majesty's Government and the Canadian Pacific Railway Company; and, if so, when he proposes to lay the contract before the House?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): Yes, Sir; the terms are practically agreed upon; but the contract cannot be signed in time to be presented to Parliament before the Autumn Session.

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE EX-KING OF WASSAR.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether a Memorial has been received from the ex-King of Wassar, now detained a prisoner at Lagos; and, whether he will cause inquiries to be made into the allegations in such Memorial?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): That Memorial has been received. The Secretary of State is inclined to think that if there is a general desire among the people of Wassar for the ex-King's return, and if it would not be likely to lead to disturbances or civil war, it might be allowed, provided that adequate security were taken for his good behaviour; but further inquiry shall be made.

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE ROYAL NIGER COMPANY.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby) (for Mr. PICTON) (Leicester) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any information has been received from the Governor of Lagos, or any of the authorities on the coast, as to the number of Natives killed within the last 12 months by persons in the employ of the Royal Niger Company?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): We have not heard of any persons so killed, except in an unfortunate collision between the leader of an expedition into the interior and some of the men attached to him, which is at present the subject of inquiry.

PLEURO-PNEUMONIA AND TUBERCULOSIS — REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE.

SIR RICHARD PAGET (Somerset, Wells) asked the Vice Chamberlain, If he will inform the House what steps, if any, the Government propose to take

with reference to the important recommendations contained in the Report of the Departmental Committee on Pleuro-pneumonia and Tuberculosis in the United Kingdom recently presented to Parliament; whether anything is to be done with regard to compulsory slaughter and payment of compensation out of National Funds in case of pleuro-pneumonia, as recommended by the Committee; and, whether, in view of the grave disclosures in the Report as to the existing danger to public health by the spread of tuberculosis, it is the intention of the Government to deal with the recommendations of the Committee as to the exposure, sale, and disposal of diseased animals and carcases?

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM (Lewisham): The recommendations of the Committee on Pleuro-pneumonia and Tuberculosis have been carefully considered by the Lords of the Council, and an Order of Council is now being drafted for their consideration, which embraces such parts of the recommendations of the Committee as can be effected without fresh legislation. The payment of compensation for pleuro-pneumonia out of the Public Funds can only be sanctioned by Parliament; but the recommendations with regard to tuberculosis can be generally carried out by the Privy Council under their existing powers.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL—APPROPRIATION OF THE PROBATE DUTY GRANT.

SIR TINDAL ROBERTSON (Brighton) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, in settling the basis for the appropriation of the Probate Duty grant between the several counties and county boroughs constituted by the Local Government Bill, he will in the case of those county boroughs which have not hitherto claimed any particular grant—such, for instance, as the grant-in-aid of the salaries of Medical Officers of Health and Sanitary Inspector, or the grant-in-aid of main roads—add to the actual amount of the grants paid to the several localities the amounts to which they would have been entitled in respect of the unclaimed grants if application had been made for them?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Local Government Bill does not confer on the Local Government Board any power to proceed as suggested in the distribution of the Probate Duty grant. It is, of course, too late to make any alteration in the Bill in this respect; and, if it were not, I think it would not be practicable, in determining what grants were payable for certain purposes in the different counties and districts in the last financial year, to take into consideration what sums might have been payable during that year under the existing system of grants if circumstances had been different from what they actually were.

UNITED STATES — HUGH BROOKS, OTHERWISE MAXWELL, CONVICTED OF THE MURDER OF ARTHUR PRELLER.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there is any truth in the statement that has recently been published in the newspapers to the effect that Sir Lionel West has sent a Note to Mr. Bayard, the American Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, stating that a respite was desired by the British Government for Hugh Brooks, otherwise Maxwell, who was convicted of the murder of Arthur Preller at St. Louis, in the State of Missouri; and, whether it is usual for instructions to be given to British Ministers accredited to Foreign Powers to make similar representations in such cases; and, whether, if not, he will state what are the precise special circumstances in the case of the barbarous murder of Arthur Preller which have been considered a sufficient ground for taking a course of an unusual character?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): In consequence of the urgent appeals received from Hugh Brooks' father and from his attorneys at St. Louis, Sir Lionel West was instructed to ask of the United States Secretary of State or the Governor of Missouri, as he might deem best, a respite for further inquiry; but this was to be done only if, in Sir Lionel West's judgment, there was any ground for believing that injustice was being done in the case. He replied that an application for respite had been forwarded to the

Governor by Mr. Bayard. We do not know whether that application was made upon Sir Lionel West's representations, or, if so, on what ground Sir Lionel West acted. It is usual for Foreign Representatives to solicit consideration by the Governments to which they are accredited of cases for inquiry into the justice of judicial sentences where *primâ facie* grounds are apparent.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—KILLARNEY DISTRICT ASYLUM.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) (for Mr. SHEEHAN) (Kerry, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Who appointed the Clerk of Works to the additional building, Killarney District Lunatic Asylum, and if the appointment has been sanctioned by the Board of Works, or by the Lord Lieutenant; whether the person appointed is already acting in the capacity of Engineer to that Institution; what training has he received to qualify him for either of those positions, and on whose recommendation have the appointments been made; and, whether these two appointments can be held by the same person?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, this Question had appeared on the previous day on the Notice Paper, and he understood that it had been answered by the Secretary to the Treasury, for the answer appeared in *The Times*.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he had any recollection of having answered the Question; and, if not, how it was that the Question appeared as answered in the London *Times*?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I had a written answer to the Question referred to with me yesterday. It was with other answers to Questions which I had brought down to the House. I cannot remember at this moment whether the Question was put to me or not. If it was not put, I can only suppose that the answer was sent to the Press with the other answers which I had with me, and which were all attached together.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON asked, what special claim *The Times* had to copies of Ministerial answers relating to local Irish Questions?

MR. JACKSON: *The Times* has no special claim. The answers are sent up to the Gallery, and dealt with by the reporters.

POST OFFICE CONTRACTS—CHARGES ON LETTERS TO INDIA.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is in contemplation to reduce the charge on letters to India and the East from 5*d.* per letter to 2½*d.*, the latter amount being charged from France, Germany, and other Continental countries to English Possessions in India, &c.; and, whether it is his intention to give English and Indian correspondents the benefit of the £100,000 saved on the Indian Mail Contract this year?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I am very glad to see my hon. Friend back to his Parliamentary duties, although he has signalized his re-appearance by giving Notice of a fire of Questions. In answer to this Question, I have to say that it is not in contemplation to reduce the postage on letters to India and the East in the manner suggested in the first part of the hon. Member's Question. The saving referred to in the second part of the Question is not a profit, but merely a reduction in the amount of a heavy loss. I may refer the hon. Member to the reply which I gave on the 14th of February last to a similar Question asked by the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. J. M. Maclean).

POST OFFICE CONTRACTS—CONVEYANCE OF MAILS TO AND FROM AUSTRALIA.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Postmaster General, Whether the contract for the conveyance of mails to and from Australia has been signed; under what terms are the mails being conveyed now, and what payments are being made to the Steamship Companies; when will the contract be submitted to Parliament for approval; is the proposed contract entirely distinct from the Indian contract; and, have the Australian Governments remonstrated against the days fixed for the departure of the mails from Australia, and with what result?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): Contracts for the conveyance of mails to and from Australia by the Peninsular and Oriental and Orient Steam Navigation Companies have been signed; and these are entirely separate and distinct instruments from that which regulates the India and China Service. The Australian Governments are not at present entirely satisfied with the arrangements made for the departure of the mails from Australia; and it is because there are the weightiest reasons against making the alteration demanded in those arrangements that the instruments referred to have not yet been laid before the House of Commons. It would be premature to submit to the House contracts embodying an arrangement which the Colonial Governments may, after all, wish to repudiate; but as soon as I am assured that the hesitation of those Governments as regards the carrying out of the arrangements has been overcome, the contracts can at once be submitted to the House. Meanwhile, the mails are being provisionally carried under the terms of the contracts; and payments on account are being made to the Companies without prejudice to the provisions of the contract relating to the ultimate approval of the House of Commons.

FRANCE—ARREST OF ENGLISH SUBJECTS AT DUNKIRK.

MR. DILLWYN (Swansea, Town) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If any steps have been taken to obtain from the French Government compensation for the arrest of two gentlemen — namely, Mr. Underwood and Mr. Blight, on June 11 last, in Dunkirk?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): A full inquiry into the circumstances of the arrest of Messrs. Underwood and Blight has been made by the French Government; and the explanations given are considered by Her Majesty's Government to be satisfactory. The French military commandant at Dunkirk, with whom the responsibility rested, and who acted from an excess of zeal, has been reprimanded. There is no question, therefore, of demanding compensation.

AFRICA (CENTRAL)—EXPEDITION FOR THE RELIEF OF EMIN PASHA — LIEUTENANT WISSMANN.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Lieutenant Wissmann, who has lately been received by the King of the Belgians and the Emperor of Germany, is about to accompany an Expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha; and, if so, what is the nature of that Expedition?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Government have no knowledge of any such Expedition as that referred to.

METROPOLITAN FIRE BRIGADE—REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. RADCLIFFE COOKE (Newington, W.) (for Mr. BAUMANN) (Camberwell, Peckham) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has considered the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons which was appointed in 1876 to inquire into the Metropolitan Fire Brigade; and, whether he intends to take any steps to carry out the recommendation of that Report, that the Fire Brigade should be incorporated with the Metropolitan Police?

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) asked, whether the suggestion so made had not been deliberately rejected by every Government that had been in power since?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I cannot answer the second Question without Notice. Certainly, it has not been acted upon so much as I know. I am aware of the Report referred to by my hon. Friend; but, as I stated yesterday, the question of a re-organization of the Fire Brigade is one that can hardly be dealt with by the Government at the present time, when the Brigade is about to be handed over to the London County Council.

NORTH BORNEO—A BRITISH PROTECTORATE.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If there is any truth in the statement going the

round of the newspapers that arrangements are in progress for an extension of the British Empire in the shape of a Protectorate over North Borneo and other countries of the Indian Archipelago?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): I have already stated that the question of a British Protectorate over parts of North Borneo is the subject of negotiations not yet completed.

CRIMINAL LAW — CAPITAL PUNISHMENT—EXECUTION OF CRIMINALS.

SIR TINDAL ROBERTSON (Brighton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been directed to a recent Report, addressed to the Governor of the State of New York, as to the best mode of conducting the execution of criminals in that state; and, whether he is prepared to recommend the adoption of either of the methods recommended in that Report—namely, execution by electricity, or by the injection of morphia, or by the lethal chamber invented for the painless killing of the lower animals by Dr. B. W. Richardson, or of any other system of executing criminals more in accordance with the humane feelings of the present day than the barbarous and unscientific method now practised in this country?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): No, Sir; my attention has not been called to this Report; but I have seen a copy of an Act recently passed in the State of New York providing for the infliction of the death penalty by electricity. The Government are not prepared to introduce legislation with the view of altering the method of carrying out executions. I will, however, undertake to give careful consideration to the suggestions of my hon. Friend.

POST OFFICE — PAYMENT OF THE LONDON AND DUBLIN OFFICIALS.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is a fact that though the men employed in the different grades in the Dublin Post Office are supposed to be on the same footing in the Service as men in corresponding grades in London depôts, yet the London officials when employed on Sundays in the Parcel Post delivery receive double the rate at which the Dublin officials are paid; and, if so, what is the reason of the distinction made between the two classes of officials, and whether it will be abolished?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): No, Sir; it is not a fact.

MR. CLANCY: Is it not a fact that the London men receive 1*s.* 6*d.* per hour, and the Dublin men only 9*d.*?

MR. RAIKES: If the hon. Gentleman will put his Question in writing, I will make further inquiry.

POST OFFICE—LETTER SORTERS IN THE HOLYHEAD AND KINGSTOWN PACKET POST OFFICE.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has yet given any reply to the Memorial from the letter sorters employed in the Holyhead and Kingstown Packet Post Office, in which they have asked to be put on an equality with all other travelling sorters, by being granted the usual extra pay for Sunday work, and to have, as regards their pay generally, account taken of the exceptional character of the service in which they are engaged; and, if an answer has been given, whether he would state its substance; and, if not, what is the reason of the delay?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): No, Sir; an answer has not yet been given. The Question, though apparently simple, involves the consideration of other allowances which the Holyhead and Kingstown sorters receive. However, I am not without hopes that a decision may now be given shortly.

MR. CLANCY: Will it be another 12 months?

MR. RAIKES: I hope not.

EAST INDIA (HYDERABAD (DECCAN) MINING COMPANY) — REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE — MR. FURNIVALL.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been called to the statements made with reference to Mr. Furnivall on page ix. of the Report from the Select Committee on East

ndia (Hyderabad (Deccan) Mining Company), to the effect that Mr. Furnivall, who was recently in the employ of the Government of India, but has now retired on a pension, received from Mr. W. C. Watson 500 shares in the Hyderabad (Deccan) Company, "for nothing;" that he sold these shares at £11 each, and therefore realized £5,500 for them; whether Mr. Furnivall will be required to refund such sum of £5,000 to the shareholders of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Company; and, whether, in the event of his refusing to refund such moneys, the Indian Government will take steps to secure the amount being repaid to these shareholders out of the pension payable to Mr. Furnivall?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.) (who replied) said: The attention of the Secretary of State has been called to the statements respecting Mr. Furnivall in the Report of the Select Committee on the Hyderabad (Deccan) Mining Company. As, however, Mr. Furnivall had retired from the service of the Government of India before the transactions in question took place, it is not within the competence of the Secretary of State to take any action in the matter.

EAST INDIA (HYDERABAD (DECCAN) MINING COMPANY)—REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE—MR. HUGHES.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been called to the statements made with reference to Mr. Hughes, on page ix. of the Report from the Select Committee on East India (Hyderabad (Deccan) Mining Company), to the effect that Mr. Hughes, a Government official in India, one of the Superintendents of the Survey, was nevertheless allowed by that Government to be employed and paid by the Hyderabad (Deccan) Company to ascertain the value of the concession obtained from the Nizam, that he received from Mr. W. C. Watson, the promoter and director of the Company, shares of the value of £3,200, only paying £1,000 for them, and that this transaction amounted, according to the statement of Mr. Watson, to a gift by him to Mr. Hughes, who, in return, was to "work and throw his whole energies into it;" whether Mr. Hughes will be required to refund this sum of £2,200 to the shareholders of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Company; whether it is proposed to take, and, if so, what, steps with reference to Mr. Hughes in respect of his transactions with Mr. Watson; whether, whilst employed and paid by Mr. Watson, Mr. Hughes received any official salary as Superintendent of the Survey; and, if so, at what rate per month; and, whether the Indian Government will take the necessary steps so as to prevent for the future their officials from acting for and receiving payment from speculators in that Empire?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.) (who replied) said: The Secretary of State has noticed the statements, to which the attention of the Government of India will at once be called. Mr. Hughes's services were lent to the Deccan Company, they arranging for his remuneration. During his employment under the Company no salary was paid to him from the Indian Treasury.

LAW OF COPYRIGHT—LEGISLATION.

MR. SUMMERS (Huddersfield) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he is aware that on September 14, 1886, the Secretary to the Board of Trade, in answer to a Question, said—

"The Board of Trade fully recognize the necessity for legislation in connection with the Law of Copyright . . . . and that they will not fail to give the matter their best consideration during the Recess;"

and, whether he can state to the House what is the result of the consideration given by the Board of Trade to this subject during the last two years?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): The quotation may be correct; and the result of the consideration has been that my Predecessors did not feel able to propose legislation on this subject, while, in my own time, the Government have been too much occupied with other matters. I will look into the question during the Recess.

INDIA—INLAND EMIGRATION ACT, 1882—THE COOLIES IN THE ASSAM TEA GARDENS.

MR. SUMMERS (Huddersfield) asked the Under Secretary of State for India,

Whether his attention has been called to the statements in the Native Press of India, which are borne out by the Reports of the Chief Commissioner and Sanitary Commissioner of Assam, that the abuses to which the coolies are subjected, in many instances, amount to conditions of slavery, and are certainly such as to demand immediate attention; and, whether he will give directions to the Executive Authorities in India to take steps at once to mitigate the serious hardships inflicted on these labourers, pending the enactment of such alterations in the Inland Emigration Act of 1882 as are evidently required?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.) (who replied) said: The Secretary of State has noticed statements of the kind referred to; but he cannot admit their accuracy. As stated to the House on August 6, the Secretary of State requested the Government of India in November, 1886, to watch narrowly the working of the Emigration Act of 1882. He does not consider it necessary to issue further instructions to the Government of India, as he is satisfied that the Government of India is alive to the importance of the subject, and has now under consideration the Memorial of the Indian Association.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL—THE FRANCHISE FOR COUNTY COUNCILLORS—THE POLICE.

MR. BIGWOOD (Middlesex, Brentford) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether it is a fact that members of the Police Force (other than lodger voters), whilst enjoying the Parliamentary franchise, are nevertheless debarred from voting for the election of County Councillors?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The matter is not one altogether free from doubt; but the conclusion at which I have arrived, from the advice which I have received on the subject, is that members of the Police Force will not be debarred from voting at the election of County Councillors.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONERS — THE SANDHURST EXAMINATIONS—MARKS.

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether there is any objection to giving the marks obtained by candidates at the recent Sandhurst examination in each of the two mathematical papers set at that examination instead of the marks obtained in the two combined; and, whether, for the future, the Rule will be laid down that the marks obtained by each candidate in each several paper set by the examiners under the Civil Service Commission will be given separately?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The right hon. Gentleman will see that his Question implies doubt as to the fairness or capacity of the officers of the Civil Service Commission; and he appears to desire that material should be afforded to this House to enable it to review the course and the results of the examinations undertaken by the Commissioners. It would, in the judgment of the Government, be quite impossible to sanction such a proceeding. The decisions of the Commissioners are final by the authority of the Acts of Parliament and Orders in Council under which they are constituted. The Government have no right of interference; and, in their judgment, it would be impossible for any other authority to intervene without extreme peril to the highest public interests.

MR. MARJORIBANKS said, he had no desire whatever to review the work of the Civil Service Commissioners. All he asked was whether it would not be possible for the examiners to give the exact number of marks obtained by each candidate?

MR. W. H. SMITH: We have not thought it reasonable in the circumstances.

MR. MARJORIBANKS: Every other body of examiners does so.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSIONERS—SITTING IN DUBLIN.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, though the Land Commissioners have at last announced that a Sub-Commission will sit again in Dublin County in September, several Dublin cases, in which the originating notices were served 12 months ago, are not listed for hearing on that occasion; whether he is aware that the landlords in some of those cases are attempting, by threat of legal proceedings, to exact the old rents without

abatement; and, whether, under these circumstances, the Government will be prepared to suggest to the Land Commission the advisability of adding to the number of the Land Courts in Dublin County, or otherwise hastening the disposal of the arrears of business referred to, the delay in dealing with which has already occasioned so much hardship?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners state that the list of cases for the next sitting of a Sub-Commission in the County Dublin has not yet been published. It will include all cases received at their office up to and including September 28 last. The Commissioners intend to avail themselves of the services of the new Assistant Commissioners in those districts where the claims appear to them to be most pressing.

MR. CLANCY inquired, if the hon. and learned Gentleman had found it was a fact, as he (Mr. Clancy) stated, that notices served a year ago were precluded, would he adopt the suggestion contained in the last paragraph of the Question?

MR. MADDEN said, a revision of the Sub-Commissioners rested with the Land Commission.

POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE POST OFFICE AT CARLOW.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) (for Mr. CAREW) (Kildare, N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has yet come to any decision relative to a site for a new post office in the town of Carlow, the existing post office in which place has been described by the Town Commissioners, and by the Post Office Inspector, as totally unsuited to the requirements of the locality?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): Advertisement has recently been made for the site of the premises to be purchased or retained by the Department for a post office at Carlow, and when all the offers have been received, no time will be lost in arriving at a decision.

MR. CLANCY: I must ask the right hon. Gentleman how it happens that matters relating to post offices in Ireland are always delayed an unnecessarily long time?

MR. RAIKES: Delay has occurred owing to the difficulty of obtaining premises. I hope, now that the premises have been got, no further delay will occur.

PATENTS, DESIGNS, AND TRADES MARKS ACT, 1883—SECTION 27—OFFICERS OF DEPARTMENTS—SIR FREDERICK ABEL.

MR. D. A. THOMAS (Merthyr Tydvil) asked the Secretary of State for War, Why, and when, Sir Frederick Abel ceased to be chemist to the War Department, and if he is in receipt of any pension; whether, before taking out the patent for a smokeless explosive in November, 1886, he first obtained the sanction of the Secretary of State, in accordance with the Rule requiring him to do so; and, in regard to Sir Frederick Abel's statement that he took out the patent for the purpose of reserving to the War Department the right of making and using it, whether the right of making use of any invention is reserved to the Crown under Section 27 of "The Patents, Designs, and Trades Marks Act, 1883," and provision made by section 44 of the same Act for enabling an inventor to put the War Department in possession of any improvement in munitions of war which he may discover, so that the Secretary of State may himself take out a patent for such improvement without any particulars relating to it coming to the knowledge of a Foreign Power; and, whether the patent taken out for the manufacture of a smokeless explosive by Sir Frederick Abel, when he was chemist to the War Department, is now vested in the Secretary of State?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Sir Frederick Abel ceased to be chemist to the War Department on July 10, when he was appointed President of the Committee on Explosives. He is still in receipt of effective pay. Sir Frederick Abel's invention of a smokeless explosive was patented by him for the purpose of securing to the War Department priority of invention and the right of making and using it; and he did not think it necessary, under the circumstances, to obtain permission for so doing. The right of making use of any invention is reserved to the Crown under Section 27 of the Patents Act, subject to

terms agreed upon before or after use with the approval of the Treasury. It is not customary for patents to stand in the name of the Secretary of State, except in special cases of secrecy; but Sir Frederick Abel is perfectly ready to transfer his patent to the War Office.

FACTORIES ACT—MESSRS. ROBINSON, CURRIE, & CO., ABERDEEN.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he would make inquiries as to the truth of the statement that the mills of Messrs. Robinson, Currie, & Co., in Aberdeen (whose workers are at present on strike) have been for the last few years run 15 minutes per day more than the legal time; and, if he will order the practice to be stopped?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, he had instructed the Chief Inspector of Factories to make immediate inquiry into the truth of the statement.

PUBLIC HEALTH (METROPOLIS) — FLOODS IN THE CHALK FARM DISTRICT.

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) asked the hon. Member for the Knutsford Division of Cheshire, Whether the Metropolitan Board of Works have caused inquiries to be made as to the flooding of houses in the Chalk Farm District of St. Pancras; whether representations have been made by the Vestry to this effect; whether a grave nuisance and danger to the health of the neighbourhood have been caused thereby; and, what steps are to be taken to remedy the defective drainage to which it is due?

COLONEL HUGHES (Woolwich) (who replied) said: Representations have been made to the Metropolitan Board by the Vestry of St. Pancras as to the flooding of houses in the Chalk Farm District. No doubt these floodings are a great nuisance to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. It is certain, however, that the flooding is not due to the insufficiency of the main sewers under the control of the Metropolitan Board. The Board's main sewers were lowered some years since, in order that the drainage might be made more effective, and a subsidiary main sewer was made to take the storm water during heavy rain. Observations, which are always made by the Board's officers after heavy storms, show that the Board's new main sewer in Kentish Town Road has never yet been filled since its construction. The local sewers, which belong to the Vestry, ought to have been lowered when the Board's sewers were lowered; but this work has not been done. The reconstruction of the local sewers at a lower level would probably be effectual to prevent the flooding complained of.

FISHERIES (SCOTLAND) — LEGISLATION.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government will consider whether it may be possible, in the Autumn Session, to introduce a Bill for the reconstitution of the Scotch Fishery Board, a Bill to create District Fishery and Harbour Boards for Scotland, as recommended by the Fishery Board, and a Bill relating to salmon and trout fishing in Scotland?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Yes, Sir. The subject will be considered during the Recess.

AGRICULTURE — DAIRY SCHOOLS—THE GRANT-IN-AID.

SIR RICHARD PAGET (Somerset, Wells) asked the noble Viscount the Vice Chamberlain, Whether he was in a position to state what grants, if any, had been made, or if it had been decided to make a grant, out of the specially allotted sum of £5,000, to any agricultural or dairy school, or otherwise for the advancement of agriculture; and, if no such information could now be given, whether he would lay on the Table of the House a statement of such grants, and the conditions on which they had been given?

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM (Lewisham), in reply, said, he was unable at the moment to afford the desired information; but he would make inquiries and ascertain if it were possible to comply with the request which had been made.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887 — CONVICTION OF MR. J. O'KELLY, M.P.—SUPPLY OF DRINK TO IRISH WITNESSES.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) said, he wished to ask the Solicitor

General for Ireland a Question of which he had given him private Notice in reference to the sentence of Mr. J. J. O'Kelly, M.P. It was, Whether the attention of the hon. and learned Gentleman had been called to the statements on cross-examination of Constable Clear, a witness in the case, to the effect—

"That he had given drink to witnesses whom he had summoned to attend a private inquiry under the Crimes Act at Loughrea. That he gave the witnesses the drink in the ordinary course of friendship in a general way, the same as to any others, not knowing at the time that they would become witnesses, and that he had not given drink to persons after he had known they had become witnesses."

He also asked, whether the hon. and learned Gentleman was aware that the witnesses referred to were witnesses at what were known as a Star Chamber inquiry in Ireland; whether this treating of witnesses was not the usual practice among the Constabulary in Ireland; whether the conduct of Constable Clear had not the approval of his superior officers; and, whether the cost of the drink was defrayed out of moneys provided by Parliament?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, his attention had only been called to the matter by the Question of the hon. Gentleman, and he was not in a position now to give an answer; but he would make inquiries.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): I wish to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman, whether the Government will take any steps to remit the sentence passed on my hon. Friend (Mr. O'Kelly) on the evidence of persons who, according to this policeman, had been supplied with drink by him; and, also, whether the Government, who frequently issue Circulars to the Constabulary Force in Ireland, would have any objection to inform the police that it is undesirable and criminal to give drink to persons about to be examined on oath with a view to influence their evidence?

MR. MADDEN: The Question of the hon. Member is founded on the hypothesis that the drink was given to the witness. I have promised to make inquiry into the matters of fact.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland): Will the hon. and learned Gentleman take care to inquire into the point of the Question—that is, whether there is any provision in the funds voted by Parliament to supply money to Constabulary to be spent in this way?

MR. MADDEN: I will require Notice of the Question.

MR. J. O'CONNOR: I will put the Question on the Paper for Monday, and I will require a full and complete answer.

DR. FITZGERALD (Longford, S.): I wish to state that it was this very constable that followed me about the country when I went to Ireland to be elected a Member of Parliament.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): I wish to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman, whether it is true that Mr. O'Kelly, the Member for Roscommon, has been sentenced to four months' imprisonment for a speech delivered at a public meeting; whether the offence—if there was any offence at all—was not the offence of sedition, sedition being a political offence; and, whether the Government approve of a sentence usually inflicted on criminals of a burglar type?

MR. MADDEN: I must ask the hon. Gentleman to put the Question on the Paper.

PUBLIC HEALTH — OUTBREAK OF SMALL-POX AT MANCHESTER.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether the inquiry into the outbreak of small-pox at St. Joseph's Industrial Schools, Manchester, will be held immediately, while the fullest amount of evidence is obtainable; whether the Report of the results of the inquiry will be presented to the House before the Civil Service Estimates are taken in the Autumn Session; and, whether the Report will include the original Report of Dr. Oldham, of Monsall Hospital, referred to in his reply of yesterday.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The inquiry will take place immediately. As to the period at which the result of the inquiry will be received, and as to what the Report will include, it is not for me to say.

MR. CHANNING asked, Whether the right hon. Gentleman would consent to a Return giving the names and ages of all the patients; their condition

as regards vaccination, giving the number of the scars in the same form as that given in the Report of Dr. Oldham, and the course and result of the illness in each case?

MR. RITCHIE: I will take care to give the fullest information.

MR. CHANNING: I beg to give Notice that I shall move for such a Return.

FACTORY AND WORKSHOPS INSPECTORS—THE SWEATING SYSTEM.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the steps taken to circulate the evidence taken before the Lords' Committee on Sweating would be taken with regard to the Pauper Immigration Committee; and, whether, considering the generally expressed desire for an increased number of Factory and Workshop Inspectors, if the Trades' Unions were willing to pay the expenses of the services of an additional number of Inspectors, the Government would accept the offer, reserving to themselves, of course, the right to accept or reject the candidates proposed by the Trades' Unions?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) in reply, said, he was not in a position to give an answer to such a Question, based on a hypothetical offer of a certain organization to bear the cost of a number of public officers, without notice.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE ADJOURNMENT.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, that the Solicitors' Bill, which occupied the eighth place on the Order Paper, had apparently been read a second time that morning by mistake. He had waited in the House until 3 A.M., and had then left under the impression that the second reading would not be taken. In the circumstances, he hoped that the Committee stage would not be proceeded with that evening.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The right hon. Gentleman is quite right. The second reading of the Bill was taken by inadvertence, the Attorney General not being aware of the arrangement that had been come to. The Bill will not be proceeded with further during this Sitting. I may take this opportunity of saying that the Adjournment will be moved to-night after the 20th or last Government Order on the Paper (Report of the East India Revenue Accounts). The view of the Government is that the House will not desire to proceed with private Members' Bills. The arrangement will be as follows:—We shall proceed down to No. 7 (Patents, Designs, and Trades Marks Bill), and then take the Municipal Funds (Ireland) Bill, the Local Bankruptcy (Ireland) Bill, Lloyd's (Signal Stations) Bill, the Divisional Magistrates (Ireland) Bill, and the East India Revenue Accounts. I may state that I propose, at the Sitting of the House to-morrow, and if there is no other Business to be taken coming down to us from "another place," to move—"That the House, at its rising on Monday"—assuming that the Commission is fixed for Monday for the Royal Assent to Bills which have been passed—"do adjourn to Tuesday, the 6th November."

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER: The other Orders will not be proceeded with?

MR. W. H. SMITH: They will not.

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman held out any hopes that facilities would be given later on in the Session for the consideration of the Lords' Amendments to the Libel Law (Amendment) Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he was hardly in a position to say that facilities would be afforded. Certainly he would be glad to give all the assistance in his power to the consideration of the Lords' Amendments on that Bill, for he thought it would be a great misfortune were all the labour expended upon it to be thrown away. The House was aware that the Government must be careful about making promises in favour of one Bill of a private Member over that of another.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked what Business would be taken to-morrow?

MR. W. H. SMITH: We must transact such Business to-morrow as may appear on the Paper. If we get over the Business on the Paper to-day, we must take such other measures as require consideration.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked, if the Wednesday Rule would apply to the Sitting to-morrow?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, it would. The House would meet at 12 o'clock.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF LORDS' AMENDMENTS.

Amendments, as far as page 2, line 34, *agreed to.*

"(6.) The county council may from time to time appoint a member of the council to be vice-chairman, to hold office during the term of office of the chairman, and, subject to any rules made from time to time by the county council, anything authorised or required to be done by, to, or before the chairman may be done by, to, or before such vice-chairman,")

—the next Amendment, read a second time.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) asked what necessity there was for such an Amendment? The Chairman of the County Council had the power to appoint a deputy.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) said, the Government were of the same opinion as the right hon. Gentleman, and they urged that view in the House of Lords. A noble Earl—he believed Earl Kimberley—insisted very strongly that it was extremely desirable to have it expressly enacted that there should be a Vice Chairman, and the Government consented.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendments to page 11, line 41, after "(" ("last,") insert ("published,") *agreed to.*

Line 41, at end insert—

"Or has before the passing of this Act been for not less than three years a medical officer or inspector of the Local Government Board,"

—the next Amendment, read a second time.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR (Leeds, S.) said, he had no objection to the Amendment; but he thought it was covered by the Amendment he had inserted at a former stage.

MR. RITCHIE said, it had not been expressly included, and therefore it was thought desirable to put it right in the Bill.

Amendment *agreed to.*

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.), in opposing the Amendment which retained for the Corporation of London the right to appoint the Recorder of the City, said, when the Bill was in Committee in that House he had moved an Amendment which proposed to transfer the right of appointing the Recorder, the Common Serjeant, and the Judge of the City of London Court from the Corporation to the Crown. The Government had at first opposed the Amendment, but eventually they yielded, and the Amendment was carried *nem. con.*

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London) said, that he had not assented to the Amendment. He had said "No" to it.

MR. PICKERSGILL said, he did not doubt that one or two hon. Members had objected to the Amendment; but substantially there had been no opposition to it. There were two courses which were open to the Corporation in relation to his Amendment—they might either have accepted it in its entirety, or they might have opposed it. The Corporation, however, did not adopt either of those courses, but they adopted the rather ignominious policy of throwing over the Common Serjeant and the Judge of the City of London Court in order to retain their right to appoint the Recorder. The House of Lords now asked Parliament to accept a divided responsibility which, in regard to an appointment of this kind, might be productive of the most disastrous results. The ground upon which the Lords' Amendment had been introduced was that the Recorder discharged duties other than those of a Law Officer; but, as a matter of fact, so did the Common Serjeant. He contended that the argument in favour of excepting the Recorder, which was based on the ground that he had certain functions to perform which were not judicial, was absurd. Great as was the disparity between the judicial functions of the Recorder and the non-judicial functions in 1837, when a Commission inquired into the subject, that disparity had become infinitely greater in the half-century which had passed since the Commission reported

and condemned the method of appointing the Recorder by the Corporation. The Recorder would not be one whit less qualified to perform his non-judicial functions if he ceased to be elected by the Corporation. The other Recorders of the country were not elected by the Corporations whose officers they were, and they had also to perform duties which were non-judicial. He thought they had a right to complain of the conduct of the Government in this matter. Nearly a fortnight elapsed between the acceptance of his Amendment by the Government and the Report stage of the Bill. If the Government had changed their minds about the Recordership, it would have been more respectful to the House if they had proposed this Amendment on Report, rather than have left it to be inserted in the House of Lords. But scarcely a month ago the House abolished a scandal which, outside a select circle of the Corporation, had been looked upon as absolutely indefensible; and he now appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) to say whether he could now in honour draw back from the expressions he had formerly made use of when the question last came before the House?

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) said, that he did not think the House would agree with the opinion that the Government had in any way broken faith in this matter. What he wished to point out was that when the Bill was in Committee it was decided that, so for as particular officers of the Corporation were concerned, they should no longer be appointed by the Common Council, but be nominated by the Crown; and, although the Amendment was a considerable interference with the ancient privileges of the City, it was found to be impossible for the Government to defend the election of judicial officers by an elective Body. As far as he understood the decision of the House, therefore, it was to the effect that the appointment of judicial officers by an elective Body was not a thing which Parliament ought to continue to assent to. It was not proposed by this Amendment in any way to interfere with the decision then arrived at with reference to the Common Serjeant and the Commissioner of the City of London Court. The duties of the Commissioner were wholly judicial, and the Common Serjeant had so few administrative duties as to be almost entirely a judicial officer. But it was different with the Recorder. For centuries the occupant of that office had two distinct functions to perform, the one judicial and the other administrative. The Government did not propose, as far as the judicial functions were concerned, that the Recorder should be appointed by the Corporation; but would the House seriously say, with reference to the administrative part of the work discharged by the Recorder in the interests of the Corporation, that there was good reason why the power should be taken away from that Body of appointing a Corporation officer for work which was non-judicial in its character? It was said that the Recorders throughout the country were appointed by the Crown, but there was no instance in any part of the country where a Recorder had to perform administrative functions akin to those of the City Recorder. All the Lords' Amendment did was to confirm the decision at which the House had already arrived. They proposed to leave to the Corporation a right which they had exercised for many centuries of appointing a high officer, who was known by the name of Recorder, to discharge Municipal duties. He could not believe that the House would assent to the proposal of the hon. Member. He, therefore, asked the House to agree with the Lords' Amendment.

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury, Lancashire) in supporting the Motion to disagree with the Lords' Amendment, said, he admitted that they ought to care very little as to who elected the Recorder for the purpose of administrative duty, which, in his case, was very slight. The Recorder was the legal adviser of the Corporation of London; but so was the Recorder the legal adviser of every borough like Manchester and Liverpool. The Corporation of London was in a happier position than most other towns with respect to good advice for the purposes of administrative work. The Corporation had officials like the Town Clerk, the Remembrancer, the City Chamberlain, and certainly it could not be denied that it had better opportunities of obtaining advice for administrative purposes than any other borough

in England. He would remind the House that the three elective Judges of the Corporation sat at the Central Criminal Court, which tried one-fourth of the indictable offences in England. In two years these three Judges had sentenced prisoners to upwards of 2,000 years' of penal servitude. In that way they certainly performed more onerous duties than the Judges of the High Court. Therefore, the House had wisely determined that the scandal of appointing Judges who might not be qualified for their office ought to be put an end to. If they appointed this officer for administrative purposes, practically the Amendment, if carried, would have the effect of appointing him for judicial purposes as well. The Recorder was put in the position by virtue of his Office of trying prisoners at the Central Criminal Court. If the Recorder did not sit, there was no other person to take his place. The Corporation elected the Recorder because he had to discharge administrative duties, but as soon as he was elected he was charged with onerous judicial functions. The Corporation might elect for administrative purposes and say—"What have we to do with judicial functions?" Therefore, they would leave with the Crown the responsibility of seeing whether the Recorder who had been chosen was a person fitted to exercise judicial functions. The man chosen, while otherwise eminent, might not be qualified for the discharge of judicial duties, and the Crown would have to say to the public and to the Corporation of London that such a man was unfit to be Recorder, and it must veto his appointment. What would then happen? The Corporation could only appoint one Recorder by Charter; it could not appoint a second Recorder, and thus the bad and discredited Recorder would remain in Office, although the Crown had vetoed his appointment as a judicial officer. Having assented to the principle that a judicial officer ought not to be elected, how could the Government justify such a state of things? He confessed that for himself, he would rather have the old system, faulty though it was, than the proposal contained in the Bill as it had been altered in the House of Lords. It was the duty of the House to take on itself the full responsibility in dealing with that matter with the object of securing that the man to be appointed to try prisoners, very many of whom did not belong to the City of London, should be appointed with the fullest knowledge of his judicial capabilities. He maintained that the Judge who was to try those persons ought to be appointed by the Crown like every other Judge in the country.

MR. FIRTH (Dundee) said, he wished to point out that, although the Recorder of the City of London was elected by the Court of Aldermen, yet the Court of Common Council practically had the election of the Recorder in its hands, because it elected the Common Serjeant, who afterwards almost invariably became the Recorder. He hoped that the House would not now go back from its previous decision on that question. The duties of the Recorder outside his judicial functions were very few, and mostly social and ornamental. He had to present the Lord Mayor to the Judges, which he usually did with an excellent and interesting oration; but that ceremony could be equally well performed by the City Chamberlain. The principle had been adopted by the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) that the appointment of a judicial officer ought not to be left to the accidental decision of a Public Body, but should be made under the responsibility of the Crown itself; and he hoped that the Amendment of the Lords would not be accepted.

SIR CHARLES LEWIS (Antrim, N.) said, he thought that nothing could have been more unfortunate than the way in which the House had dealt with that matter when in Committee on the Bill. The Amendment then made in the Bill ought to have been made deliberately and with ample notice; but that was not the case, and the result was that a plan was laid down which was unworkable from a different point of view from that indicated by the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James). The House had taken away the right of the Corporation to appoint the Recorder, and had not provided any salary for that officer. There was no provision in the Bill securing to the Recorder any payment for his services, and in the Municipal Corporations Act it was thought necessary to provide that the power to appoint should be accompanied by an obligation to pay. The Town Clerk was not the legal adviser of the Corpo-

ration, and the rejection of the Lords' Amendment would take away from the Corporation the power to have for important matters a legal adviser of their own selection. The Corporation had to entertain the potentates of the world, and had also to take part in important ceremonials, in which they ought to be represented by an officer of their own choosing. In the past the office had been filled by Lord Denman, Mr. Russell Gurney, and Mr. J. Stuart-Wortley, who had certainly conferred upon it more dignity than they received from it.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) said, he denied that there had been undue haste, for the subject had been fully discussed on adequate notice on the earlier stages of the Bill, and that the Corporation had plenty of officials to discharge all the ceremonial functions which were attached to the office. The Corporation could not save the office of Common Serjeant as well as that of Recorder, so they wanted to save the richer bit of patronage. He could not help thinking that the Government had gone away from their position.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER said, what the Corporation asked was that they should be able to elect an officer of high legal eminence, to whom they could appeal on any important question. The House of Lords had granted that request, and he trusted the House of Commons would adopt the Amendment. He denied that the Common Serjeant succeeded the Recorder in due course, as was asserted by some. This was shown by the case of Mr. Stuart-Wortley, father of his hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State, who never was Common Serjeant. It would always be the object of the Corportion to elect a person on whose legal knowledge they could thoroughly depend.

MR. RADCLIFFE COOKE (Newington, W.) said, he thought the quarrel was one of words; the matter was conceded, and the point at issue was one of form. He intended to vote for the Lords' Amendment. The Amendment was merely a concession to the sentiment of the Corporation. He maintained that the House had got all that it really wanted. The Crown would have the right to appoint the Common Serjeant in future, and as it was customary for the Common Serjeant to succeed to the position of Recorder in time, the object of hon. Members who were opponents of the Corporation, to have as Recorder a nominee of the Crown, would be attained. The Corporation would be sure to select a person capable of performing the very high judicial functions entrusted to the Recorder. It was but natural that the governing body of the greatest City of the Empire should desire to have a part in the appointment of an officer whose duty it was to act as their mouthpiece before the world. The object of many hon. Members opposite was clear. They wanted to do the Corporation an ill turn. They could not help their action; it was the outcome of their nature. Scratch a Radical and one found a tyrant.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, what was desired by those who disapproved of the Lords' Amendment was that the highest judicial functionary of the City should be appointed by the responsible officers of the Crown, and not elected by any body of men, however competent, and however high their character for integrity and independence might stand. He would far sooner go back to the old state of things than create a sort of twin functionary—part administrative and part judicial. One point that had been made by the supporters of the Lords' Amendment was that, if a change were made in the mode of electing the Recorder, the funds which had hitherto been available for the payment of his salary would no longer be available. Those who used that argument seemed to be under the impression that the revenues of the City of London were the private property of the gentlemen forming the Corporation, whereas they were only trustees, like all other Municipal Corporations. The City was at present paying out of public funds the salary of a public official, and it must continue to do so. Another argument was that the Recorder had administrative as well as judicial functions to discharge. But in this respect his position was not exceptional, the position of the Recorder of any large town being almost identically the same. The clause as it had come down from the Lords was not workable. He would suggest that the Government should let the clause to which the House of Commons agreed, and which contained the great principle of the abolition of

election of judicial functionaries, stand, and undertake next year to bring in a short Bill which, while duly conserving the rights of the Corporation in respect to its legal officers, would provide for the appointment by the Crown of judicial officers in the City.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, he felt bound to deny that this would be an unworkable arrangement, and would ask on what ground it was alleged that the Bill with the proposed Amendment was not workable? The only way in which it could possibly become so was by the Corporation appointing men to the Recordership who were unfitted for the office, and whose appointment would be vetoed by the Crown. But the experience of the past showed that there was no ground for such an apprehension. During the present century the Corporation had appointed as Recorder Lord Denman, Mr. Stuart-Wortley, Mr. Russell Gurney—all men eminently qualified for the highest judicial office, and those who had watched the manner in which the present Recorder had done his work for the past 20 years must admit that he was a not unworthy successor to those men. The only way, then, in which it could be contended that this clause was not workable was for the House to shut its eyes to what had been done in the past. If the Corporation had in the past, and when wholly unfettered, selected fit and proper people, and shown by the choice they had made that they had regard to the importance of having really distinguished men to fill the office of Recorder, why should they cease to do so because their action was going to be approved by the Crown? He believed that under the Amendment the Coporation would exercise still greater caution in the future, and so far from this being an unworkable arrangement, he believed it would lead to greater efficiency and to an exercise of greater caution in making these appointments. As to the point of remuneration, the City had to give remuneration not only to a Recorder like the Recorder of Birmingham, but also to a Judge, so there was no parallel.

SIR CHARLES RUSSELL (Hackney, S.) said, he thought the speech of his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General really amounted to an argument against any change whatever in the system under which judicial officers of the City of London had hitherto been appointed. The hon. and learned Attorney General argued that since the Corporation had made excellent appointments in the past, it should be allowed to make those appointments in the future, but this very clause and the decision of both Houses of Parliament were to the effect that the present arrangement should not be continued, and that appointments which involved the discharge of judicial duties should be made by the responsible Advisers of the Crown. What was to happen in the event of an appointment being made which the Crown would not approve? That was a point on which the hon. and learned Attorney General had not touched. It was quite evident that anyone appointed by the Crown and considered fit to discharge the judicial functions of the office would be well able to discharge what had been termed the administrative or ornamental duties, whereas the converse was by no means the case. There was ample machinery in the regulations of the Corporation to make such arrangements as they might think right with regard to the secondary duties of the office of Recorder. He did not believe the clause as it stood to be unworkable, and did not think the question of salary was a difficulty. It was true that the Corporation required as adviser an eminent lawyer; and since the judicial functions were the main and essential duties of the office, the appointment ought to rest with those who were competent to form a correct opinion on the ability to discharge such judicial functions; but who was the best judge in the matter, the Corporation or the responsible advisers of the Crown, in this case probably the Lord Chancellor? He submitted that the position was in no way altered from that in which it stood when the matter was decided in Committee, some weeks ago, after a prolonged debate. The decision of the Government had been distinct and emphatic.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) said, he spoke in favour of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Bethnal Green when it was under discussion in Committee, and would have voted for it had it gone to a Division. But he entirely agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for West Newing-

ton (Mr. Radcliffe Cooke) that they had obtained in this Amendment practically all they had asked for. They had been challenged by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) to state exactly what it was they had demanded; well, he would tell the right hon. Gentleman. What was wanted by those on his side of the House, when the Bill was in Committee, was, that a person who might be called upon to execute important judicial functions should not as such be subjected to popular election. It was provided by the Lords' Amendment that the appointment to the office of Recorder should be made by the Corporation, so far as related to its functions as one of its consultative officers, but that if it was a question of his being appointed to the exercise of judicial functions, he must obtain his appointment from the responsible officers of the Crown. It had been asked by the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Sir Charles Russell) what would happen if the Corporation appointed a person whom the Crown could not appoint to the exercise of judicial functions. He thought that the Corporation, knowing that if it became necessary for this officer to take up judicial functions he would have to go to the Crown for his appointment, would take good care not to appoint anyone who was not thoroughly qualified. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) had assured the House that he had no wish to inflict any humiliation on the ancient Corporation of the great City of London. Of course, he entirely accepted the assurance; but he could not help saying that some of the speeches on the other side seemed to be inspired by this unworthy motive. He (Sir Roper Lethbridge), at the time of the discussion in Committee, had warmly repudiated any intention of supporting such a policy, and as a fair and reasonable compromise had been arrived at in the Lords' Amendment, he hoped the House would accept it.

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) wished to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General (Sir Edward Clarke) what would happen in case the Crown objected to confer judicial functions on a Recorder appointed by the Corporation? It seemed to him that such a state of things would, practically, cause a deadlock.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth) said, the question was an extremely unpractical one. He thought it was impossible that the case put should occur. If the clause were allowed to stand as the House of Lords had amended it, the practical result would be this—that, inasmuch as the Recorder would have no right to exercise judicial functions, unless his appointment was approved by the Crown, it would simply be an appointment by the Crown of a worthy person nominated by the Corporation of the City of London. There would be no difficulty in obtaining competent men to fill the Office under such conditions.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) said, he was certain that if the Government had kept good faith with the House the discussion would not have taken place. No valid argument whatever had been adduced why the Lords' Amendment should be accepted. It was desired that, if the City Corporation was to remain an integral part of the government of London, the functions of its officers should be confined within the area of the City itself, just as at present they extended over a much wider area; but the Amendment would give to an officer of the Corporation important functions outside the City. He objected to the change being made in the Bill by the House of Lords after it had been unanimously assented to by the House of Commons. He repeated that if the Government had stood by the Bill as it left the House of Commons, this long discussion need not have taken place. He hoped the House would not go back from the decision arrived at when the Bill was in Committee. It should be remembered that when the decision was come to, the House was very much larger than now, and therefore more accurately represented the prevailing feeling. To argue that the Recorder had not only to discharge his legal functions, but had also to entertain great personages, was to degrade his position. It was most unfair that when the Government had yielded the point in Committee in that House, they should have brought it up again, and, although the City might carry their Amendments, yet the inhabitants of London would notice that it would be done in a thin House, and after the City Remembrancer and other such officials had beaten up

their recruits. The conduct of the City in the matter was another instance in which they would have to show that the existence of the Corporation of the City and the House of Lords, which had sent this Amendment down, would have to be called in question before long.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) said, he could understand an appointment made by the Crown, or one made by the Corporation; but he could not understand an arrangement by which the appointment would be placed between the two. It was like putting it between the proverbial two stools. He looked upon it as unworkable, unpractical, and illogical. He must, therefore, oppose the Amendment.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 119; Noes 86: Majority 33.—(Div. List, No. 275.)

Page 40, line 30, after "1865," insert "and except for rating purposes the Eastern and Western Divisions of Suffolk," the next Amendment read a second time, and amended by leaving out the words "except for rating purposes."

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Lords in the said Amendment, as amended."—(*Mr. Ritchie.*)

COLONEL ANSTRUTHER (Suffolk, Woodbridge) said, he objected to the whole of the Lords' Amendment. He objected to the division of the county, because it would detract from the dignity and importance which the Bill proposed to confer on the Council. The House had already decided that there should be one County Council, and of five Members for the county of Suffolk one only had declared himself in favour of the division. He (Colonel Anstruther) further objected to it on account of the absolutely unnecessary expense it threw on the ratepayers in the increased burden that would fall on the county rate, and because the proposal was contrary to at least the wishes and desires of three-fourths of the inhabitants of Suffolk.

SIR SAVILE CROSSLEY (Suffolk, Lowestoff) said, he supported the opposition of his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Anstruther) to the Amendment. He would point out that the ratepayers were utterly opposed to the extra burden proposed to be thrown on the county by establishing two County Councils instead of one. The Bill gave power to any county to divide itself if it wished. His noble Friend the Member for Bury St. Edmunds (Lord Francis Hervey) would do better to wait and submit his proposition to the County Council when it met at Ipswich. He could then take the decision of those who were interested in the county. He hoped the Government would support the original Amendment, and would not be deaf to the voices of three-fourths of the population of the county. He would appeal to the Government to say whether the object of the Bill—namely, to leave matters as much as possible *in statu quo*, would be attained as far as Suffolk was concerned, if the Lords' Amendment were agreed to.

LORD FRANCIS HERVEY (Bury St. Edmunds) said, it had been assumed that at least three-fourths of the population of the county of Suffolk were in favour of a united county. There were 356,000 persons in the county. Sixty thousand were in the county borough of Ipswich, which had elected to take itself out of the county, and he submitted that the population of Ipswich and the Members for Ipswich were not justified, after having availed themselves of the opportunity given by the Bill to remove themselves out of the county, afterwards to dictate in what way the county should be managed. One hundred and twenty thousand persons were in West Suffolk, and there was practical unanimity in their demand that the Government should not invade the ancient legal and chartered rights to which they had long been entitled, and they wanted to know why they should be so invaded? He was at a loss to understand, in those circumstances, how the proportion of three-fourths was arrived at. For 800 years the Western Division of Suffolk had never been incorporated with the Eastern Division, and by law at the present moment West Suffolk had secured to it financial, civil, and judicial independence. The proposed union was most distasteful to them, and they believed that it would be far from conducing to efficient management or economy. The proposed union was a case of seeking to bring grist to the Ipswich mill. He appealed to the House to support the Lords in that Amendment, making the two divi-

sions of the county, as well as one making those of Sussex, except for rating purposes, respectively administrative counties, separately for the purposes of the Act, as being eminently righteous and eminently wise, and one which would greatly conduce to efficiency and economy in the management of county business.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney) said, he also supported the Lords' Amendment. He would hope that what had fallen from his noble Friend the Member for Bury St. Edmund's (Lord Francis Hervey) would have weight with that House. Suffolk had a population of 400,000 and a coast line of 50 miles, and it would be very inconvenient to the inhabitants to have the whole of their business transacted at a place like Ipswich.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 122; Noes 54: Majority 68.—(Div. List, No. 276.)

Subsequent Amendments read a second time.

Page 66—

"(15.) The quorum of the council shall be one-fourth of the whole number of the council, and one-fourth shall, for the purposes of the section, be substituted for one-third in paragraph 10 of the second schedule of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882,"—

the next Amendment.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER said, he thought that this was an imprudent Amendment.

MR. LAWSON said, he feared that it would be specially so in the case of London.

MR. RITCHIE said, he happened to be in the other House when the matter was under discussion, and it was urged that, looking at the difference between a county and a borough, there were good grounds for not making the quorum so large in a county as it was in a borough. It was much more easy to obtain the necessary quorum in a borough than it would be in a large county. There was no reason to anticipate that one-fourth of the members of a County Council would not be able to transact the necessary business in a manner that would be satisfactory to the county at large. The difference between one-third and one-fourth was not a large one. The change was not proposed by the Government, and it was assented to only in response to a good many appeals that were addressed to the Government in the other House. In the case of London, as the Council would number about 150, it could scarcely be said that one-fourth of that number would not be sufficient to transact the business.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Amendments to page 68 *agreed to.*

Page 70. At the end of Sub-section (1) add—

("Moreover, all cheques for payment of moneys is sued in pursuance of such order shall be countersigned by the clerk of the council or by his deputy,")

the next Amendment.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER said, there was no provision for the appointment of the deputy by the Council, and so the deputy might be anybody appointed by the clerk.

MR. RITCHIE said, he would propose to amend the Amendment by making it read "or a deputy approved by the council."

On the Motion of MR. RITCHIE, Amendment *amended*, by leaving out the words "his deputy," and inserting the words "a deputy approved by the council."

Amendment, as amended, *agreed to.*

Several of the remaining Amendments amended, and *agreed to.* [Special Entries.]

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER: Before we part with this Bill, I should like to take this opportunity to say a few words of a personal nature. It has fallen to my lot to be one of the most persistent and pertinacious opponents of the President of the Local Government Board during the progress of the Bill, and I think I should be failing in a public duty if I did not express my most hearty appreciation of the admirable manner in which the right hon. Gentleman has guided and directed the Bill through the House. A great deal depends upon the "engineering" of a Bill of this kind, which affects many conflicting interests and is concerned with many most complicated and difficult questions, and

I do not think I am using the language of exaggerated eulogy when I say that no Minister of modern times has conducted a measure of such a character through the House with better temper, greater courtesy, and greater fairness, than the right hon. Gentleman has displayed. I hope I may also be allowed to refer to the way in which he has been assisted by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long). The marked ability and genial courtesy exhibited in these debates by the hon. Member for the Devizes Division of Wiltshire have raised him to a point in the estimation of the House of which any man would be proud. We are sometimes blamed in this House for not being able to carry on the Business of the country without indulging in a good deal of Party spirit and asperity. That is inseparable from our system of Party government; but, remembering that, it is very gratifying to be able to congratulate the House of Commons upon the fact that this, which is one of the greatest measures of modern times, has not met with bitter Party opposition in its passage through this Assembly. It is not a final measure—the right hon. Gentleman himself does not pretend that it is—but it is the first volume of a mighty work, and the foundation of a great edifice. I think I may say that this Bill has been discussed with as small a modicum of Party spirit as could possibly have been expected, having regard to the nature of the Bill; and I have to congratulate the President of the Local Government Board on the great and signal success that has attended him in passing this most important Bill through the House. I have also personally to thank him for the uniform courtesy, good temper, and fairness which he has shown.

Mr. RITCHIE said, he could hardly express his feelings at the extremely kind words which the right hon. Gentleman had used with reference to his conduct during the long and arduous task of passing this Bill. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman there was no Member of the House from whom he would value a compliment more than from himself. The right hon. Gentleman had stuck very closely indeed to the House while the Bill was under consideration, and he (Mr. Ritchie) hoped he might be permitted to say that, on many occasions, he had had to thank the right hon. Gentleman for the assistance he had rendered to him in the object he and the Government had in view in making this a real, workable, and satisfactory Bill. He (Mr. Ritchie) started at the outset with the view of, as far as possible, endeavouring to make this a Bill not so much of a Party, as of the House of Commons. He was gratified to think that from all sides and from all Parties in the House that desire had been realized. He was very glad the right hon. Gentleman, in the kindly references he had made, had coupled his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long) with his (Mr. Ritchie's) name. He was glad to have that opportunity of bearing his full testimony to the most valuable and able assistance which he had rendered him and his Colleagues in the Government in the conduct of the measure—and not only in its conduct in the House, but in the discussion and settlement of the details prior to the House becoming acquainted with them. He hoped he might also be permitted to bear his testimony to the admirable services to the country which had been rendered by all the officials of the Local Government Board. As the House must know, the Bill had not been prepared and carried without entailing enormous labours upon the permanent officials of the Local Government Board, and he desired to recognize to the full the admirable manner in which those duties had been discharged. He was sure all his Colleagues in the Cabinet would agree with him when he said that every man in the Local Government Board, from the highest to the lowest official, who had been engaged on the Bill, had acted in a manner which entitled them to the confidence and thanks of Parliament. He hoped he might be allowed to add one word as to the drafting of the Bill. Those who were acquainted with the enormous number of subjects dealt with in it must be aware of the vast responsibility which had fallen on the draftsman, and he thought that among the Civil servants to whom the House owed so much for their assistance in the preparation of the measure he might particularly refer to the experienced gentleman who had drafted it.

MORTMAIN AND CHARITABLE USES BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 285.]
(*Mr. Attorney General.*)
CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, that no attempt to deal with the Irish Mortmain Acts had been made since Dean Swift, in 1737, petitioned against a Bill then before the Irish House of Lords, and he wished clearly to understand whether the Bill applied to Ireland?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, that it had been found impossible to make the Bill applicable to Ireland, and Amendments had therefore been inserted providing that its operation should not extend to the Sister Isle, though the words might have been clearer.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, that he had been obliged to suggest that the Bill should not apply to Ireland, as the Irish Acts were different and separate from the English Acts. But he hoped an opportunity would be found for consolidating the law on the question.

Amendments made.

Amendment proposed, in page 2, line 32, to leave out the words "peppercorn or other nominal."—(*Mr. Bryn Roberts.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill," put, and *agreed to.*

Amendments made.

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 7, after the word "assuror," to insert the words "or be a reproduction in substance of a devise made in a previous will in force at the time of such reproduction, and which was executed not less than twelve months before the death of the assuror."—(*Mr. Bryn Roberts.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) said, he thought the University Colleges of Wales should be freed from the restrictions of the Mortmain Acts. They had a greater claim to exemption than Oxford and Cambridge, which were already so rich, or even than London or Victoria University. London, Durham, and Victoria Universities were freed by the Bill from the operation of the Mortmain Acts. He would move an Amendment to free the Welsh Colleges from this restriction.

Amendment proposed,

In page 5, line 41, after the word "universities," to insert the words "or the University Colleges of North Wales at Bangor, of Wales at Aberystwith, and of South Wales and Monmouthshire at Cardiff."—(*Mr. Bryn Roberts.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, he must ask the hon. Gentleman not to press the Amendment. He had considerable misgiving that the exemptions from the restrictions of the Mortmain Acts had already gone rather far; and if the present Amendment were accepted there were a number of other institutions which might come forward and ask for similar exemption, and he should have no answer to make to them.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS thought he had no alternative but to go to a Division.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he would recommend the hon. and learned Member not to press his Amendment, because the argument of the hon. and learned Attorney General was, he said, unanswerable.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, in page 6, line 4, after the word "society," to insert the word "denomination."

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 21, after the words "extent and manner," to add the words "and nothing in this Act contained shall prejudice or affect any of the provisions of the School Sites Acts, as defined in the Fourth Schedule to 'The Elementary Education Act, 1870.'"—(*Mr. Francis Powell.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER, in asking the House to allow the Bill to be read the third time, said he would take

occasion, on behalf of the Government, to thank right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite for the extremely fair way in which they had met the Bill. He was aware that many of them held strong views with regard to alterations in the Law of Mortmain—he himself would like to see some changes introduced—but they had recognized that it was impossible to deal with such questions in a Consolidation Bill.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Attorney General,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

COUNTY COURTS CONSOLIDATION AND AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords*].

Mr. Attorney General.)

[BILL 263.] CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Amendments made.

Clause 25 (Appointment of registrars).

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.), in moving an Amendment empowering the Lord Chancellor in any case, by special order, to dispense with the requirements as to standing and residence of registrars, said, he agreed that generally registrars should be solicitors of a certain standing, and should reside in their districts; but there were exceptional cases which ought to be provided for.

Amendment proposed,

In page 7, line 23, after the word "appointment," to insert the words—"Provided that the Lord Chancellor may in any case, by special order, dispense with the requirements of this section as to standing and residence, or either of them."—(*Sir Albert Rollit.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, he thought that it would be very undesirable to have applications constantly made to the Lord Chancellor to use his dispensing power. No practical difficulty had arisen in connection with the rule at present existing.

SIR GEORGE RUSSELL (Berks, Wokingham) contended that the present restriction caused great inconvenience.

Sir Richard Webster

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER said, that the law had stood as it was for the last 30 or 40 years without any difficulties arising.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 45 (Salaries of registrars).

On the Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Amendment made to the effect that the salary of the registrar, instead of being calculated on the remuneration received during the last five years, should be fixed with regard to all the circumstances of the case, but should in no case exceed £1,400.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Amendments made.

Amendment proposed, in page 29, line 16 and 17, to leave out the words "and by leave of the judge."—(*Mr. Whitley.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Bill."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendments made.

Amendment proposed,

In page 37, line 14, after the word "Court," to insert the words "unless the judge shall certify that the action was a fit one to be brought in such other Court."—(*Mr. Darling.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed,

In page 38, line 28, after the word "matter," to insert the words "Provided always, That every appeal in every case subject to the equitable jurisdiction of any County Court shall be to the Chancery Division of the High Court, and be heard by a Judge of such Division."—(*Mr. Haldane.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Other Amendments made.

Bill *re-committed* in respect of Clause 45.

Bill *considered* in Committee, and *reported,* with an Amendment.

As amended, *considered.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed,* with Amendments.

NATIONAL DEFENCE BILL.—[BILL 235.]
(*Mr. Secretary Stanhope, Lord George Hamilton, Mr. Brodrick.*)
CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Amendment made.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.), asked, whether his right hon. Friend (Mr. E. Stanhope) would let it be clearly understood that the Volunteers and the Yeomanry would remain under this Bill precisely in the same position as they now occupied?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle) said, that the hon. and gallant Gentleman was quite right as regarded the Volunteers, who would not be in any way affected by this measure. The Bill, however, would enable the Yeomanry to be called out with the Militia, which would greatly add to the value of the force.

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

PATENTS, DESIGNS, AND TRADE MARKS BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 348.]
(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)
SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it had been introduced with the object of carrying out the recommendations of the Committee over which Lord Herschell had presided. It was not proposed to take the Committee stage before November.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Attorney General,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 15th November.

LOCAL BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 344.]
(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)
COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 7 *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Appointment of officers).

Motion made, and Question proposed, That the Clause be postponed."

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked, what would be the effect of postponing the clause?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, that the Committee could not entertain a Money Clause until a Resolution had been set up. It would be set up to-morrow, and the clause would then be considered by the House. The House could not consider the matter until the Money Resolution had been set up in this way.

MR. SEXTON asked, whether the clause would be considered to-morrow?

MR. W. H. SMITH replied in the affirmative.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Clause *postponed.*

Clauses 10, 12, 13, and 16 also *postponed.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."

MR. SEXTON said, that before the Chairman left the Chair he should like to understand the exact position of the Bill. Could they take the Money Resolution in such order that it would be possible to dispose of that question and pass the third reading before the Adjournment?

THE CHAIRMAN said, the Resolution, which would be agreed to to-morrow, would be reported on Monday. Then the clauses could be considered in Committee.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

LLOYD'S (SIGNAL STATIONS) (*re-committed*) BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 343.]
(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)
COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1 (Short title).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.) said, this appeared to

be a very important Bill, but he had never heard a word about it until this afternoon. He saw that it took enormous powers to enable a private Company to deal with telegraphing. He had looked carefully through the provisions of the measure, and could not see any corresponding advantages which were to accrue to this country, or even to the First Lord of the Admiralty, from giving these enormous advantages to a private Company. The other day he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had heard the answer to a Question given by his noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty as to Lloyd's; and that answer was, so far as he could gather, that although Lloyd's had the power of telegraphing from a great many places, yet they never gave any notice to the Admiralty with regard to what was going on in connection with shipping or in regard to any other matters. To put in the hands of a private Company powers which were contained in this Bill was a thing which he thought deserved a great deal more attention than had been given to it, or than was likely to be given to it at that time of the Session. These powers were to be compulsory, without allowing the House or the public to know anything about it. There were a large number of reservations in the Bill so far as the Crown was concerned; but private individuals were not to have their interests safeguarded, and those interests might be affected by the Company without their consent. All, however, he would say on the matter was that the Bill appeared to him to be one which deserved far more consideration than they had been able to give to it in the short time that had been at the disposal of the Committee. He therefore hoped that his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) would not press the Bill, a Bill of such importance, through the House this Session.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): If the hon. and gallant Member better understood what has happened with regard to this Bill, he would not speak in the way he does of faults which he imagines he has detected in it. The measure has been considered by a Select Committee, on which were Members who took considerable interest in these subjects, and who carefully considered the Bill. My hon. and gallant Friend is mistaken in supposing that the Bill proposes to give to Lloyd's the wide powers he imagines. What it proposes to do is this. There is a general desire on the part of those interested in the Mercantile Marine for better facilities than at present exist for giving early intelligence of wrecks occurring on our coasts, and thus saving life and property where it cannot now be saved, by improving the means of communication between our lighthouses and lightships and the mainland. Well, Sir, Lloyd's Association, which, as the Committee knows, is an Association not trading for gain, but a public Association, communicated with the Board of Trade last year, and expressed their willingness, for the sake of the promotion of the interests of commerce, and those great interests to which I have alluded, to take an active part in providing these means of telegraphic communication, if certain powers were given to them to obtain signal stations for the purpose. These powers amounted to no more than this—power to acquire land on the coast near the lighthouses or lightships to an extent not exceeding two acres in any one case, for the purpose of providing this telegraphic communication between the lighthouses and the lightships and the mainland. That power is guarded first by the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, which is incorporated in this Bill, and under which any landowner whose land is taken can, of course, have compensation assessed by arbitrators in the ordinary way; but, further, it is guarded in this way—that no land can be compulsorily taken except after the matter has been fully considered by the Board of Trade; a local inquiry has been, if necessary, held, and a Provisional Order has been passed through Parliament. Therefore I think that my hon. and gallant Friend and the House will see that every care has been taken to guard private rights in endeavouring to secure what I think the House will admit to be, if it can be obtained, a great public gain. I trust that the House will be willing to proceed with the Bill, because, as I have already said, there is great need of this improved means of communication. The winter is approaching; and life and property may be saved if in some places these stations can be established where

they are not now established. I trust, therefore, that the passing of the Bill will not be impeded.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne) said, he had only recently become acquainted with the contents of the Bill, and he was sorry to find himself obliged to offer some opposition to the Committee stage being taken at this time unless the Board of Trade would consent to introduce in it an Amendment to guard our interests as a Naval Power. Apparently all that had been thought of in framing the Bill had been to do what Lloyd's Association desired—to enable them to acquire land for the erection of signal stations for certain purposes as to which the right hon. Baronet the President of the Board of Trade had given them a careful explanation. Of course, there was not a single man in the House who would not sympathize with what had fallen from the right hon. Baronet as to the desirability of everything being done which could be done by the erection of telegraphic stations for the purpose of trying to save life from ships that were wrecked on our coasts; but the interests of this country, so far as it was a Naval Power, had not been thought of. There was a Saving Clause in the Bill in the interests of the Admiralty and the War Office; but when they read it what did it mean? It meant that nothing in the Bill should authorize Lloyd's Association to interfere with any lands, buildings, or rights inherent in the Board of Admiralty or War Office. But he maintained that a great deal more than that was required in this Bill. If he wanted more proof of what he said, he would only point to those pieces of intelligence which had been telegraphed all over this country as to the Naval Manœuvres which were taking place all round the coasts. The Admiralty ought to have endeavoured to guard their rights in this respect, and to prevent this intelligence from being flashed all over the country. There ought to be a Saving Clause at the end of Clause 5, empowering the Postmaster General in time of war to acquire possession of all those telegraph stations for the purpose of preventing the transmission of any intelligence concerning the movements of our Fleet or the movements of an enemy's Fleet by irresponsible persons. He maintained that the clauses of the Bill had not been carefully thought out. He did not care twopence for anything but our naval supremacy; and he must say that if hon. Gentlemen sitting on the opposite Bench did not think it right to guard our rights in these important particulars, it was the duty of someone else to take care that those rights were not jeopardized. By this Bill they were granting for all time a power which they would find very difficult to resume when they required to resume it without paying large compensation; and he (Admiral Field) would be no party to passing the Bill through Committee unless the right hon. Baronet the President of the Board of Trade would give some guarantee that steps would be taken, by an Amendment in Clause 5, to safeguard the rights of the country in the way in which they ought to be safeguarded. As to the Committee of which the right hon. Baronet had spoken, all he (Admiral Field) knew was that he had not been a Member of it, and he did not think any naval man had been on it. If there was no naval man on such a Committee, the Government should take care that naval interests were not jeopardized, seeing that we were the greatest Naval Power in the world. He was astounded that no one thought it necessary to look after our naval interests in connection with a Bill of this kind.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I am astounded that the hon. and gallant Gentleman should have criticized a measure he has not read. If he had read the 2nd clause, he would have found that it contained a provision for arrangements being made in regard to those stations which might be established under the Bill upon conditions which the Postmaster General shall prescribe, and which might include the very object which the hon. and gallant Member desires.

ADMIRAL FIELD said, that a matter of this kind should not be sprung upon the House. What he maintained was that they should not try to force a Bill of this kind upon the Committee without adequate explanation of its objects and effects. This was the first time he had looked upon it. The hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for North West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) and other hon. Members, apparently, did not understand the Bill better than he did himself. He could not under-

take to read all the Bills that came down in the course of 24 hours, and he maintained that the fact that he and others had not read it was an additional argument why it should not be pushed through the Committee stage in this way now.

MR. LEA (Londonderry, S.) said, there was one point he would like the hon. and gallant Admiral who had just spoken to consider. He should like to remind him of the case of H.M.S. *Wasp*, which went ashore on the North Coast of Donegal on Tory Island. That vessel went ashore in a thick fog in the dead of night.

ADMIRAL FIELD: I know that.

MR. LEA said, the hon. and gallant Admiral knew that; but did he know that if this Bill had been working in all probability many lives might have been saved? As a matter of fact, there were several vessels with steam up at Londonderry which, if there had been telegraphic communication with the lighthouse on Tory Island, the scene of the wreck, would have put off to the assistance of the crew of the *Wasp*, and might have saved many lives. He (Mr. Lea) was glad the Bill had been brought forward, and trusted that the Committee would pass it.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, he hoped the Government would pay no attention to the extraordinary speech of the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Admiral Field), who had not read the Bill, and did not appear to understand it. As he (Mr. Molloy) had taken great interest in the Bill, and had put himself to the trouble of understanding its provisions, he could assure the Committee that it was a most useful measure, and was so in the estimation of everybody who had any knowledge whatever of its objects and its aims. As to going further in the direction suggested by the hon. and gallant Admiral it was not necessary. The hon. and gallant Admiral's argument was that in case of war those interested most in the safety of the commerce of the country would flash all round intelligence calculated to do the largest amount of injury possible to commerce—intelligence as to the movements of Her Majesty's ships, and of the enemy. He certainly would oppose the Amendment suggested by the hon. and gallant Gentleman, and would support the Bill for the reasons which he had stated before, and which he need not now go into. The Bill was a good one in the interest of the whole Mercantile Navy of the country, by whom it was demanded, and in the interest of our national commerce.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he was glad he had made a few remarks upon the Bill, because it had elicited from his right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade a very important explanation. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had only seen the Bill that afternoon. He had, however, read it through, and what struck him was this—that the Government, having the greatest interest in these Coastguard telegraphic stations, had not thought it necessary to bring in a scheme of their own in order to keep these places in their own hands, and had allowed this most important duty to be undertaken by a private Company—such as Lloyd's. He had nothing to say against Lloyd's. Lloyd's had done a great deal of good, and would, he believed, continue to do a great deal of good; but surely the telegraphic communication all round our coasts from one Coastguard station to another, and to our lighthouses and lightships, ought, above all things, to be in the hands of the Government. He merely mentioned this because the Government seemed to be about to grant a great concession, which at some future time they might have to buy back again at the cost of a very large sum for compensation. He was glad to have heard the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, and they only showed that Bills of this kind ought to be fully explained, so that the country might understand the objects of measures of this kind. Believing, as he did, that the suggestion he had made was the most practical one of the two, he did not intend to go further at that moment than to hint to the Government whether it was wise to go further with a measure of this kind without taking the works contemplated under it into their own hands.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) said, that for the last two or three months he had been sitting upon a Committee considering questions of this kiud, and he had been struck with the importance of the Bill. He believed that the Bill would be one which would tend very much to the saving of human life and of

property, and he was glad the Government had been able to bring it forward. To his mind it did them great credit, and he trusted they would carry it through Committee.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he did not often find himself in accord with hon. Gentlemen who sat on the Benches opposite; but really, on the present occasion, he could not help being struck by the protests made by hon. Gentlemen sitting on that side of the House. As a rule, on occasions of that kind, they heard hon. Gentlemen, Members of the Tory Party, getting up night after night protesting, some in a modified tone and some in a louder tone, and their protests always came to nothing. He would now allow these Gentlemen a chance of doing something, and of showing whether they were really capable of bringing their opinions to a practical point, and accordingly he was going to move that the Chairman do report Progress. Before he sat down, he should like to give a reason for doing this. What was proposed to be done in connection with this measure? They proposed to hand over to a private Company, as was pointed out by the hon. and gallant Member for Eastbourne (Admiral Field), certain privileges and advantages which hitherto had not been possessed by Lloyd's Association, and they proposed to do this because they supposed that in that way they would protect life and property along our coasts. In the next place, it must be borne in mind that Lloyd's Association would not erect these signal stations except in places where there was a great deal of shipping passing by. He (Dr. Tanner) was perfectly conversant with the South Coast of England; and at all the points which were practically of use and of manifest advantage at the present time Lloyd's had these signal stations erected. They had erected two or three lately on the South Coast of Ireland, and he believed if Parliament did not interfere with them, but left them alone to do their best, they would probably maintain their present position. It was no use trying to bolster them up. Of course, he could understand Her Majesty's Government wishing to do that. Their anxiety, no doubt, was to try and obtain the shipping vote. It was only a question, "You scratch me and I will scratch you," with Her Majesty's Government. Hon. Gentlemen connected with Liverpool and the shipping interest throughout the country tried to promote Lloyd's to the best of their ability when the critical period came, in the hope that when the vote of the shipping interest was to be taken it would be cast for the Government. He could quite understand that; but would all this endeavour be to the benefit of the country generally and the people living round the coasts? He (Dr. Tanner) did not think so. The hon. Member for South Londonderry (Mr. Lea) had called attention to the loss of Her Majesty's Ship *Wasp*. Perhaps the hon. Member knew something about the coast of Donegal; but did the hon. Member imagine for one instant that if the Committee passed this Bill Lloyd's Shipping Association or Company would go to an out-of-the-way place on the coast of Donegal to erect one of their signal stations, which would be for the benefit and protection of the shipping, and conduce to the saving of life and property? Such, he imagined, would not be the case. They would always find this Association going to places where they had already got a large amount of fishing; and the Bill would not in the least promote what he believed hon. Members desired to do in the interest of common humanity—in the interest of the protection of life and property — namely, erect the signal stations in out-of-the-way places. If the privileges and advantages proposed were bestowed upon Lloyd's, we might possibly have a few more signal stations. He noticed that the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Fitzgerald), who knew something about this matter, was present. He would like to have that hon. Gentleman's opinion as to whether, if they were to pass this Bill, they would have any additional structures of any practical benefit or advantage for the protection of life and property, upon the South Coast of Ireland, for instance? He hoped hon. Members opposite would insist upon further consideration being given to this Bill, and in order that such an opportunity might be afforded he begged to move that the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Dr. Tanner*,) —put, and *negatived*.

Original Question again proposed.

GENERAL GOLDSWORTHY (Hammersmith) said, he was bound to confess he did not think the powers proposed ought to be used by Lloyd's. He had not had an opportunity of reading the Bill until just now. The Bill had only been in the hands of private Members for an hour or two, and therefore he did not think the Committee ought to be expected to discuss it and pass it on this occasion. In his opinion the Government ought to take these powers themselves, and not hand them over to a Company.

COLONEL BLUNDELL (Lancashire, S.W., Ince) said, he also thought that the Government ought to take power to get possession of all the telegraph stations along the coast.

ADMIRAL FIELD said, he begged to make an appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. He and his hon. Friends were supporters, and loyal supporters, of the Government, and he appealed to the Government, if they had any sympathy with them, not to drive this Bill down their throats. They told the Government, as their loyal supporters, that they had not had time to consider the Bill. He, as representing the Naval Service, had not yet been able to make up his mind as to the value of the Bill. The hon. and gallant Member for North-West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had cast doubt upon the wisdom of passing the Bill, and other supporters of the Government had pleaded for delay. Why, therefore, drive it down their throats in the way now suggested? He felt strongly upon this matter. He did not oppose the Government unless he felt conscientiously bound to do so in the interest of the country and the Service to which he belonged. The Government were in possession of the whole of the Coastguard stations on the coast; and, in his opinion, the Government themselves should lay down telegraph wires, instead of allowing it to be done by a private Company. He ventured to make a respectful appeal to the Government. Seeing that they had put down other measures for November the 8th and November the 15th, he hoped the Government would postpone this measure until November 15, and allow them, in the meantime, to ascertain what was the opinion of naval men and others in regard to it. This Bill had been sprung upon them by surprise. It emanated from the Lords. He had great respect for their Lordships; but he had greater respect for naval men who thoroughly understood what the country required.

MR. BOND (Dorset, E.) said, he hoped the Government would press this Bill forward. The Bill had been in the hands of Members for more than a week, and he thought it was evident that some hon. Members who had complained of not having seen the Bill had not looked over their Parliamentary Papers. Anyone who had lived on the sea coast and witnessed the heartrending scenes of men's lives being sacrificed, owing to the want of telegraph communication, would not hesitate for a moment in voting for the Bill. If the consideration of the Bill were postponed until November, it might be at the cost of the loss of many gallant lives. He sincerely trusted, therefore, that the Government would persevere with the measure.

SIR EDWARD BIRKBECK (Norfolk, E.) said, he hoped the Government would carry the Bill. He knew, as Chairman of the National Lifeboat Institution, that this was a matter of urgent importance. He was on the Board of Trade Departmental Committee last year, and that Committee went most thoroughly into the whole question. He had not a shadow of doubt that a large number of lives might be saved all round the coast of the United Kingdom if this proposal were adopted. There had been many cases brought to the knowledge of the National Lifeboat Institution where, had there been telegraphic communication from outlying islands or from floating light vessels, many lives might have been saved. He hoped the Committee would agree to pass the Bill.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) said, there was no doubt at all it was most desirable that telegraphic communication should exist all round the coast for the purpose of promoting the saving of life at sea. But, at the same time, it seemed to him that there was a great deal of weight in the point raised by the hon. and gallant Admiral the Member for Eastbourne (Admiral Field)—namely, that it would be much better that the telegraphic communication should be in

the hands of the Coastguard Service. Lloyd's was a Company, formed for the purpose of a shareholder's profit, so that in reality Lloyd's wished to make some advantage out of this undertaking. He could not but say that the best way would be for the telegraphic communication to be in the hands of the Coastguards, who were under the control of the Government. There were many Coastguard stations along the coast, and it would be an easy matter for one station to communicate with another in case of need. At the same time, it was very desirable that the Coastguards should be on the most friendly terms with Lloyd's Company. He could not think this was the best proposal which could be made. What would occur would be this. Lloyd's Agency would have stations at some important points where there was large traffic; while many very large districts of coast would be entirely neglected. On the other hand, if the Coastguards all round the coast had telegraphic communications on every Coastguard station the result would be that they would have a perfect system of communication with every port.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out that this discussion is entirely irregular. The discussion is appropriate to the second reading of the Bill; but it does not arise on the clause specifying a short title for the measure.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Clause 2 (Lloyd's to have power to establish signal stations with telegraphic communication).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would have any objection to insert words in this clause which would enable the Government to take possession of the wires in time of national danger?

THE CHAIRMAN said, the Amendment was too late. He had already put the Question that the clause stand part of the Bill. He waited awhile, because he thought it possible that some Amendment might be proposed.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.) said, he had endeavoured to point out that there was ample power in the clause for the Government to do what the hon. and gallant Baronet had in mind. The clause distinctly provided that in any of the cases where land was taken for this purpose, it should be taken under such conditions as the Postmaster General might prescribe.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked, if the Postmaster General conferred these advantages or powers upon Lloyd's, what power the Government would have to insure the carrying out of the rules and regulations?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, that if an agreement was entered into under the provisions of this clause, the provisions of the agreement could be enforced at law.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne) said, he had great respect for the opinions of the hon. Baronet the Member for East Norfolk (Sir Edward Birkbeck) who took such a great interest in the fishing industry; but he reminded him that if this Bill were passed it would not accomplish the ends the hon. Baronet had in view. It was not likely Lloyd's would attempt to establish the stations in parts of the country round the coast where messages would not pay for the sending. They would establish stations on prominent headlands, such as Beechy Head and the Lizard, from which they could report vessels which passed. If the Government would withdraw the Bill and allow public opinion to be brought to bear upon it, he thought they would have a very different idea permeating the public mind, and in favour of the Government doing what the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for North-West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) suggested they should do—namely, lay down wires from one Coastguard station to another. Feeling as strongly as he did that this Bill ought not to be pushed on in the teeth of some of the warmest and strongest supporters of the Government—and the Government were driving the Bill down their throats in the interest of a great Society in the City of London—he begged to move that the Chairman do now report Progress and ask leave to sit again.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Admiral Field.*)

MR. BARING (London) said, that the single question to be decided by the Committee was, whether they wished to postpone measures for the saving of life at sea until next year? The hon. and gallant Admiral (Admiral Field), who knew nothing about Lloyd's, said that Lloyd's only wanted to telegraph the arrival or departure of ships. What Lloyd's wanted to do was to make profit, and the way they wanted to make profit was to save loss of life and ships and cargo at sea. He trusted that the Committee would agree to the passing of the Bill.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) said, that the effect of passing this Bill would be to lessen insurance on ships, because the danger to ships would be lessened. He thought there was very great reason, therefore, why the Bill should be passed at once. Shipping had suffered great depression, and to lessen insurance would be a great benefit to the shipping interest. The hon. and gallant Admiral the Member for Eastbourne (Admiral Field) certainly appeared to have the Navy on the brain. Some hon. Members of the House certainly considered that the Mercantile Marine of the country was worth saving. He held that view; and therefore he was of opinion that the Bill might be passed with advantage.

DR. TANNER said, he had heard the remarks from the opposite Benches of the hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Baring) with considerable surprise. They were now in the month of August, and the hon. Member had made a passionate appeal in favour of the immediate passing of the Bill, so as to prevent the postponement of the taking of any step for the saving of life at sea. Did the hon. Gentleman suppose that if they passed the Bill now they would secure the immediate erection of any additional signal stations? He believed the hon. and gallant Admiral (Admiral Field) was quite right. They were trying to prevent a job being perpetrated. He sincerely hoped the suggestion which had been made by the hon. and gallant Baronet would obtain the substantial support of the Committee. For anybody to state that the passing of this Bill would stud the coast with signal stations which would prevent loss of life and property during the coming year was absurd.

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) said, he hoped his hon. and gallant Friend (Admiral Field) would withdraw his Motion. He put it to the hon. and gallant Gentleman whether it was not the case that at the present moment the Government and the Admiralty were obliged to rely on Lloyd's for the necessary information to enable the Admiralty to make its arrangements for the defence of commerce in time of war? Lloyd's had done great service to the nation in times of peace and in times of war, and he certainly was in favour of enabling Lloyd's to take means to develop their signal system for the safety of our commerce and to give information for the protection of it in time of war. He trusted that in the interest of the Royal Navy as well as in that of commerce, in time of peace and in time of war, his hon. and gallant Friend would withdraw his Motion.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he must ask the Committee to decide at once whether they would go on with the Bill or not. He thought the vast majority were in favour of the Bill, and therefore they were really wasting time in debating the point. If his hon. and gallant Friend would not withdraw his Motion let them divide upon it at once.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston): I claim to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again," put, and *negatived.*

DR. TANNER challenged the Chairman's declaration that the Noes had it.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will the hon. Member name another Teller?

DR. TANNER: Admiral Field.

ADMIRAL FIELD: No, no!

DR. TANNER: The hon. and gallant Member for North-West Sussex.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: No, no!

THE CHAIRMAN: If the hon. Gentleman fails to find another Teller the Noes have it.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 3 to 17, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* without further Amendment; Bill read the third time, and *passed,* with Amendments.

DIVISIONAL MAGISTRATES (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 374.]

(*Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Arthur Balfour.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made and, Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he would appeal to the Government to postpone the measure until the Autumn Sitting. He objected to the financial part of the Bill, and he should wish that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) might be present when the measure was discussed.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, that having regard to the satisfactory progress made with Business that evening he would agree to postpone the measure.

Debate *adjourned* till *Thursday* 15th November.

MOTIONS.

REGISTRATION ACT (1885) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Causton, Bill to amend "The Registration Act, 1885," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Causton, Mr. Asquith, Sir Henry James, Mr. James Rowlands, and Mr. James Stuart.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 376.]

COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEAL BILL.

On Motion of Mr Anderson, Bill to constitute a Court of Appeal in Criminal Cases, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Anderson, Sir John Simon, Sir Albert Rollit, Mr. Rowntree, and Mr. Bradlaugh.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 377.]

CRUELTY TO CHILDREN (PREVENTION) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Mundella, Bill for the better Prevention of Cruelty to Children, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Mundella, Mr. John Morley, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Henry James, Mr. Samuel Smith, Sir Robert Fowler, Mr. Robert Reid, and Mr. Channing.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 378.]

WALTHAM ABBEY GUNPOWDER FACTORY BILL.

Read a second time, and *committed* to a Select Committee of Five Members, Three to be nominated by the House, and Two by the Committee of Selection.

Ordered, That all Petitions against the Bill presented two clear days before the meeting of the Committee be referred to the Committee; that the Petitioners praying to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, or Agents, be heard against the Bill, and Counsel heard in support of the Bill.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.

House adjourned at Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS

Saturday, 11th August, 1888.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Municipal Funds (Ireland) (278), *discharged*.

Second Reading — Committee negatived — Third Reading—Imperial Defence (276); National Defence (277), and *passed*.

Committee—Report—Third Reading—Members of Parliament) (Charges and Allegations) (263), and *passed*.

Third Reading—Bail (Scotland) (262), and *passed*.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT (CHARGES AND ALLEGATIONS) BILL.—(No. 263.)

(*The Marquess of Salisbury.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that he wished to contradict a rather absurd statement which appeared in *The Times* newspaper—that he and his noble Friends went out in a body after the second reading as a kind of demonstration against the Bill. Of course, there was nothing further to be done with the Bill after the second reading had been agreed to. But, independently of that, as a matter of fact, his noble and learned Friend (Lord Herschell) and himself remained in the House some time after the second reading, and his other noble Friends simply went out because the Business of the House was practically concluded.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, he would take the opportunity of adding to what had been said that some remarks had been attributed to him in reference to the action

of the Judge in the case of "O'Donnell *v.* Walter," which had no foundation in fact. What he had referred to was the historical interposition of the Judge. He had not in the smallest degree meant to impute any blame to the learned Judge, nor did he think that any words of his deserved the interpretation which had been put on them.

House in Committee accordingly.

LORD HERSCHELL said, he should like to ask one question in regard to what was proposed to be done by the Bill. Among the charges and allegations included in the terms of reference were those that had been made against Mr. O'Donnell; but those charges had already been investigated, and a conclusion arrived at by a judicial tribunal. Would it be within the scope of the inquiry that these charges should be investigated again; and, if not, would it not be as well specially to exclude any matters that had been already investigated?

LORD HALSBURY said, he thought, if he might say so, that the noble and learned Lord's question was founded on a misapprehension. As he understood the case of "O'Donnell *v.* Walter," the suggestion was that the charges had no reference whatever to Mr. O'Donnell.

LORD HERSCHELL said, that was so with regard to many of the charges; but there were some charges which it was believed did or might apply to Mr. O'Donnell.

LORD HALSBURY said, he understood the jury to say that they did not think the charges referred to Mr. O'Donnell. He did not think it would be expedient to alter the terms of the Bill, as it came from the other House. But, no doubt, if the facts were as the noble and learned Lord stated, the Commission would probably consider the terms of the Bill, and exclude everything that was not proper for consideration.

LORD HERSCHELL said, he had no doubt that the learned Judges would do all that was right when the inquiry was entered upon.

Bill *reported*, without Amendment.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Viscount CRANBROOK) said, they were indebted to the courtesy of the noble Earl, who was not present, (Earl Granville), and those who acted with him, for having been able to make such progress with the measure; and under the circumstances of the case he trusted that their Lordships would now allow it to be read a third time. If there were the least objection to this course he would not press the proposal. But, with the assent of the noble and learned Lord (Lord Herschell) and his Friends on the Front Opposition Bench, he would now move that the Bill be read a third time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Lord President.*)

LORD HERSCHELL said, that inconvenience might be occasioned if the third reading were postponed till Monday. He and his noble Friends willingly gave their assent to the Motion of the noble Viscount, but it must not be understood to imply any diminution of hostility to the Bill.

Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 3ª, and *passed*.

MORTMAIN AND CHARITABLE USES BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF COMMONS' AMENDMENTS.

Commons' Amendments *considered* (according to order).

EARL BEAUCHAMP said, that this Bill had been passed through the House of Lords as a Consolidation Bill, and the noble and learned Lord in charge of it objected to any Amendment being introduced. But in the House of Commons large additions had been made to Clause 7. There had been included in the exemption from the operation of the Mortmain Acts the Universities of London and Durham and the Victoria University. The inclusion of those Universities made a very large addition indeed to the existing exemptions. All Colleges and houses of learning within these Universities were included in this privilege, and it might be a question how far Colleges affiliated to these Universities would claim a like exemption. If so, the scope of exemption would be enormously extended. He, therefore, begged to move an Amendment to include Keble College, by adding the words "and the warden, council, and

scholars of Keble College." Keble College was incorporated by Royal Charter, but was not technically part of the University of Oxford. A Bill for conferring upon Keble College exemption from the restrictions of the Mortmain Act had passed the House of Lords that Session, but was met in the House of Commons on the third reading by a Resolution that such a question ought to be settled by public and not by private legislation. The College had been for many purposes a part of the University, and had done admirable work for 18 years. The Council, of which he was a member, was constantly applied to with reference to their powers under the Mortmain Acts, and they had a power of holding land to the value of £5,000 a-year; but the incapacity of testators to bequeath still remained, and would be obviated by his Amendment. He begged leave to move the Amendment.

Amendment *moved*, in Clause 7, Subsection 1, after ("colleges,") to insert ("or to or in trust for the warden, council, and scholars of Keble College.") —(*The Earl Beauchamp.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that there were no Colleges affiliated to the University of London, though there were some many years ago. Keble College was not technically within the University of Oxford. He did not think that while King's College and University College were not exempted it would be expedient to include Keble College. His sole knowledge of the question was derived from his connection with the University of London as a member of the Senate. He objected to the introduction of this Amendment at the last stage of the Bill.

EARL BEAUCHAMP understood that Yorkshire College, Leeds, was affiliated to the Victoria University. The noble Earl had touched the case of London University, but had not referred to Victoria University, and what he was asking the House to do was what in other instances they had already done. They had already passed a Bill giving Keble College those privileges. It had been resisted in its progress in "another place," and he now only asked their Lordships to put Keble College in the position it would have been in if the Amendment relating to public legislation had not been introduced on the third reading.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, that, to some extent, he agreed with his noble Friend. At the same time, he would point out that when the Bill left the House it was simply a Consolidation Bill of Mortmain Laws, and if it had been allowed to remain in that form it would have been impossible to introduce this Amendment. But, unfortunately, a practice had grown up of making Amendments in Consolidation Bills; and in this Bill the Commons had introduced the Amendment with respect to the Victoria University. It was, therefore, not unnatural of his noble Friend to move this Amendment. But if this inconvenient practice were continued, it would render all attempts at consolidation perfectly useless, if not altogether impossible. He did not altogether object to the Amendment of the noble Earl, but desired to point out that if it was pressed it would probably imperil the Bill.

THE CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES (The Duke of BUCKINGHAM and CHANDOS) agreed with the Lord Chancellor that this practice was a very inconvenient one. Their Lordships were under a great disadvantage in considering the Bill, as they were without a copy of the Committee's Amendments and of the Amendment the noble Earl proposed.

EARL BEAUCHAMP said, he should persist in his Amendment.

On Question, whether the words be here inserted? Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 11; Not-Contents 7: Majority 4.

CONTENTS.

Halsbury, L. (*L. Chancellor.*)	Fortescue, E.
Cranbrook V. (*L. President.*)	Brabourne, L.
	Denman, L.
	Foxford, L. (*E. Limerick.*) [*Teller.*]
Rutland, D.	Knutsford, L.
	Stratheden and Campbell, L.
Beauchamp, E. [*Teller.*]	Sudley, L. (*E. Arran.*)

NOT-CONTENTS.

Buckingham and Chandos, D. [*Teller.*]	Elphinstone, L.
	FitzGerald, L.
	Herschell, L.
Kimberley, E. [*Teller.*]	Kintore, L. (*E. Kintore.*)
Waldegrave, E.	

COUNTY COURTS CONSOLIDATION AND AMENDMENT BILL.

CONSIDERATION OF COMMONS' AMENDMENTS.

Commons' Amendments *considered* (according to order).

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, he wished to renew, in a most emphatic form, the protest which he had just made against the introduction of Amendments to a Consolidation Bill. There were several Amendments introduced into the Bill in regard to which he should certainly have taken the sense of the House, as he did not agree with them, were it not for the period at which the Bill came before them and his fear of jeopardizing its passing. He introduced the measure simply as a Consolidation Bill, the first step towards the amendment of the law being to reduce to a compact form what the law was. Under the circumstances, he had no alternative but to propose that their Lordships should agree with the Commons in their Amendments, but, at the same time, uttered his protest against the practice. He might point out that the noble and learned Lord (Lord Herschell) held that the subject the Bill dealt with required amendment, but that he had refrained from bringing forward Amendments, as the Bill was one purely for consolidating purposes.

LORD HERSCHELL agreed with the noble and learned Lord that the practice of inserting Amendments in Consolidation Bills was very inconvenient; but, at the same time, stated that the temptation offered to do so when Consolidation Bills were brought forward was more than some hon. Members could resist. It was frequently the only opportunity which presented itself for attempting to amend an objectionable law. In very few cases could Amendments be effected otherwise than by a Bill promoted by the Government, private Members' Bills having very little chance of passing.

Commons' Amendments *agreed to.*

IMPERIAL DEFENCE BILL.—(No. 276.)

(*The Lord Harris.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord President.*)

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY complained of the inconvenience of bringing important Bills of this character before the House at that late period of the Session, when there was no possibility of giving adequate consideration and discussion to them. He should be sorry to offer opposition to the Bill, as it was a measure for the defence of the country; but he thought the House should have had full information as to the objects of the Bill. He had frequently protested in the House against this method of passing Bills.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Viscount CRANBROOK) said, that it was absolutely necessary for the welfare of the country from a military point of view that this Bill should pass, and he would appeal to his noble Friend's generosity to allow it to go through that day.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that, no doubt, it would be inconvenient to prevent the Bill from passing, and that was the reason why he complained of the manner in which such Bills were placed before their Lordships.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly; Committee *negatived;* Bill read 3ª, and *passed.*

NATIONAL DEFENCE BILL.

(*The Lord Harris.*)

(NO. 277.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Viscount CRANBROOK), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that it was a Bill of a similar character to that which had just been passed.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord President.*)

LORD DENMAN said, that Bills being appointed for a second reading on a Saturday could not be read a second time on that day three months, as there would be no Sitting on a Saturday. He had three Bills—namely, Extension of Municipal Franchise (Ireland) to Women, ordered to be read on the 28th of August—Women's Suffrage Bill, ordered to be read on the 28th of Sep-

tember, and the Duration of Speeches in Parliament Bill, ordered to be read on the 16th of October. The last Bill was said to be unnecessary, as the Standing Orders of their Lordships' House and the Rules of Procedure in the House of Commons could each regulate their own proceedings.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK rose to Order, and pointed out that the noble Lord's remarks were irrelevant to the subject before the House.

LORD DENMAN went on to explain that if the House of Commons would not allow any reform of their Lordships' House to begin in it, he (Lord Denman) might offer for their acceptance or rejection a Bill affecting the House of Commons beginning in the House of Lords. This was a part of clôture when the Irish Church Bill was before the House. He, together with an Irish Peer, was howled down, and he then said—"I will fight any one of you." The age of duelling was gone here, but retained in France. He did not suppose any of their Lordships would wish to risk his life against that of a man of 83; but if he had said anything offensive he would accept a challenge. He denied the right of the two leading Parties in the House to close a debate.

Afterwards,

LORD DENMAN said, he desired to apologize to the House, preferring to ask a Question of the Lord Chancellor as to Notice; but he would put a Notice of his Question on the Paper for Monday.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that no Business would be taken on Monday but merely the Royal Commission.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly; Committee *negatived;* Bill read 3ª, and *passed.*

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY BILL.—(No. 218.)

(*The Lord Herschell.*)

THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading, read.

LORD HERSCHELL asked permission of the House to read this Bill, which would enable the University to hold lands in mortmain, a third time, notwithstanding that it was not on the Paper of Business for the day. It had passed through all its stages except the third reading, and that had been delayed by the fact that the Mortmain Bill had not been disposed of. The Amendment just made in that Bill had imperilled its passing this Session; and, in that case, this Bill, unless read a third time to-day, would be postponed till November. Such postponement might prevent the University from receiving benefactions which it otherwise might receive. The Bill enabled the University to acquire land in mortmain. But this had already been done in the Mortmain Act. The provision in the general Act would have rendered unnecessary the clause in the special Bill. He hoped, therefore, that their Lordships would read the Bill a third time.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª."—(*The Lord Herschell.*)

EARL BEAUCHAMP was understood to object to the third reading.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he must complain of the ungenerous conduct of the noble Earl. The noble Earl had obtained, by a small majority in a thin House, an Amendment to the Mortmain Bill, though his Amendment was not on the Paper, and there was no notice of it, and now he turned round upon his noble and learned Friend, and objected to this Motion. He (the Earl of Kimberley) asked the House to assent to the Motion, and thought that the objection of the noble Earl was most unreasonable, and, indeed, ungracious on his part.

EARL BEAUCHAMP explained that his Amendment to the Mortmain Act was handed in by him to the Clerks on Thursday, and it was not his fault if it had not been printed.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) asked whether there was any precedent for a Bill being passed by their Lordships' House which was not on the Paper?

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, he quite admitted that that could not be done save by the consent of the House; and, therefore, as the noble Earl opposite had objected, nothing could be done in the matter. That objection, however, he regarded as ungenerous and misplaced.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

The Lord KINTORE (*E. Kintore*) chosen Speaker in the absence of the Lord Chancellor and the Lords Commissioners.

House adjourned at half past One o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Saturday, 11*th August*, 1888.

The House met at Twelve of the clock.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL — *Ordered — First Reading*—Board of Agriculture * [379].

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE BANN BRIDGE AT PORTGLENONE.

MR. LEA (Londonderry, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether complaints had reached him that it is the custom of a crowd of Nationalists to assemble at the end of the Bann Bridge, Portglenone, every evening, to the annoyance of persons crossing the bridge, and that on July 31, a man named Gerald Orr Finlay was violently attacked and beaten by them without the slightest provocation; and if the attention of the police will be called to this state of things, for the protection of the quiet and peaceable inhabitants of the district?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Constabulary authorities report that it is customary for a crowd of persons to frequent the neighbourhood of the bridge referred to during the summer to watch the fishing; but no complaints of annoyance to persons crossing the bridge have been received by them. The man named did report at the police barracks that he had been assaulted some 50 yards from the bridge by one of two men, neither of whom he knew. He had a wound on his head; but it was not dangerous. The police are still making inquiries, with a view to discover his assailant.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—TEACHERS IN WORKHOUSE SCHOOLS.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) (for Mr. SHEIL) (Meath, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is proposed that the services of the teachers now engaged in the workhouse schools will be retained; and, if not, what provision is to be made for them?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: Notice of this Question only appeared on the Paper to-day, and he had not been able to obtain the necessary information. He must give the same answer to three other Questions on the Paper, relating respectively to the Galway Court Crier, Assistant Revising Barristers, and Sub-Commissioners' luncheons.

SOUTH AFRICA—AFFAIRS IN ZULULAND.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.) (for Mr. A. M'ARTHUR) (Leicester) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he can give the House any additional information respecting the state of affairs in Zululand?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham) (who replied) said: According to our last information from Zululand, dated yesterday, the police station at Ivuna has been re-established. Dinizulu left Ceza on the 7th, accompanied, it is said, by 1,000 men. It is supposed he has proceeded to a locality on the bank of the Pongolo River, in Transvaal Territory.

POST OFFICE—SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT—CLERKS.

MR. CAREW (Kildare, N.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether application has recently been made to the Treasury to sanction the increase of the staff of principal clerks in the Savings Bank Department; whether the Treasury has sanctioned such increase; and, whether

he will state the cause of the delay in making the appointments?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): No, Sir.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — CORPORAL PUNISHMENT AT SUNDON BOARD SCHOOL, BEDFORDSHIRE.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the conviction by the Luton Divisional Bench of Mr. William Thomas Friday, head master of the Sundon Board School, Bedfordshire, of assault by the administration of corporal punishment to Frederick Stokes, a pupil in the school, as reported in *The Luton Reporter, Beds and Herts News* of July 28, 1888, and the refusal of the Bench to inflict such a sentence as would give the defendant a right of appeal; and, whether he would recommend a re-hearing of the case?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. STUART WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) (who replied) said: As this Question appears for the first time this morning, the Secretary of State has had no time to inquire into this case; but it is plain that he has no power to interfere. He cannot increase the punishment, neither have the Justices power to re-hear the case. In requesting me to give this answer on his behalf, my right hon. Friend must not be understood to express any opinion on the merits of the case.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY — DISTRICT INSPECTOR IRWIN.

MR. SUMMERS (Huddersfield) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether District Inspector Irwin, who controlled the firing of the police at Mitchelstown on the occasion of the fatal shooting there last September, has been retired on an allowance of £200 a-year; whether the superannuation to which he would be entitled is £256; and, if so, to what is this reduction due?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I am informed that it is not the case that the District Inspector named was entitled to a superannuation allowance of £256. The Treasury measured the amount at £200 a year—a rate which it was considered the circumstances of his case warranted.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS — THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether there is any intention of acting upon the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service Establishments, as soon as they may have received the approval of Her Majesty, and before the Autumn Sitting; and, whether, in consideration of the fact that there is a great need of clerks in various Public Offices, and that the appointments to such clerkships have been held over pending the Report of that Commission, he will think it right to take early steps to put its recommendations into force?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I think my hon. Friend will see that it is quite impossible for us to enter into any arrangement with regard to the Report of a Commission of whose recommendations we have no knowledge, and which, so far as we know, have not been agreed upon by the Commissioners themselves. We must wait and reserve our judgment until we see the Report; and then, if the recommendations appear to be to the public advantage, we will consider what steps should be taken.

TRUSTEE SAVINGS BANKS — THE CARDIFF BANK.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he could state what was being done in reference to the Cardiff Savings Bank?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he was not in a position to answer the Question.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—DANGEROUS CONDITION OF THE TREES IN HYDE PARK.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.) asked, Whether, in the absence of the First Commissioner of Works, some other Member of the Government could answer a Question with regard to the condition of some of the trees in Hyde

Park. He wished to know whether the attention of the Government had been called to the fact that on Sunday last a large tree fell across one of the principal pathways in Hyde Park, to the imminent danger of several passers-by; and, whether the present dangerous condition of the trees in Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens would not be considered, with the view of avoiding injury and possible loss of life? Some of the trees were in a most dangerous state. Everyone who was in the habit of passing through Kensington Gardens would confirm the statement; and he thought they ought to undergo a thorough inspection.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (a LORD of the TREASURY) (Wigton): I have no information on the subject; but I will see that the attention of the Office of Works is drawn to the circumstances.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887 — CONVICTION OF MR. O'KELLY, M.P.—SUPPLY OF DRINK TO IRISH WITNESSES.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.): I desire to ask the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland a Question; but I understand from him that he is not prepared to answer my Question fully, as the Star Chamber inquiry in Roscommon has not yet concluded. I wish him to inform me whether the money for the drink paid for by the police in this case, and supplied to witnesses who were or might be examined at the Star Chamber inquiry in question, is provided for out of the public funds?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): I am sorry to say that I am not in a position to consider any portion of the Question, as I have not received as yet a reply to my inquiries on the subject.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): Is the drink supplied to the witnesses before or after giving evidence?

MR. MADDEN: I have not the least information on the subject as to whether there was any drink supplied at all.

STANDING ORDERS.

Ordered, That the Standing Orders, as amended, be *printed*. [No. 368.]

Mr. Causton

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (SATURDAY).

Ordered, That the Sitting of the House, this day, be held subject to the Standing Orders that regulate the Sitting of the House on Wednesdays."—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

MOTIONS.

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House, at its rising on Monday next, do adjourn till Tuesday the 6th of November."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) said, he wished before the Motion was agreed to, to call attention to the sentence which had just been passed on an hon. Member of the House. Yesterday the hon. Member for Roscommon (Mr. O'Kelly) was sentenced by two of the Irish Resident Magistrates sitting in a Coercion Court, under the Crimes Act, to four months' imprisonment. It had been the duty of the Speaker to report to the House from time to time in a formal manner the cases in which Members of the House had been arrested and imprisoned, and on such occasions the attention of the House was drawn to the peculiar circumstances which surrounded each case. In the present instance no formal Notice was before the House, nor were hon. Members supplied with sufficiently full particulars upon which to express a judgment. Nevertheless, certain facts had already come under the notice of some of the Members of the House, and he thought it was desirable to lay them before the House before they separated on Monday next. His hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon proceeded to Ireland a short time ago in order to take part in some election proceedings in a constituency which bordered upon his own. Having fulfilled his obligations in that respect he proceeded to visit his own constituents, and in the course of his visit he became acquainted with the existence of a state of things to which, as a Representative of the people, he felt bound to refer. He found that there had been established under the Criminal Law and Procedure Act one of those Courts which were commonly known in Ireland by the name of a Star Chamber Court. When the Crimes Act was before the House the Irish Mem-

bers took every opportunity of pointing out that its provisions would be used for the purpose of punishing political opponents, and inducing witnesses to come forward and commit perjury. The Court held in the County of Roscommon was being conducted on those lines. His hon. Friend considered it his duty to denounce the proceedings of the police, which he (Mr. John O'Connor) had in the shape of Questions brought under the notice of the House both yesterday and to-day. It was abundantly proved that the witnesses had been tampered with, and that they had been specially supplied by the police with money out of the Secret Service Fund in order to provide evidence in circumstances of drunkenness. Now, when those things were brought under the notice of his hon. Friend he only fulfilled his first public duty as a Representative and guardian of the honour of the people in denouncing not only those practices, but the whole Court and the inquiry itself. The hon. Member was a guardian of the interests of those who might perhaps be found guilty on the evidence of those perjured witnesses, and therefore he was quite justified in denouncing the Court. After having performed that duty, and after coming back to London to fulfil his functions in Parliament—a month after the speech was delivered—he was ruthlessly, without warning, and without warrant, seized in the streets of London and taken away to Ireland; and he had now been tried by another Court established under the same iniquitous law, and punished with four months' imprisonment — and imprisonment, too, under the terrible circumstances which had been exposed over and over again in that House. All who had the acquaintance of the hon. Member for Roscommon knew that he was a man whose prudence, foresight, and general demeanour had commended themselves highly to the estimation of hon. Members of that House, and whose other qualities had shown him to be a careful and a thoughtful man. It must, therefore, on the first blush of the matter, occur to hon. Gentlemen that his hon. Friend had been severely and harshly dealt with. He did not think that any case which has been brought before the House of Commons had excited among its Members a greater amount of surprise and indignation than the unwarrantable arrest and the unjust sentence upon his hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon, and it had been already severely commented upon by the Press and on public platforms. He thought that the Irish Members would fail in their duty if they did not bring the imprisonment of his hon. Friend before the attention of the House. He did not know it would have devolved upon him (Mr. J. O'Connor) to make a statement, and he regretted that he had not been able to lay all the facts and circumstances of the case before the House; he regretted that he was not better acquainted with them, and he had no doubt his deficiencies in that respect would be supplied by some of his hon. Friends; but from the very indignation of his mind he felt it his duty to bring the matter before the House. He trusted that all the circumstances of the case would be investigated, and that these unwarranted and unjustifiable proceedings would be investigated, as they were entitled to the severe condemnation of all just-minded men; and he hoped the House would not hesitate to mark its strong disapproval of such proceedings.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, he was glad his hon. Friend had brought this matter under the notice of the House, but he felt that he was to a certain extent precluded from entering fully into the details of the case, as an appeal was now pending. He would, therefore, confine his observations to the evidence given by a constable named Clear—rather an inappropriate name for the individual in question—and which evidence was outside the material point in his hon. Friend's own case, and referred to circumstances antecedent to the trial. His hon. Friend (Mr. John O'Connor) had already called attention to the Star Chamber inquisition, and he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) thought that if they were told 10 years ago that such a Court would be in full working order in any country within the British Dominions, they would have shrunk back with horror and scepticism, because the inquisition had all those elements which up to a short time ago were confined to Continental despotism and most abhorred by the public sentiment of this country. However, unfortunately that was the state of things now existing in Ireland,

and he wished to call the attention of the House to the manner in which witnesses were prepared and doctored by such an inquisition. This witness, Constable Clear, was examined as to his proceedings in connection with the Star Chamber inquiry, and was asked in cross-examination by Mr. Bodkin—"Did you give any money to one Keenan?"—Keenan was one of the witnesses who gave evidence and was asked to give evidence before the Star Chamber inquiry—Witness—"For what?" "No matter for what," said the cross-examining counsel. Then said Constable Clear, "I did; I gave him a 1*s*. I knew that Keenan was a witness." Now, it would be observed that this worthy constable had at first said that he gave no money to anybody, and then he acknowledged that he gave money actually to one of the witnesses who was to be examined before the Star Chamber inquiry. Mr. Bodkin—"And you swore that you gave no money to any witness." Cross-examination continued—

"I may have given drink to some of the witnesses in this case. I cannot tell to how many, or how much. I could not say how often I gave Keenan drink."

That was the man to whom he had protested he had given nothing.

"I cannot say when I first gave it to him, and I could not tell when I gave it to him last. I may have given Keenan drink in several houses since the trial began. I could not say how often I gave witnesses drink since this trial began. Mr. Beckett, R.M.—Did you give him drink? Witness—I do not remember. Cross-examination continued—I cannot say how many witnesses I gave drink to."

Now, when facts like those were known to the British public, they would, he believed, form their own estimate of a system of inquiry which was carried out by such discreditable methods and means. Poor men were brought before those secret tribunals, with no friend and no representative of the public or of the Press near, and witnesses were also corrupted with money and with drink before they went into those chambers of torture. He thought that Englishmen who were in favour of the Government of Ireland by that House would, at least, like to see their administration elevating the people whom they ruled, instead of degrading them, as in this case, by appealing to the base passions of love of drink and money. And yet, for protesting against this system, the savage sentence of four months' imprisonment was inflicted on Mr. O'Kelly, a sentence that would subsequently have to be investigated very closely. Though he wished the Chief Secretary would pay more frequent visits than he did to Ireland for the purpose of relieving the absolute blankness of his ignorance on all Irish affairs, he thought it would have been more fitting for the right hon. Gentleman to have postponed his present visit till the rising of the House. He certainly regretted the absence of the Chief Secretary that day, because he intended to refer to the case of Mr. Lane, who had declared in the public Press that he had been supplied with chicken and poached eggs. Mr. Lane had gone before the Coroner's Court and repeated on oath the statements he had previously made. The Chief Secretary had adopted a curious method of controversy with his political opponents in the House. The right hon. Gentleman did not dare to call them audacious, but many ways had been discovered of calling a man a liar. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the hon. Member for East Cork must be labouring under a strange illusion. It was true that at one time Mr. Lane's mind did reel, but he did not think the hon. Member had so far lost his reason as not to know a piece of chicken and poached eggs when he saw them. Mr. Lane in his letter stated, and had since repeated on oath before the coroner, that he did receive from Dr. Ridley a piece of roast chicken and poached eggs. The Chief Secretary suggested that this was untrue, but the hon. Member for East Cork had explained the circumstances in which the doctor was able to exercise this charity. He next complained that the Chief Secretary or his subordinates had not supplied the materials for discussing the case of Mr. Mandeville. The Chief Secretary had promised the shorthand notes of the evidence at the inquiry. He understood that the notes of one day's evidence were written out and supplied the next day, and why there should be this delay he could not understand. It was desirable that the facts of this tragic case should be inquired into while they were still fresh in the public memory, but owing to the unaccountable delay of the Chief Secretary this could not be done. The case, however, would be discussed

by-and-bye. It was a question on which the public mind was very much stirred, and he believed the Government, which was responsible for the brutalities and tortures under which Mr. Mandeville succumbed, would be brought to a bitter account one of these days. On a former occasion he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had made some reference to some passages in the earlier history of the Home Secretary, to which the right hon. Gentleman had given a flat contradiction. The principal charge he had made against the right hon. Gentleman was that he was formerly in association with the members of the Fenian organization in Ireland. In order to show what the facts of the case were, he would refer to a speech delivered by the right hon. Gentleman at Dungarvan, when the candidature of the right hon. Gentleman was opposed by the present Lord Justice Barry, who, at the time of the election, was Attorney or Solicitor General for Ireland.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): No; he was then Mr. Serjeant Barry only.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the point was immaterial; but he believed that Lord Justice Barry commenced to fight the election as Serjeant Sir F. Barry, but became Solicitor General for Ireland while the contest was in progress. The Home Secretary, speaking of his opponent, strongly denounced the attitude he had taken in the prosecution of persons charged with Fenianism, and used language which abundantly proved that at that time, at any rate, the right hon. Gentleman was in close sympathy and alliance with the Fenian Party. The right hon. Gentleman, among other things, said that in those troublous times there had been men who had come into collision with the law, who had been visited with punishment which he would not say was unjust, but who, if they had sinned against the law, had at least deserved well of their country. He could not forget the accomplished Luby, and the gentle, child-like simplicity of the high-souled O'Leary, and others—men who had been sentenced to penal servitude for their share in the Fenian movement. The right hon. Gentleman added that the justification of Mr. Serjeant Barry that he was guided by his professional duties was characterized by the Home Secretary as no excuse at all, who said that it would form no excuse whatever in the minds and hearts of true Irishmen. Under these circumstances, he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) asked the House and the public to pause before they finally accepted the statement of the Home Secretary that he, although now a prominent Member of Her Majesty's Government, had not at one time been an ally, an associate, and a *protégé* of the Fenians. At a subsequent date he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) would give the House a fuller opportunity of judging between the statements of himself and of the Home Secretary.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) said, that owing to the block of business in the Land Court, the Government had, according to the statement of the Chief Secretary, decided to increase the number of Sub-Commissioners; but the steps which the Government now proposed to take were precisely the steps which the Irish Home Rule Representatives urged them, without avail, to take four or five months ago. That was a sample of the treatment always accorded to the advice given by his Party. They knew the business of their country better than anybody else could know it, and yet their suggestions were always at first treated by the Government with ridicule. Then months, or perhaps years, afterwards, the Government were at last forced to adopt their suggestions and act upon them. With reference to the conspiracy prosecutions, as he had showed, so it had been proved that there was no justification for the action of the Resident Magistrates. There was not one of these prosecutions which was not on all fours with the Killeagh case. In all the cases the evidence amounted to this only—that certain persons individually and separately refused to supply goods to certain other persons. Upon this totally insufficient evidence prisoners had been found guilty of conspiracy to induce and compel other people not to deal. He challenged the Solicitor General for Ireland to point to a single piece of evidence in the depositions beyond the proof of a mere refusal to sell. At Miltown Malbay two smiths were tried before the removable magistrates for refusing to shoe the horse of a Mrs. Moroney, and they were convicted for conspiring to induce and compel other smiths not to shoe Mrs. Moroney's horse. Would the House

believe that there were no other smiths in the place? Was it not preposterous and ridiculous that men should be convicted for conspiring to influence others of the same trade when there were no such people for them to influence? Although the Boycotting Returns presented to the House by the Chief Secretary, prepared by his agents in Ireland and inspired by the landlords, formed the greater part of the cases for which the Coercion Act had been applied, it was nevertheless a remarkable fact that for four months after the passing of the Coercion Act not a single prosecution for Boycotting took place in Ireland; and that proved one of two things, either that the Boycotting Returns were fraudulent, and the House of Commons was deceived, or else that the Chief Secretary neglected his duty, and allowed four months to pass before he put into operation those powers for the prevention of the very outrages of which he most complained to the House of Commons. As to the conviction of Mr. O'Kelly, his hon. Friend had only performed a public duty in advising his people to keep far away from the dark and treacherous Star Chamber inquiries, which had been abolished in England for 200 years, and which, in spite of anything that the Lord Advocate might say, did not now exist in Scotland, and had never existed there for an equal period of time. These Courts were used as instruments of oppression in the hands of a class, and were not used for the purpose of discovering the perpetrators of serious murders. It had been stated that a case of murder in Kerry, for which two men had been hanged, would never have been unravelled without the interposition of the Secret Inquisition Court. That statement was not worthy of credence, for no evidence was obtained at the inquiry which would not have been disclosed in the ordinary course of events. In certain other serious cases, such as an outrage on a church in Fermanagh and another outrage on a church in Donaghmore, County Cork, in both of which cases members of the Orange Party were suspected of having committed the outrage, the clause in question was not put in force; but in a case of larceny of hay at Loughrea the Star Chamber inquiry was set on foot to discover the guilty parties in regard to this offence, which was four years old. The Catholic Bishop of Raphoe had recently written a letter, in which he stated that he was as deeply interested as anyone could be in the peace and order of the country, but protested against the administration of the Coercion Act as being a "menace to peace and an incitement to disorder." For saying very much the same thing in somewhat different words, the hon. Member for Roscommon had recently been sentenced by the Irish Government to the atrocious term of four months' imprisonment. He asked the House whether that was a justifiable sentence in view of the legislation which that House had passed? The offence of the hon. Member, if any offence at all, amounted to sedition, and in regard to sedition there were by Act of Parliament special provisions that persons so convicted should be treated as first-class misdemeanants. By proceeding against the hon. Member under the Coercion Act, the Government, however, secured that he should be treated like common thieves, housebreakers, and wife beaters. This was one of innumerable instances of the way in which the law was being administered. Was it to be expected that, under these circumstances the law would be respected, and its administration esteemed and reverenced, and that the Union would be maintained and grow in the affections of the Irish people. Why, the Irish people would not be fit for freedom, the Irish people would not be fit to live, if they did not hate and detest the law administered in such a fashion as that. In June last Judge Johnston, in opening the Commission in Dublin, stated that he found the County Dublin was in a satisfactory state. Yet soon after this that county was proclaimed under the Act, and when questioned as to the reason for this, the Chief Secretary made an answer which, even coming from him, was astonishing; he admitted that the amount of crime in the county was by no means abnormal, and that, in fact, it was almost non-existent; but he added that, under certain circumstances, some of the powers under the Act might be required by the Government, and that therefore the county was proclaimed so that those powers might be available beforehand. It was monstrous that a county should be proclaimed, in order to enable the Government to meet circumstances which were not specified, and which might never

arise. The excuse made by the Chief Secretary for his action in the matter reminded him of the excuse of the Englishwoman who was beating her husband without a cause—that if he did not want the beating now, he should have it in case he might want it. With regard to the hon. Member for Roscommon, all that was practically alleged against him was that he had broken the law by giving certain advice to the people. But those who opposed James II. and supported William of Orange broke the law, and so did Washington in opposing the British Government, and the Neapolitans who opposed King Bomba. Yet history had vindicated those men, and history would also vindicate the hon. Member for Roscommon. It was clear now, a year after the Coercion Act had been in operation, that the Government had not used the principal clauses of the measure—namely, the summary jurisdiction clauses, for the purposes for which they said they wanted those clauses when they introduced them into Parliament. The horrible deeds which had formed the stock argument against Home Rule at Primrose League meetings had been left almost entirely untouched by the working of the Coercion Act, and the principal cases in which it had been employed were those of assaults on officers of the law arising out of unjust evictions, and those unjust evictions the Government were responsible for, for they declined to prevent them though they had the power. No one could say that those were premeditated. They were wanton crimes arising out of circumstances over which the people of Ireland had no control. Most of the cases tried under the Coercion Act were cases of the most trivial, and, at the same time, the most irritating character—cases which, if they occurred in England, Scotland, or Wales, would not be seriously treated as offences at all, but would be treated as reasons rather for altering certain unjust and oppressive laws rather than of instituting wholesale prosecutions and inflicting upon political opponents those punishments which were reserved for common criminals. There would be no advantage gained by referring to these cases at the present time more in detail; but he could tell the Government that during the Recess the people of every city and town in England would not be allowed to be without knowledge of the true state of things in Ireland and of the way in which the country was governed under this oppressive Act.

DR. FITZGERALD (Longford, S.) said, as the circumstances of the punishment of his hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon had been referred to, it would be scarcely right for him to sit by in silence. He found it impossible to discover in his own mind for what offence his hon. Friend had been tried, and for which the atrocious sentence of four months' imprisonment had been inflicted. It would be recollected that in the month of June last he (Dr. Fitzgerald) was a candidate for the constituency of South Longford, and that immediately before that time the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) had written a letter to the electors of Ayr—of which, by the way, they took no notice—in which he stated that the Representatives which were from time to time elected by the Irish people were not really the Representatives of the Irish people at all. The right hon. Gentleman and his supporters had a fair chance of sending over a candidate to try conclusions with him (Dr. Fitzgerald) in South Longford, and at one time he thought that the Attorney General for Ireland might have appeared to oppose him there. Indeed, it had been said that an hon. Baronet and friend of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham did go as far as Dublin with the intention of contesting Longford with him (Dr. Fitzgerald), but that gentleman never appeared amongst the constituency, and he (Dr. Fitzgerald) was allowed to walk over. As an English citizen for the last 15 or 20 years, and being used to political contests in this country, he was astonished to find that he was followed about by the police through the counties of Longford and Roscommon as if he was a murderer, and he wished it to become known to the country that the policeman Clear had followed them through the County Roscommon for 14 miles. He wished to know who was going to pay for the horse which the policeman killed in following them that night? He noticed that the hon. Member for the constituency in which he resided went down to Balham and consulted his political supporters under his (Dr. Fitzgerald's) very nose, and yet he made no objection, while, because Mr.

O'Kelly went through the county to introduce him (Dr. Fitzgerald) to his future constituents, they were suspected of being engaged in a conspiracy. He had a glass of port with Mr. Fitzgibbon's wife, and that was what was termed conspiracy. But what had his hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon done? He went to Boyle to address a meeting, and, being anxious to see the country, he drove, as he had said, with his hon. Friend to two or three of the principal towns in Roscommon. The Chief Inspector asked his hon. Friend the night before the meeting whether there would be any objection to a Government reporter being on the platform, and his hon. Friend said there certainly would not be any objection. If this was an illegal meeting, why did not the Head Constable say so? He would like to know, for the future guidance and protection of Irish Members, whether their meeting with their constituents was contrary to the provisions of the Crimes Act or was a conspiracy? It was only fair that that question should be answered. His hon. Friend certainly made a speech to his constituents in which he told them that if in England the Administration attempted to obtain evidence by the aid of informers in secret inquisitorial Courts, the people would kill them; and he (Dr. Fitzgerald) now repeated, from the floor of that House, as an English citizen, on the very first occasion that he had had the honour of addressing that Assembly—and he dared them to deny it—that if in England they were to establish a Court such as the Star Chamber Courts that they had in Ireland, the English people would kill them.

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne) said, he must congratulate the Irish Members on the acquisition of debating power which they had acquired in the hon. Member who had just spoken. He (Mr. Addison) thought as the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Clancy) had thrown out the threat that the English people would be well enlightened during the Recess as to the opinions of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and others on the subject of the improvement of Ireland, that they should also know the opinions of the Prelates whose words he had quoted. He found in a Manchester paper a report of a sermon by the Bishop of Waterford, in which he declared that the police of Waterford were honestly doing their duty there, and complained of the way in which, under the veil of patriotism, the police had been treated and attacked in the city of Waterford.

MR. J. O'CONNOR wished to know whether the circumstances in reference to that discourse had anything to do with politics?

MR. ADDISON said, the police ought not to be attacked when doing their duty honestly.

MR. CLANCY: Not honestly.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. ADDISON said, the police must be protected when honestly doing their duty.

MR. HARRIS (Galway, E.) said, it was the fault of the system of Irish administration that the police were unpopular, and not the fault of the people. While sitting in Court during the trial of the recent action against *The Times*, he had seen a number of policemen and other agents of Dublin Castle brought over for the purpose of swearing against himself and other men like him, and he must say that all ideas of justice and fair play left his mind as he concentrated his attention on those men, who have been trained in blood and perjury. If those men were to be brought up and examined on the Commission that was soon to sit, and if the slightest regard was paid to their oaths, and if some means were not taken to ascertain from Lord Spencer or some other competent authority who had found out how regardless of truth or honest, upright dealing those people were, they would be going into an inquisition in which English people and the Judges would have no idea of their characters or modes of action. He charged Mr. Beckett, the Resident Magistrate, and County Inspector Smith with having been engaged in a foul conspiracy to bring home the writing of certain threatening letters to an innocent man, a course for which County Inspector Smith, who then was a Sub-Inspector, was reprimanded by Lord Justice Christian; and he might also point out that notwithstanding this reprimand, Dublin Castle, in accordance with its usual method, granted that police officer promotion to the high rank he at present holds in the Constabulary. As to Mr. O'Kelly's case, he considered Mr. O'Kelly perfectly justified in giving the advice

that he did, having regard to the character of these Star Chamber inquiries. Further, he maintained that the action of the Government in sending paid Guardians to the Ballinasloe Union merely because strong language had been used at the Board, was a distinct violation of the elective principle, and it had entailed enormous expense on a poverty-stricken district and caused the greatest exasperation. It seemed as if the Government were determined, not only in political matters and on the agrarian question, but in every department of affairs to show their contempt for the wishes of the people.

MR. MAHONY (Meath, N.) said, he desired to call attention to a matter which only came to his knowledge yesterday, and he considered it a question of great importance that the facts of the case should be known in Ireland. Before he alluded to it he desired to say how much he approved of the action of the hon. Member for Roscommon. He had always held a strong opinion on the subject of the Star Chamber inquiry, and he could not understand how any man holding Irish Nationalist opinions and who had within him the spirit of manhood and of independence, could, by any possibility, give evidence before any one of these Secret Commissions of Inquiry. At the time the Crimes Act was passing through Committee in the House the Irish Members made a very fair offer to the Government, which was that they would not oppose the institution of these secret inquiries, provided they were confined to the more serious crimes. The Government had refused to accept that fair offer, and they were now using these secret inquiries for the purpose of finding out combinations of tenants not to pay unjust rents. In his opinion Irishmen were bound in honour to refuse to give any evidence whatever before these secret commissions, and he trusted that not one of his constituents would give a particle of evidence before them. As for himself, if he were called before them, he should absolutely refuse to utter a single word before them. He, therefore, thought his hon. Friend was perfectly right in recommending his constituents not to give evidence before those Courts. He now came to the matter as to which he only obtained information yesterday, and which he communicated as quickly as he could to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland. In *The Belfast Weekly News*, about 10 days or a fortnight ago, the following paragraph appeared:—

"Sale of the Verner Estate.—All the tenants of the late Sir W. E. Verner have received a circular from Mr. S. A. O'Sullivan, of the Land Purchase and Investment Society, stating that he had been authorised by Mr. Jackson, the trustee of the estate, to sell to the tenants their holdings. The following is an extract from the Circular:—'Land Purchase, Mortgage, and Investment Offices, 15½, Parliament Street, Westminster. Sale of the Verner Estate, in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, and Monaghan.—Dear Sir,—I have been instructed by the trustees of this estate to sell the lands in the occupation of the tenants, and I have now to inform you that I have made arrangements accordingly. Negotiations have been proceeding for some months past with the Irish Land Commissioners, who were empowered to purchase estates provided that a certain proportion of the tenants are willing to buy the holdings. All the maps, &c., called for are now ready.'"

That appeared to be the first intimation that the tenants had received.

"The negotiations with the Land Commissioners require that the tenants' undertakings should be lodged without delay, and I therefore send you a proposal (form A.), which please fill up and return to me not later than Friday next."

That did not give much time for consideration.

"I have arranged that holdings not purchased by tenants will be sold to a Company here—the United Kingdom Ground Rent and Mortgage Investment Society, Limited. I may remark that when the proposal for sale was first mentioned to the Land Commission, we required about two years' purchase more than the rate now decided upon."

The inference being that the Land Commission and these gentlemen had decided upon a certain rate of purchase—

"And as the altered terms are final no modification need be proposed by the tenants."

This was one of the free bargains that they heard so much about. Then he went on to illustrate how the thing worked, but in his illustrations omitted to call the tenants' attention to the fact that they would in future have to pay all the rates and taxes. This S. A. O'Sullivan—about whom he (Mr. Mahony) knew nothing—had, he understood, been negotiating sales between landlords and tenants in different parts of the country—the Verner estate—and he was also told the estate of Mr. Greville Nugent, in the County of Limerick. Now,

if that circular was correct, it implied that negotiations had been carried on for some considerable period between Mr. O'Sullivan and the Land Commission without any notice whatever having been given to the tenants. But he wished it to be distinctly understood that he did not say that the Land Commissioners had carried on any such negotiations; but Mr. O'Sullivan distinctly implied that they did, and he thought that the House was entitled to an answer from the hon. Gentleman as to whether the Land Commissioners had carried on any such negotiations behind the backs of the tenants, and whether it was a custom of theirs, and whether on any occasion they had fixed upon terms of purchase without previously consulting with the tenants? He would also ask whether negotiations for the sale and purchase of land in Ireland were still conducted by the Irish Land Commissioners, although as a fact they had no money with which to conclude the purchase? If it was found that the Commissioners were carrying on those negotiations, although the money had run out, the House, no doubt, would be informed in the Autumn Session, when the Government came to ask for more money, that there were a number of cases in which all the terms were arranged on which they were virtually obliged to advance the money for the purchase of the land, and, surely, the House would not refuse to grant it. He thought they were entitled to an assurance in that House that no further negotiations would be conducted by the Land Commissioners until Parliament had decided to give a further advance of money, which he hoped it would not do, at any rate, on the present basis. He maintained that there was a direct proof in those cases that the unfortunate tenants were, in the first instance, compelled to agree to exorbitant prices, and, in the second place, that the Land Commission sanctioned terms which were very unfair, considering that the tenants had an interest in the holdings as well as the landlords. Now, to come to another statement in the letter—

"I have arranged that holdings not purchased by the tenants will be sold to a company here—the United Kingdom Ground Rent and Mortgage Investment Society, Limited."

How was the unfortunate tenant in the counties of Armagh and Tyrone to know anything about this Mortgage Investment Company in London? He might not have a very favourable experience of his landlord in Ireland; but he (Mr. Mahony) would think that in most cases he would prefer him to this speculating Company in London. He proposed to enlighten the tenants in this case as regarded this Company in London. A friend of his had taken some trouble to inquire into the status of the Company. He called at Somerset House to see the memorandum of association. He found that the Company had been registered on the 14th of May, 1888, with a nominal capital of £1,000,000, in 100,000 shares of £10 each. Five per cent of the shares was to go in the formation of 10 founders' shares. Mr. S. A. O'Sullivan, the writer of that letter, owned seven out of the 10 founders' shares, and Mr. Thomas Cross, of Piccadilly, an estate agent, of whom he (Mr. Mahony) knew nothing, held the other three founders' shares. It appeared that, in addition to the 10 founders' shares, it was necessary that there should be five other shareholders in order to constitute the property to register the Company. Well, five other shareholders held one share each. His friend then went to the office of the Company, and he found that the Company had its offices in Mr. O'Sullivan's chambers. He tendered a shilling, and demanded his right to see the list of shareholders of the Company, and, after a good deal of hesitation on the part of Mr. O'Sullivan, he acknowledged that there were no shareholders except those that were registered at Somerset House; and that was the Company with which the unfortnnate tenants in Tyrone and Armagh were threatened. Now, he wanted an assurance from the hon. Gentlemen opposite that the Land Commissioners would exercise great caution in dealing with those public Companies, that they would take steps to inquire very carefully whether they were negotiating sales between landlords and tenants; whether any form of pressure had been brought to bear on tenants to make those purchases; and that they would specially inquire whether they were threatened by being told that public Companies or other people were ready to purchase their holdings.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he wished to point out that the intention of the Land Purchase Act was to enable tenants in Ireland to become the owners of their holdings, and if any transaction was entered into with the fugleman of a swindling company by the tenants in the purchase of their interests, the effect very plainly would be, not only to fail to carry out the intentions of the Land Purchase Act, but to defeat the intentions of that Act by preventing the tenants from becoming owners of their holdings, and by placing the exchequer of the estate in the hands of a person who could hardly be adequately described except at the bar of the Old Bailey. With reference to the case of the hon. Member for Roscommon he wished to point out the incongruity that had been shown in the action of the Government in causing his hon. Friend to be arrested and taken from his Parliamentary duties in London, while their Bench of Removables admitted him to bail as a matter of course, thereby testifying the fact that they had no apprehension as to his hon. Friend not appearing when called upon to answer the charge. The incongruity of such a course of action was indefensible, and he asked the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland to give them an undertaking that if in the future—but he need scarcely employ the word "if"—rather would he say "when"—in future an attack was made by the Irish Government upon a Member of Parliament in the discharge of his duty, the Government would act upon what was their belief, as shown by the conduct of their agents in Ireland, that he was a Gentleman who would attend if called upon at any time, and that they would have sufficient regard to the political sanctity of his constitutional duties to give him some intimation otherwise than by arrest. He would now call attention to the evidence given by Constable Clear in reference to his treatment of witnesses examined at the Star Chamber in the County Roscommon. That constable was engaged as a trainer of witnesses before the Star Chamber Court, to which his hon. Friend in his speech objected, and he (Mr. Sexton) would ask if any such proceeding took place in England—if they found a constable in the witness-box admitting on his oath that he had been debauching witnesses, suborning perjury, and bringing them up to the adequate swearing point, would not an hon. Member feel it to be his duty when next he saw the persons who elected him, and amidst whom such proceedings were being enacted, to call attention to that crime and outrage? Constable Clear admitted that he could not state to how many witnesses he had given drink or how much, and he also declared that he gave that drink "in the ordinary course of business." He would ask what was the "business" there alluded to, and what was its "ordinary course?" Was it the procuring of convictions, right or wrong, and did the case of Members of Parliament come within the "ordinary course" of that business? Those questions ought to receive an answer. The magistrate who held the secret inquiry did not appear to have reported that constable or to have rejected or questioned the evidence of any of the witnesses produced by such a disgraceful system. The analogy of the practice of Scotland or of France in regard to private inquiries did not apply in this instance, because in Scotland and in France the examining functionary examined into real crime, whereas in the case of the Star Chamber inquiries in Ireland the examination was held into acts which they had fabricated into crime for political purposes by an Act passed by a political party in defiance of the ancient rights of the Legislature. His hon. Friend having advised his constituents in the discharge of his duty was found guilty by two servants of the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite, who sentenced him to four months' imprisonment as a common criminal. He would tell him, and he would respectfully tell the House, that the effect of the prosecution, conviction, and imprisonment of his hon. Friend would be to defeat the purpose of the Government. Their purpose was to uphold the Star Chamber Courts—their purpose was to induce people to come forward and give evidence. Would that purpose be furthered by the imprisonment of his hon. Friend? Why every person in Ireland would feel that his hon. Friend had simply acted according to the dictates of his conscience, and his imprisonment would shed a lurid light on the action of the constabulary and upon the system by which in the Star Chamber Courts in Ireland igno-

rant men, by these degrading practices, were trained to give evidence that would take away the liberty of their fellow subjects. If the Government had been willing to confine their Star Chamber Courts to real crime, he ventured to think that his hon. Friend or any other Member of the Irish Party would have paused before they made any attack upon these tribunals. These Courts were not used to discover crime, but to prevent political action and to defeat social combination. The Government directed the Star Chamber Courts against trades unions and against combination of the Irish tenants. They directed them in Ireland against the exercise of that right which in England they dare not touch, and where it was exercised by the humblest labourer in the factory, workshop, or mine. In punishing the man who had denounced that system, the Government had given a death blow to those Star Chamber Courts by making them, if possible, more odious and hateful than ever to the people. The conduct of the removable magistrates in condemning his hon. Friend to be treated as a common felon for acting on the impulsion of his conscience was nothing less than an indecency. Turning next to the case of Father M'Fadden, the hon. Member said that that priest, who had stood between his parishioners and their tyrant, as he had a right to do, was convicted, but the Court directed that he should be treated as a first-class misdemeanant. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had sought to attach to Father M'Fadden the taint of immoral conduct in regard to the advice he gave to the tenants, and the rev. gentleman wrote to the Press in vindication of his character. A Star Chamber inquiry was held, and as the conduct of Father M'Fadden was to be the subject of investigation, the rev. gentleman wished to be admitted to give evidence; but that request was refused, the inquiry was held behind his back, and he was condemned. Then followed more harsh and rigorous ill-treatment. The window of his cell, where there was no chimney, was blocked up, and all ventilation or fresh air was excluded. There was nothing for him to look at for weeks and months together but four whitewashed walls—a thing calculated to destroy a man's sight. In addition to this he had not been allowed to send out any letters, and he had been deprived of the right of having food supplied to him as a first-class misdemeanant. He had received two telegrams—one stating that Father M'Fadden had been deprived of this right, and the other stating that on being visited by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), he had been also denied the right of speaking about his prison treatment. When a question was put by the hon. Member on the subject to Father M'Fadden, the visit was immediately cut short, and the rev. gentleman hustled away by the warders to his cell. Because he had fulfilled his duty as a pastor in standing up for a defenceless people, he had been thrown into prison and subjected to such treatment there that his hair had turned grey, and he was now visibly failing and drooping and sinking into the grave. He was now deprived of his rights in prison because he had endeavoured to prove that a charge made against him by the Chief Secretary was false. Was it then come to this that an English gentleman took this means to protect his honour and vindicate his veracity? He had referred to the case of Mr. Latchford, of Tralee, and his veracity had been called in question in that case. The Solicitor General had stated four times in answer to him that the order of the Court of Exchequer was not based on the facts of the case, and that the facts of the case had not been before the Court of Exchequer. In regard to this case the Solicitor General had departed once from the truth, and the Chief Secretary twice, for in addition to stating that the Court never had the evidence before them, the Chief Secretary also stated that Mr. Latchford had resorted to violence while the matter in dispute was still *sub judice*, and had infringed an order of the Court, while at the time of the occurrence Mr. Latchford had received no such legal document. As to the statement that the facts of the case had not been before the Court, he was informed by the solicitor to Mr. Latchford that the order of the Court of Exchequer of the 4th August recited the evidence on which the *habeas corpus* was granted, "including the depositions of all the witnesses examined before Messrs. Roche and Massey." The solicitor further, in the communication which he now held in his hand, said, "It is not true that the facts of the alleged riot were not before the Court." Referring to the audacious pretence of

the Government that there was no personal matter between Mr. Latchford and Mr. Roche, which disqualified the latter from acting as a judge in the case, he might quote Mr. Latchford's speech at the indignation meeting in Tralee, condemning the action of Mr. Roche in batoning men, women, and children in the streets of the town in such a manner that but for the good temper of the people there might have resulted fearful loss of life. Mr. Latchford also signed a petition praying for the removal of Mr. Roche from Tralee. Then when he went to exercise his legal rights and was obstructed and attacked by a body of men who went there for the purpose, Mr. Latchford was sent to be tried under the Coercion Act by the very Cecil Roche whom, in a public speech, he had condemned. Let the Solicitor General justify this if he could, and though he seemed ingenious enough to justify anything, if ever there was a case in which he would find difficulty in doing so, this was the one. The 23 other prisoners charged with riot on the same occasion were let off, and Colonel Turner —who had had the people batoned and bayoneted at Ennis—stated that this was done on the ground of leniency after the ringleader was convicted. He thought, however, that the real reason was not leniency, but the fact that after the police had been incubating the evidence for three weeks and found there was no case, the men were of necessity let off. Mr. Latchford was convicted of an impossible offence; and though the Court of Exchequer may have released him simply on a technical ground, the order of the 4th August showed that they had the evidence before them, and Mr. Baron Dowse showed himself fully cognizant of the character of that evidence. He (Mr. Sexton) denounced the conviction of Mr. Latchford as illegal, indecent, grotesque, and unworthy of even a Turkish pashalik. The Solicitor General was one of the administrators of the law in Ireland. Was it too much to ask him and his friends to act within the law themselves, not to prohibit constitutional meetings, and not treat with violence the people who held those meetings. The Government, too, had no right to use violence to political prisoners, nor, indeed, to any prisoners, unless it was necessary to make the prisoners refrain from using violence themselves. They knew the way in which the unfortunate Mr. Mandeville had been treated, although the highest authority had declared that there was no right to enforce by violence the wearing of prison clothes, which were only intended to meet the case where the prisoner had no other suit. Another statutory right of prisoners—namely, that which entitled them to two hours' walking exercise daily, had been infringed by the Irish Government, and the Prisons Board had actually deprived men of this right by way of punishing them. He would not now go into the case of Mr. Mandeville, which would yet form the subject of a great indictment against the Government; but he claimed the observance by the Irish Government of those two rights of prisoners which he had mentioned—protection from personal violence and two hours' daily exercise. The Government had no right to break down the health of a prisoner. In England, no matter what his crime might be, a prisoner must be released when it appeared that imprisonment was undermining his health and placing his life in danger. The reverse seemed the principle in Ireland, for when the Government there got a political prisoner into their hands—a man who had been simply discharging his duty to his people—they tortured him, deprived him of his walking exercise, and did everything to undermine his health and put his life in danger. If they had constitutional power corresponding to the justice of their case, they could impeach Ministers under the law of this country of having taken every occasion possible to deliberately destroy the rights of the people in Ireland, and to provoke the people into violence and insurrection. The Irish Government was now going to be free for some time from Parliamentary supervision, but let him warn them how they used their powers during that time. They were bound, while enforcing the law, to keep within the law themselves. And he warned them that during the Recess the scrutiny of their actions, not merely by the Irish people and the Irish Members, but by the Liberal Members and the people of England, would be close and constant. He warned them that if in endeavouring to defeat the political rights of Ireland they went beyond the law, and they had before gone beyond it, they would be

called to a speedy and a certain account of their misdoings.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth) said, he thought that the views of the Liberal Members of Great Britain ought to be given expression to, although there were but few of them present that day. He regretted to see on the benches near him only two Liberal Members from England, three from Scotland, and one from Wales. It had been very pleasant on Friday night to hear the compliments that passed across the floor of the House with reference to the Local Government Bill; but while those congratulatory speeches were being made did it ever enter the minds of hon. Gentlemen that Ireland had had no share of that beneficial legislation? Parliament had improved the system of Local Government in England, and had given the English people more power to manage their own affairs, and yet they persistently refused to their Irish fellow subjects the same rights in that direction. In our sorrow and in our joy "up came Ireland." There must be some reason for that, and the only one he could think of was that we treated that country with injustice, and all injustice rose up against those who perpetrated it. What had men done for Ireland this Session? Law and order had been enforced in a certain way. That was all. Years ago they used to hear "Order reigns in Warsaw," where the people's rights had been entirely extinguished and overborne, and that rather tragical joke was now applicable to the state of things in Ireland. The Government might say what they liked about establishing law and order in Ireland; but any order which was brought about in a country by neglecting the wants and wishes of the people, and setting aside the demands they made—such order was a mockery, delusion, and a snare. The manner in which Irish Members had been treated that Session caused him deep pain. Outside the House detectives had being lying in wait ready to pounce upon and arrest the Representatives of the Irish people. Many of the Members of that House had seen the hon. Member for West Cork arrested just beyond the precincts, and hurried off to the police station by the myrmidons of the law on a cold winter's night. It was a most distressing scene, and one which he should never forget. It was a humiliating thought that a Member of this House, who was one of the most popular men in Ireland, should now be in gaol enduring a sentence of six months' imprisonment for advocating the rights of his countrymen. These things could not go on very much longer, and he would appeal to his hon. Friends from Ireland to continue to show that patience which they now displayed, taking care not to commit any rash or unlawful deed which would give a handle to those who supported the unfortunate policy of Her Majesty's Government. On behalf of his Radical Friends, he could assure their hon. Friends from Ireland that they would not be forgotten during the next three months, and that every effort would be made to explain to the English people the true state of their case. He was not without hope that when they met together again their position would be brighter and more hopeful than it was now, and that they would be able to point with increased confidence to the day when Irishmen would have the same rights, liberties, and privileges as were enjoyed by those who resided in other parts of the United Kingdom.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) said, that he was sorry that the end of the Session had arrived without a word having been uttered by the Government, not only in reference to Ireland, but as to the condition of the people in the neighbourhood of London. He was aware that a man who always spoke upon one subject was considered a bore; but, even at the risk of being as "tedious as a king," he felt it necessary to bestow his tediousness upon the House on this, the last day of the Session, and without the slightest hope of raising any interest in anyone's heart or of doing any good to people whose cause he wished to advocate. He thought there was no one but would agree with him in thinking that it was an unpleasant duty for a Member to stand in the face of hostile Colleagues on both sides of the House to speak for an unpopular cause. It was unpleasant for him to take up the attitude he was now adopting, but he felt compelled to do violence to his own feelings in this matter, and also to do violence to the feelings of many hon. Members in the House. He did not apologize to his Irish Friends in standing between them

and the answer of the Solicitor General for Ireland. He did not apologize, because he knew that the first day Home Rule was granted to Ireland Members would find themselves face to face with similar questions in Dublin to those existing in London to which he wished to draw attention. It had always seemed to him an indisputable fact that every day they put off the discussion of this question of the unemployed made it more acute, more dangerous, and more difficult of solution when they at last came to deal with it. He would ground his case upon a few particular and general aspects of the question. He did not think there was a single Member who would deny that in London, Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, Dundee, and the large centres of the United Kingdom, wherever they had the two extremes existing, they there had the greatest wealth and the most abject misery. Assuming that they would never see a trade go back to the proportions it had done during the past 20 years, it was only a question of mathematical progression to assume that the day will come when the 50,000 unemployed now existing in London would reach 300,000 or 400,000—and when he said unemployed he did not mean the dockyard men, the street corner men, the roughs of Whitechapel and the East End of London, but the unemployed in the ranks of the genuine working men. And when the number of unemployed assumed such proportions, it was fair to believe that the idea would cross these men's brains—he did not wish it to, but he was afraid it would—that they might as well die fighting as starving. In this direction he could not help looking back to what happened some years ago, when riots and disturbances were initiated in London. An immense amount of injury was done to the tradespeople, and large numbers of strangers from America and elsewhere were deterred from visiting the Metropolis. The breaking out of a tumult such as would result from the presence of such a number of unemployed and disaffected people as he referred to would be almost destructive of London trade, and, he ventured to think, would be the beginning of a downward career in this country which he, for one, wished to see avoided. He would ask any Member of the House whether he did not admit what he (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) and those who thought with him declared to be true—namely, that here in London they were living upon a volcano, and that they could not endure that for another three or four years unless something was done to improve the condition of the working classes? He did not wish to open a socialistic discussion; but he felt bound to point out that very little would satisfy these people and render their lives more tolerable to them. To show the condition in which large numbers of the people in London lived, it was only necessary to say that he had visited some of the most miserable districts in London, and that he had seen amongst the chainmakers, for instance, women stripped to the waist and working in the midst of men, who were also naked to the waist. He would ask anyone whether that was work for a woman, especially when it was remembered that the remuneration was only 4*s.* a-week? He would ask whether they would not, perhaps, be doing well by directing attention to the condition of such people, and endeavouring by legislation to make their lives happier—as they unquestionably had shown they could do by the passing of the Factory Acts? Were men and women who were removed from starvation by the narrowest margin interested in political changes? Did they care, for one moment, whether the Conservative or Liberal Party were in power? Neither Party had or ever would do anything for them, notwithstanding that all that these people cared for was that they might get enough to eat, and that after 50 years of toil there should be something better for them than the skilly of the Christian workhouse. These, and these only, were the questions which interested the residuum of the working classes of this country, and these were the questions that no section of the Parties in the House had ever directed its attention to during the time he had sat in the House. There was yet time to do something. The winter was still three or four months distant from us. If the Government would only—as he feared they would not—take this matter into their consideration, and endeavour to deal with the great and deep danger which was undoubtedly impending, they would have the concurrence of every honest

man outside the House, as he believed they would have the concurrence of every honest-minded Member on both sides of the House. They should do something to render the lives of these peoples less intolerable to them, and to alter the state of things which was daily converting England more and more into a hell for the poor and a paradise for the rich.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, that the speeches which had been addressed to the House by hon. Members opposite had travelled over a very wide field indeed, and he mentioned this, not by way of complaint, but by way of explanation, so that the House might understand that it was not possible for him at this period to deal in a thorough and exhaustive way with the topics which had been presented to them by the speakers who had addressed the House. He would, however, endeavour to deal with the chief matters that had been brought forward. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had referred to the evidence given by a constable in the case of the prosecution of the hon. Member for Roscommon. The hon. Member (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) very fairly declared that he would not discuss the circumstances of the case, as an appeal was pending; but the hon. Member seemed to forget that his remarks on the constable's evidence really bore upon the pending litigation. It was in the course of a cross-examination which was intended to shake his credit as a witness that the evidence was elicited. At the appeal before the County Court Judge this man could be again examined and cross-examined, and therefore to discuss the matter now would be an exceedingly improper proceeding. What would hon. Members think if the reverse were the case, and if he were to comment upon evidence given by a witness for the accused, for the purpose of discrediting the witness? It would be justly said that he was attempting to prejudice the case. Therefore he could do no more at present than to read to the House, without comment, and merely by way of information, a statement which he had just received as to the constable's evidence. It had been charged in the debate that this man admitted having suborned perjury—that he said he ordered drink "in the ordinary way of business," and that meant the suborning of perjury, or the procuring of evidence at any rate. The statement which he had received was to the effect that that Clear said he was on friendly terms with the Castlerea people; that about 80 persons were examined at the preliminary inquiry before Mr. Townsend, R.M., that he often had a drink with some of them, but that he did not give drink for the purpose of inducing them to give evidence. Furthermore, he treated them out of his own pocket, and the cost did not come out of the funds provided by anyone else. It was suggested by an hon. and learned Member that Mr. O'Kelly's offence amounted to sedition, and reference was made to the Prisons Act of 1877. On the appeal, if that was a good point, Mr. O'Kelly would have the full benefit of it; but it was not for the House to discuss the matter pending the appeal. Various observations were addressed to the House with regard to what were called "Star Chamber" proceedings, and it was asked what would be thought of such a secret inquiry in any other part of the Kingdom? But then the remark was rather suddenly narrowed to England, because the hon. Member who made it saw the Lord Advocate in his place, and he was quite aware that a proceeding which was similar in all substantial principles had long existed in Scotland. ["No, no."] He repeated that a preliminary proceeding which was in all substantial particulars similar, though not identical, with those proceedings in Ireland had been from time immemorial, or, at all events, for a long period, with the approbation of all sections of the community, existing in Scotland; and it was considered a most valuable part of legal procedure in that part of the Kingdom.

MR. SEXTON: Only for crime.

MR. MADDEN agreed that it was for crime. But the hon. Member must be aware that under the Act of last year a secret inquiry could not be held until information had been sworn that a crime had been committed. The hon. Member took up the position that conspiracies such as the Plan of Campaign were not crime. He was not going, at this period of the day, to argue that question. Hon. Members would probably retain their

own opinions as to whether these conspiracies were criminal or not, and he would retain his; but what he wanted to point out was that this procedure could not be called into operation except under the condition he had stated. Hon. Members were aware that, under the Act of 1882, a similar procedure, but without some of the safeguards which were introduced into the present Act, was in operation all over Ireland. Nevertheless, hon. Members opposite took upon themselves to advise that this process of law which was deliberately adopted by Parliament for the purpose of detecting crime should be prevented, as far as possible, from being carried into effect. That was a most significant fact, and he hoped it would be duly noted. The hon. Member (Mr. Clancy) had again referred to the question of conspiracy in connection with the Boycotting prosecutions. He admitted that the hon. Member appeared to have studied the subject; but he could not agree with him in his conclusions. He had entered into detail upon this subject a few days ago; but he would again call the attention of the House to the fact that the depositions in the case referred to only contained a portion of the evidence upon which the prisoners were sentenced. The depositions were the ground of conviction before the magistrates, but the prisoners appealed, and it was with reference to the appeal that his observations were made, when he stated that further *vivâ voce* evidence was taken and various important matters were proved, which supported the charge of conspiracy to induce others not to deal. With regard to the Land Commission, he would remind hon. Members that the Chief Secretary stated that the Government had appointed a number of additional lay Sub-Commissioners for the purpose of attaching them to existing Sub-Commissions presided over by legal Sub-Commissioners, thus very much increasing the working power of each Sub-Commission. It was said—"Oh, this proposition was made to the Government some months ago, and why did they not then adopt it?" The reason was plain. A Bill was introduced by the Government which would have dealt, as they believed, with the block of business in the Land Courts in a way which would have rapidly got it under and disposed of it. That Bill was objected to and opposed, but the Government were in hopes of passing it up to a recent period. From pressure of Business it had been found impossible to do so at present, and the Government were left face to face with the block. They were unable to make provision for the existing state of affairs by this Bill, and then they did the next best thing possible by appointing extra Sub-Commissioners. The hon. Member (Mr. Mahony) had called attention to a Circular which appeared to have been addressed to the tenants of a considerable property in the North of Ireland. That Circular, he hoped, and had not the smallest doubt, would be fully considered by the Land Commission when the facts were brought before them, and he felt certain that the various matters to which attention had been called would receive due consideration at their hands. The hon. Member asked for an assurance that nothing would be done by the Land Commission which would pledge the House to a further advance of public money for land purchase. It was perfectly obvious that nothing of the kind could be done by the Land Commission. Hon. Members might disabuse their minds of the idea that any contract or arrangement would be entered into by the Land Commissioners which would in any way prejudge the question upon which the House would be asked to decide during the Autumn Session—namely, whether or not there should be an additional sum of money voted for the purposes of Lord Ashbourne's Act. In further answer to the hon. Member (Mr. Mahony), he had to say that the powers of purchasing a whole estate, if exercised by the Land Commission, would be used for the benefit of the tenantry of Ireland—for the purpose of facilitating occupying tenants in becoming the owners of their holdings. He did not believe that the hon. Member need be under any apprehension that steps such as he contemplated would be taken over the heads of the tenants, or without due consultation with them. The hon. Member had called attention to a Company of which he (Mr. Madden) knew nothing. All he could say was that if that Company were suggested to the Land Commission as a proposed purchaser, or as taking part in transactions to which the Land Commission was asked to be a party, he had not the least doubt that all the circumstances

to which the hon. Member had called attention would be carefully examined by the Commission before they entered into any such arrangement. As to the idea of pressure having been put upon the tenants, he was convinced that if any such thing existed, the Land Commissioners would absolutely decline to have anything to do with the matter. He thought the hon. Gentleman might make his mind easy on that subject. With reference to the remarks of the hon. Member for West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) respecting the case of Father M'Fadden, he was not able to make any statement to the House regarding the telegram which had been read, but hon. Members might be certain that the rights of the rev. gentleman as a first-class misdemeanant would be strictly observed. The investigation which had been made as to several matters mentioned was purely a departmental examination with which the prisoner had nothing to do. He was not, therefore, present.

Mr. SEXTON: Is it not a legal right of first-class misdemeanants to have their food supplied from outside the prison?

Mr. MADDEN said, he thought it very probable it was, but he had not the prison rules before him. He had not the slightest reason to suppose that any of the rights of this first-class misdemeanant had been taken away; any complaint which might be brought forward of the deprival of any such rights would, no doubt, be fairly and thoroughly considered. Then the case of Mr. Latchford had been referred to. He was convicted under the Crimes Act, and the Chief Secretary had said that the conviction was quashed, not upon the evidence, but upon a technical point. That statement was absolutely correct. At the first application, as reported in *The Freeman's Journal* of August 6, 1888, the depositions in the Court below appeared to have been read, not to the Court of Exchequer, but to the Chief Baron, who made the conditional order on a technical point, on the ground of the order absolutely excluding from the Court any question on the evidence.

Mr. SEXTON: Excluding evidence from the knowledge of the Court.

Mr. MADDEN, continuing, said, the counsel for the accused, in opening the case, took the objection that there was no sufficient legal description of the offence in the commitment. That was the only ground on which the conditional order was granted, that was the only matter argued before the Court of Exchequer, and on that point the conviction was quashed, and, having regard to the form in which the conditional order was granted, the Court of Exchequer had no power to go into the evidence. The Judges, in fact, only held that the statement of the offence in the conviction should be more specific, and should have shown that the person convicted had taken part with others in a riot. It would be seen from statements in *The Cork Examiner* and *The Kerry Sentinel* that a riot actually occurred, and he submitted that the authorities were fully justified in prosecuting only the man in whose interest the riot occurred, and in withdrawing the charges against the people who were merely his dupes and instruments. The fact was that Mr. Latchford took the law into his own hands while legal proceedings were pending as to the matter in dispute.

Mr. SEXTON: No. The alleged riot took place on June 25, and the civil proceedings were not instituted till July 5.

Mr. MADDEN said, he had read the accounts of what had actually occurred from newspapers not unfavourable to hon. Members opposite; and those reports showed that the riot was a serious one.

Mr. SEXTON: Was anyone hurt?

Mr. MADDEN replied that that was not the point. The dispute between Mr. Latchford and his neighbours was really irrelevant. What he wished to make plain was that the Court of Exchequer did not go into the circumstances of the case, but quashed the conviction on a technical point. It was said that the other persons who took part in the riot were not convicted. It was, however, quite fair to take legal proceedings only against the person in the assertion of whose alleged rights the riot was perpetrated. Moreover, as a matter of law, beyond all question the withdrawal of the prosecution against the other persons did not affect the validity of the conviction of the principal offender.

Colonel NOLAN (Galway, N.) remarked that the hon. and learned Gentleman treated the government of Ire-

land as a game, and wanted to point out that the rules of the game had been strictly followed. The hon. and learned Gentleman had not attempted, however, to defend the game itself. The whole case by which Mr. Latchford was convicted was illegal; but what hope was there that Mr. Latchford would receive that compensation to which he undoubtedly had a claim? The Solicitor General for Ireland tried to argue that the ultimate acquittal of the gentleman in question was due to a technical irregularity. If that were so, and he did not admit that it was, could there be a more glaring instance of neglect in appointing magistrates who were versed in the law? But, putting aside particular questions, could there, taking a general view, be a more melancholy record for a Session—so far as Ireland was concerned. What a wretched game the Government were playing in Ireland. What had the Government done for Ireland this Session? A system existed under which the Members from Ireland were supposed to have a share in the government of their country. But Her Majesty's Government had been chiefly occupied in imprisoning Irish Members. A Member of Parliament, by the very nature of his duties, came into contact with the official classes in Ireland, and yet he was sent before those very officials to be tried. The sending of a large number of persons to prison was a mockery and a parody of the free institutions of other countries. Prisoners, including Members of Parliament, priests, and commercial men, were treated with extraordinary harshness, and it was surprising there had been no death among the Government victims other than that of Mr. Mandeville. He (Colonel Nolan) had been several times in Galway prison, and, in his view, the greatest torture imposed on the prisoners was the total deprivation of mental exercise. If the Government put political opponents in gaol, they ought at least to supply them with books, and make their condition as easy as possible. Her Majesty's Government derived £7,500,000 a-year from Ireland. When the Government came into power two years ago great promises were made by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), then Leader of that House, that the material prosperity of Ireland should be developed; but the Government had done absolutely nothing to redeem those promises. True there were Drainage Bills introduced; but that was a mere pretence, because dealing, though those Bills did, with novel conditions of taxation and costly engineering plans, no opportunity was given for discussion. All this while the Government had been drawing from Ireland more than £15,000,000 in taxation. So matters would go on until the next General Election approached, and then all the fine promises would be renewed. It was the saddest, most disgraceful Session—so far as Ireland was concerned—that for many years had been recorded; but happily there was nothing in it with which Irish Members could reproach themselves.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) said, he wished to call attention to a matter of urgency, regretting that the Home Secretary was absent. That right hon. Gentleman was charged with the duty of advising the Queen in the exercise of clemency in capital cases, but lately a practice had been growing up of delaying the decision in such cases to almost the last moment. Only the other day, in a notorious case, the decision of the Home Secretary was not communicated to the condemned criminal until the evening preceding the day appointed for execution. This was practically returning to the barbarous custom of old days, when a criminal was condemned on one day and executed the next. There was a growing feeling that this unnecessary delay was an aggravating cruelty and a public scandal. His reason for mentioning it was that there was a young man now lying in Newgate under sentence of death, and, without in the slightest degree wishing to encroach on the heavy responsibility that rested upon the Home Secretary, he urged this public request that the decision should be communicated to this unhappy man a reasonable time before the day fixed for execution, so that he might be able to prepare for his end.

MR. J. NOLAN (Louth, N.) said, the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, in his speech on the case of Mr. Latchford, had carefully avoided two things in that case of which all lovers of justice had to complain—that a special crimes court was set up when the ordinary law ought to have been employed, and that one of the magis-

trates sent to try the case was a personal enemy of the gentleman to be tried, and not only a personal enemy, but a man notorious for his extreme and reckless views on things in general—a gentleman who, as had already been stated, had said on a public platform in England that he would fight against the Home Rulers until hell was frozen over, and continue the struggle on the ice. It was surprising that no Member from the other side, political opponents though they were, had risen to protest against the manner in which Mr. O'Kelly had been arrested at midnight and conveyed to Ireland like a felon. It was like the incidents in the worst days of Russian rule when offenders were carried away to Siberia. He felt bound to denounce the system by which police witnesses were drugged with drink; it was a common practice. Outside Dublin there was a regular nursery for Crown witnesses, where they were fed and schooled in the nefarious work of swearing away the liberties of innocent men and luring ignorant peasants to deeds of violence. It had been said that the people of Ireland had no friendly feelings toward the police. Unfortunately that was true, but the police authorities were altogether to blame. The police, hounded on by their superiors, had acted most brutally towards the people of Dundalk on the occasion of Mr. Dillon's imprisonment in June last. Many of the people of the town had been permanently injured by the police, and yet the Chief Secretary had declared that the police had done nothing. Whoever had supplied the right hon. Gentleman with such information had put a lie in his mouth, and that would be very soon proved by a Return of the injured which was now being prepared. He would read for hon. Members opposite a passage from a letter he received only yesterday from a friend in Dundalk. It stated that a gentleman who had seen Mr. Dillon in gaol says that—

"Poor Dillon looks very bad. He will find it hard to pull through the six months. He (the visitor) thinks he will not live. The confinement is killing him."

He (Mr. Nolan) believed that hon. Members would not regard that statement with equanimity. He hoped that during the Recess they would do what they could to prevent the murder of one of the noblest and most upright men in Ireland or England. The Irish people could not do much for Mr. Dillon under the circumstances; but if they had the privilege of a free nation, and if Mr. Dillon was done to death, there would be many fixed bayonets at his funeral. As things stood, they must content themselves by appealing to hon. Gentlemen opposite not to allow a political opponent to be murdered in so cruel a way.

MR. A. SUTHERLAND (Sutherland) said, he regretted that neither the Lord Advocate nor the Solicitor General for Scotland was present, because he wanted some information on points of administrative detail in the Highlands of Scotland. He had had on the paper a few days ago a question regarding the release of a person who was imprisoned for riot, and who had been kept in gaol for several months, although *primâ facie* evidence of the strongest nature had been given of his innocence. He could understand why the Executive for Scotland had stood in the way of a full investigation, because he believed that a formal investigation into all the circumstances would reveal a state of matters with regard to the administration of justice, even in the higher courts of Scotland, that would not be very creditable. There was another question which he had postponed at the request of the Lord Advocate. It was whether the Secretary for Scotland was now in a position to release the man forthwith; and also whether bail had been refused in the case of a man who has surrendered himself to justice. He also wished to ask why a man who was arrested and committed for trial seven or eight months ago, but who was bailed out, and against whom the charge was departed from, his bail bond had not yet been returned to him, and why proceedings had been kept hanging over his head for seven months. He regretted that the Lord Advocate was not in his place to answer these questions; but there was this to be said for his Lordship, that he (Mr. Angus Sutherland) had given no notice of bringing on this matter.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, that if the hon. Gentleman would furnish him with the particulars of the cases to which he had referred, he would take care that they should be inquired into, and a communi-

cation would be made to the hon. Gentleman at once.

MR. A. SUTHERLAND said, he would do so.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he hoped now (5.10) that discussion would be allowed to come to a conclusion as there were several small matters which had to be disposed of after this Motion.

MR. SEXTON said, he hoped the Government would give attention to the facts laid before them by the Irish Members. There would, under the circumstances, be no objection to the Adjournment.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he wished to draw attention to the conduct of the police in West Muskerry, and especially to the case of Mr. Credon, of Clonakilty, who was assaulted by the police. He himself had to complain of ill-treatment at the hands of the constabulary. He had got his head broken, was knocked down and kicked insensibly by the police, but that was, of course, in the ordinary routine of the life of a Nationalist Member of Parliament in Ireland, and he supposed they would have to submit to it while the Chief Secretary was in power. He wished, also, to bring under the notice of the House the action of the Government in appointing Mr. Hegarty, of Ballyvourney, to the Commission of the Peace, simply because he was an agent of the Emergency Association. That was the class of man the Government appointed to harass the enemy; and while it continued it would be subversive of all law and order in Ireland.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE.

On the Motion of Mr. William Henry Smith, Bill for establishing a Board of Agriculture for Great Britain, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. William Henry Smith, Mr. Secretary Matthews and Viscount Lewisham.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 379.]

LOCAL BANKRUPTCY (IRELAND) [SALARIES, &C.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the salaries and remuneration of any officers of Local Bankruptcy Courts, that may be appointed under any Act of the present Session to provide for the establishment of Local Courts of Bankruptcy in Ireland, and of compensation to any existing official assignee of the Court of Bankruptcy, whose emoluments may be reduced by the operation of the said Act.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next.

CONVICT PRISONS (ENGLAND, &c.)

Copy *presented,*—of Report of the Directors of Convict Prisons for 1887-8, with Appendix, Parts I. and II. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES).

Copy *presented,*—of Eleventh Report of the Commissioners for the year ending 31st March 1888, Parts I. and II. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

JUDICIAL STATISTICS (ENGLAND AND WALES) 1887.

Copy *presented,*—of Judicial Statistics for England and Wales for 1887, Parts I. and II. [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS).

Copy *presented,*—of Return of Proceedings under the Land Law (Ireland) Acts, 1881 and 1887, the Labourers (Ireland) Acts, 1885 and 1886, and "The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885," during the month of July 1888 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION (PROCEEDINGS UNDER "THE LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881").

Copy *presented,*—of Return of judicial rents fixed during May and June 1888 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

EDUCATIONAL ENDOWMENTS (IRELAND) COMMISSION.

Copy *presented,*—of Annual Report of the Commissioners, 1887-8 [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

PRISONS (IRELAND).

Copy *presented,*—of Tenth Report of the General Prisons Board, Ireland, 1887-8, with Appendix [by Command]; to lie upon the Table.

MOTION.

—o—

ADJOURNMENT—MR. JUSTICE DAY.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in moving that the House do now adjourn, said, I would like to

take this opportunity of reading the following letter, which I have received from Mr. John Morley :—

"Dear Mr. Smith,—

Perhaps you will like to read the enclosed to the House.

I should have done so myself, but I see no probable opportunity. I only received the authorization at 1 o'clock to day.

Yours truly,

JOHN MORLEY."

The letter enclosed is from General Sir Edward Bulwer, and is addressed to Mr. J. Morley, and it is dated the 3rd of August. It runs as follows :—

"My dear Morley,—

As I was appointed to the Belfast Commission through you, I am induced to send through you these few lines with reference to the recent debate on Mr. Justice Day's appointment.

As regards politics, I am under the impression that the Judge had no politics—that is to say, that he belonged to no Party. I was constantly alone with him, and, as far as I remember, politics did not appear to interest him. He was a man of such strong intellect and varied information that he was full of interests apart from politics.

As a public man he appeared to me to be an ardent Catholic, and to have great respect for authority, the tendency of his opinions on that subject being, I should have said, that law and order must be maintained under any circumstances and at any risk ; but beyond this I cannot recall any special allusions to the general Irish question. At the same time, I have a distinct recollection of his frequently expressing his partiality for the Irish character and people. His personal feelings, however, would never interfere with what he considered the course of justice. I am aware that these are only impressions, but as I always found the Judge a generous, kind-hearted man, both in public and private, I think it due to him to send them on as the impressions of another Commissioner who served with him. Trusting that you will make use of this letter as you think right,

I remain, &c.,

E. BULWER.

P.S.—I was prevented sending this before, as I was on the river."

The letter, which is dated August 3, reached the right hon. Gentleman early in the week, but, as he writes, he has had no opportunity of reading it to the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, he hoped the House would bear in mind that there were two statements made concerning Judge Day. The first was that he had used words on the Bench reflecting on Irishmen generally, the occasion being the trial of some men said to have been from Ireland for some offence in Liverpool. Mr. Justice Day said the crime was too foul to be committed by Englishmen. The words of the Judge made a charge which was a most offensive and wanton one on the character of the Irish people at large. That point was not touched on in the letter. All that Sir E. Bulwer said in his letter was that Mr. Justice Day did not make any reference to the general Irish question. Now, what Mr. Adams said was that Judge Day had repeatedly denounced the Leader and the Members of the Irish Party. That declaration, in the opinion of the Irish Members, rendered Judge Day unfit to try any case in which the Irish question was involved. Though he did not like to say anything disrespectful to Mr. Justice Day, still, from his personal knowledge of Mr. Adams, he thought it was his duty not to allow the reading of the letter to pass without a word of comment.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND (Middlesex, Uxbridge) said, that the word "Irishman" was not used by Mr. Justice Day at Liverpool. He simply said the crime was too violent to have been committed by Englishmen.

MR. SEXTON replied that the statement of the learned Judge was that criminals were imported into England from Ireland.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at half after Five o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 13th August, 1888.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Royal Assent*—Imperial Defence [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 32]; National Defence [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 31]; Marriages Validation [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 28]; Fishery Acts Amendment (Ireland) [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 30]; Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 40]; Bail (Scotland) [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 36]; Members of Parliament (Charges and Allegations) [51 & 52

Vict. c. 35]; Public Works Loans [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 39]; Expiring Laws Continuance [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 38]; Local Government (England and Wales) [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 41]; Timber Acts (Ireland) Amendment [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 37]; Hawkers [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 33]; Municipal Corporations (Local Bills) (Ireland) [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 34]; Mortmain and Charitable Uses [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 42]; County Courts Consolidation and Amendment [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 43]; Lloyd's Signal Stations [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 29].

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL — *Royal Assent* — Public Health (Scotland) (Kirkliston, Dalmeny, and South Queensferry Water) [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. cxcix].

Their Lordships met;—and having gone through the Business on the Paper without debate,

House adjourned at half past Two o'clock to Tuesday the 6th day of November next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 13th August, 1888.

The House met at a quarter before Two of the clock.

MINUTES.] — PUBLIC BILL — *Committee — Report—Considered as amended—Third Reading* —Local Bankruptcy (Ireland) * [344], and *passed.*

QUESTIONS.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND) — ESTATE OF MR. R. T. HAMILTON, CO. ARMAGH —CERTIFICATES OF REGISTRATION.

MR. J. NOLAN (Louth, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is it true that 11 tenants on the estate of R. T. Hamilton, esquire, ex-Local Government Board Inspector, at Corononagh, County Armagh, have been evicted for non-payment of a year and a-half's rent, which was fixed by judicial agreement in 1883, but not registered by the landlord; whether Mr. Kisbey, County Court Judge, twice stayed the execution of the eviction decrees, once at Ballybot in 1887 and once at Markethill in 1888, pending the production by the landlord of certificates of registration; were the certificates eventually produced; and, if not, why was the execution of the decrees permitted; and, where former settlements have not been registered, can tenants enter the Land Court to have fair rents fixed?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that on the estate referred to 43 statutory agreements between landlord and tenant were lodged during the months of November and December, 1884, all of which were filed in due course in the Land Commission, and others in subsequent years, but none were lodged in 1883. They have no means of knowing whether any agreements were entered into between the landlord and his tenants which have not been forwarded to them to be lodged and filed. I am informed that at Ballybot Quarter Sessions, in 1887, some of this landlord's cases were adjourned for one day for the production of certificates of fair rents. At the adjournment any of the cases in which the certificate could not be produced were dismissed, save one adjourned to Armagh, and subsequently dismissed. The Commissioners state that where an agreement has not been filed it does not form an absolute bar to the fixing of a fair rent; but if still capable of being filed the case would probably be adjourned for that purpose.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSIONERS—MESSRS. BUTLER AND GREGORY.

MR. W. ABRAHAM (Limerick, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that Sub-Commissioners Butler and Gregory, in May last, while engaged in valuing the farm of Timothy M'Carthy, a tenant of Lord Muskerry, partook of luncheon provided by the landlord; if it is contrary to any Rule or recommendations of the Land Commission that Sub-Commissioners should accept hospitality from a landlord while performing official duty; and, considering the decisions of the Limerick Sub-Commission have given such dissatisfaction that a public meeting was recently held in Newcastle West with reference to the insufficiency of the reductions given to tenants by this Sub-Commission, he will direct Messrs. Butler and Gregory to refrain

from a practice which may have the effect of lessening public confidence in their impartiality?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners state that the Assistant Commissioners referred to report that when they went to inspect some farms on the estate they were shown over the farms by Lord Muskerry in company with the tenants. They partook of some refreshment from a luncheon basket which had been sent to meet him. Some of the tenants were present, and sitting near them at the time. The Commissioners add that they have always recommended the Assistant Commissioners to abstain from acceptance of hospitality while on circuit; but they attach no importance to an occurrence of the nature in question.

MR. W. ABRAHAM asked, whether the hon. and learned Gentleman was aware that the rent of the tenant in question was only reduced from £79 to £71 in consequence of this luncheon?

MR. MADDEN said, he was not aware of the figures in the case; but he thought the character of the reduction of rent could hardly be attributed to the circumstances referred to.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—TEACHERS FROM THE GOVERNMENT TRAINING COLLEGES—MODEL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in cases where teachers from the Irish Government Taining Colleges are received in England and Scotland, he will give credit in Irish Education Accounts for the cost of the education of such teachers; can he explain why the Education Department, after the passing of the Contributory Act, went on increasing the expenditure in Galway model schools, although it received nothing under the Contributory Act, till, in 1878, the cost of educating in the model was greater than the entire costs of maintaining and educating in the workhouse; whether he is aware that the practice of appointing pupil teachers only in model schools causes a very large percentage of the model school pupils to be in the higher classes, in which the fees are higher, than in the lower classes; whether the total cost of the erection of buildings is paid by the State only in the model schools; and, what proportion of the total cost of the model schools was contributed last year from local sources?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, he had not time to obtain any Report, and he could not, therefore, give any information on the subject.

FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS INSPECTIONS—THE SWEATING SYSTEM.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, having regard to the revelations which have been recently brought to light concerning the evils of the sweating system, and the pestilential places in which men, women, and children labour, the Government will, during the Recess, seriously consider the necessity for making a considerable increase to the present staff of Factory and Workshop Inspectors; and, whether, in order to overcome the objection which has been urged, that such increase would involve a serious expenditure out of the public funds, the Government will authorise organized bodies of workmen to appoint and pay Inspectors, providing the Government retain the power to accept, control, and dismiss men selected by the workmen's organizations?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Government will consider the question during the Recess; but no definite action can be finally decided upon until the Committee has finally reported. The Government are unable to entertain the proposal stated in the second part of the Question.

EAST INDIA (THE FINANCIAL RESOLUTIONS)—POWER OF DISCUSSION—THE NEW RULES.

GENERAL GOLDSWORTHY (Hammersmith) (for Sir ROPER LETHBRIDGE) (Kensington, N.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been drawn to the fact that, under the new Rules of Procedure, honourable Members are deprived of the right to discuss,

on the Indian Budget, general questions of Indian administration and Indian grievances, save only such as are of a financial or economic character; and, whether, inasmuch as this tends to place Her Majesty's Indian subjects on a footing, in regard to the ventilation of their grievances, different from that of Her Majesty's Home and Colonial subjects, whose grievances can always be discussed on going into Committee of Supply, Her Majesty's Government will, before the Session of 1889, consider the possibility of granting some other annual opportunity for the public discussion of such grievances?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, the Government were aware of the fact mentioned in the first part of the Question; and he would suggest that it was desirable that on an occasion of that character opportunity should be afforded for discussion of financial and economical questions, rather than that the opportunity should be taken for opening up the whole question of the general administration of India. Opportunities were also open to any hon. Member to raise questions relating to Indian affairs, as other questions were raised, on Tuesdays and Fridays during the Session. On the whole, therefore, the Government did not think it expedient to make any alteration in the arrangements which were now in force with regard to the Indian Budget.

MORTMAIN AND CHARITABLE USES BILL — LORDS' AMENDMENTS — EXEMPTION OF KEBLE COLLEGE OXFORD.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) said, he wished to ask the First Lord of the Treasury a Question with reference to two entries which appeared in the Votes and Proceedings of the House for Saturday. They were these:—

"45. Message from the Lords,—That they have agreed to Amendments made by this House to Mortmain and Charitable Uses Bill (Lords), and have made a consequential Amendment to the Bill, to which they desire the concurrence of this House.

"46. Mortmain and Charitable Uses Bill (Lords),—Lords' Amendment to Commons' Amendment to be considered forthwith; considered, and agreed to."

He wished to ask whether this Amendment related to an Institution known by the name of Keble College, Oxford; whether the Amendment exempted that Institution from the provisions of the Bill; whether it did not, in fact, reverse a decision to which the House of Commons came earlier in the year, when the question was brought before the House by a Bill introduced for the special purpose of exempting the College from the Law of Mortmain; and, whether the Bill referred to in the Votes was to receive the Royal Assent by Commission that day?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I think the hon. and learned Gentleman will admit that it would have been convenient if he had given me at least private Notice of his intention to ask this Question. It is not one, but many Questions. As to his first and second Questions relating to the consideration of the Lords' Amendment on the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Bill, it was agreed to on Saturday late in the afternoon, and included the provision to which the hon. and learned Gentleman refers. The Amendment was moved without any previous arrangement with the Government in the other House, and was carried on a division in the other House at 1 o'clock in the day; and the Government had to consider whether they ought to allow the Bill to be lost, or move that this House should agree with the Lords in the Amendment. It is a fact that it did bring the College in question within the exemptions of the Mortmain Act, as the Victoria University also had been brought, by a similar Amendment inserted in the Bill, within those exemptions. Under those circumstances, I think the Government were fully justified in recommending the House to agree to the Amendment. The hon. and learned Member says that that provision was distinctly negatived by the House when introduced here at an earlier period of the Session. If my memory serves me aright, the Bill authorizing the exemption from the prohibitions of the Mortmain Act was introduced as a private Bill, and was objected to on that ground alone. ["No, no!"] The hon. and learned Gentleman may have himself objected to the proposal; but the former measure was objected to on the ground that it was a Private Bill, and it was said that so important a question ought to be dealt

with only by a Public Bill. That, I believe, is the correct explanation.

In reply to Mr. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.),

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that the Lords' Amendment was a consequential Amendment to the introduction of the Victoria University.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: Is it the fact that Victoria University is a public Institution regulated by Act of Parliament; and the other is a sectarian Institution which is not regulated by Act of Parliament?

[No reply.]

Message to attend the Lords' Commissioners;—

The House went;—and being returned;

MR. SPEAKER *reported* the Royal Assent to several Bills.

MOTION.

—o—

ADJOURNMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) said, he took that opportunity to revert to the subject of Keble College and to protest against the most extraordinary legislative manœuvre of Saturday—because he could call it nothing else—by which the law of England was changed in a very important respect, and the College exempted from the operation of the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Act, without any Notice being given to the House of Commons, and without consideration by the House. He wished to give Notice to those concerned, to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, and also to the Government who aided and abetted this manœuvre, that he utterly refused to recognize that this Amendment, introduced into the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Act, created any vested rights, and that he should, on the first opportunity in the Autumn Sitting, move that the Charter of Keble College granted some years ago—he was afraid, with just as little inquiry—should be laid on the Table of the House. He would also move to introduce a Bill to disincorporate Keble College altogether.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) said, he wished also to enter his protest against the way in which the Amendment affecting Keble College had been introduced. All that he heard on Saturday was, that it was a consequential Amendment; but that certainly was not the case. There was a vast difference between Victoria University and Keble College. One was a public University, and the other was a sectarian institution, where the Test was still applied, and it was essential that the House of Commons should have had an opportunity of considering so important an Amendment as that made by the Lords with regard to it. Instead of that, however, it was pushed through on Saturday afternoon. He gave notice that, at the earliest possible opportunity in the Autumn Session, he should move to repeal so much of the Clause in the Mortmain Act as affected Keble College.

COLONEL HUGHES (Woolwich) asked the Government to formally give an undertaking, as he believed they were prepared to do, that before the triennial School Board election, subsequent to that of November next, they would deal with the question of subdividing the electoral areas, which was the object of the School Board for London Election Bill, introduced by him, but which he could not now proceed with. He understood from the First Lord of the Treasury that the Government would have supported his Bill dealing with the subject that year had there been time.

MR. CREMER said, he trusted the Government would not give any pledge to introduce a Bill on the lines of the one which had stood in the name of the hon. and gallant Member for Woolwich.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member has already spoken.

MR. CREMER: Not upon this question.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman has already spoken on the Main Question that the House do now adjourn.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford) said, with regard to the Question of the hon. and gallant Member for Woolwich (Colonel Hughes)

with regard to the London School Board Elections Bill, he (Sir William Hart Dyke) was perfectly ready to acknowledge that the present position of the electoral constituencies was most unsatisfactory. They had grown almost unmanageable as regarded numbers and cumbersomeness, and some modification was necessary. He regretted that the hon. and gallant Gentleman had been prevented by circumstances from proceeding further with his Bill in that portion of the Session. In the absence of his right hon. Friend the Leader of the House, he did not like to give the pledge that the Government would introduce a Bill; but he promised that the Government would consider the whole matter most carefully, he could not say in the Autumn, but, at all events, during the next Session of Parliament.

MR. BRYN ROBERTS (Carnarvonshire, Eifion) said, that he had moved an Amendment on Friday night to include the colleges of North and South Wales in the exemption from the Law of Mortmain, but the hon. and learned Attorney General told him it would be impossible for the Bill to pass in that Summer Session if the Amendment were made, because it would open the door to the discussion of a large number of other Amendments, in the shape of claims on the part of other Colleges. He therefore did not persist in his proposal. Yet the Government afterwards, in the House of Lords, accepted another Amendment of a similar character. He called that a piece of sharp practice which ought to be severely condemned, to slip the Lords' Amendment through this House without any Notice.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.) said, he desired to notice how very accommodating the House of Lords had been in passing measures at so late a period of the Session. He remembered that in days gone by, if a Liberal Government sent up a Bill to the House of Lords so late in the Session, they would refuse to take it into consideration. As the Opposition would again, he presumed, have the honour of sitting on the right of the Speaker, he thought it well to emphasize the fact of how accommodating the House of Lords has been this Session, in the hope that at some future time they would show themselves equally accommodating, and show as great an anxiety at the end of a Session to pass Liberal measures as they had displayed with regard to the Bills of the Conservatives.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) said, he wished to endorse the appeal of the hon. and gallant Member for Woolwich (Colonel Hughes), that the Government would deal with the question of the electoral areas in connection with the School Board for London. He also desired to add his protest against the proceeding of the Government with reference to the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Bill. The Government need not have rushed that Amendment through on Saturday; the matter might very well have stood over till November. The House would have to take measures in future to protect itself against the repetition of a gross breach of good faith on the part of the Government. The House of Commons naturally looked to the Government to protect the House as a whole against such a proceeding; and the important aspect of the matter was that the Government had failed in its duty to the House. It could not be pretended that the earlier debate on the private Bill had elicited such a strong expression of opinion as would justify the Government in considering they did right to assent to the Amendment.

MR. DILLWYN (Swansea, Town) said, he could not allow that opportunity to pass without expressing his cordial concurrence in the remarks of the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson) and other hon. Members respecting the exemption of Keble College from the Mortmain Act. He thought it was a most unwise and wrong proceeding on the part of the Government to have allowed that measure to go through within the last few minutes, he might say, of the Session on a Saturday evening. He was glad that, if only in the interest and protection of the rights of the House of Commons, his hon. Friend the Member for Dundee intended to take the earliest possible opportunity of calling attention to the subject. He must express his disappointment that the Government, upon a great Constitutional question of the sort should have so grossly neglected their duty as they had done, in allowing such an Amendment to be passed without full Notice to the House. The Government seemed to have considered how to get away for the holidays rather than the merits of

the Amendment and the principle involved. He thought they would be bound to again bring the matter forward at the earliest opportunity.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) said, that the Keble College Bill, which was before the House earlier in the Session, turned upon the question whether the College should have the power to hold land in mortmain or not. The Bill was lost by the votes of two Conservative Members—the hon. Member for Belfast and himself—who voted against the Bill only because they were influenced by what was said by the Chairman of Ways and Means as to the inexpediency of dealing with that question otherwise than by a public Bill such as the Bill that had just received the Royal assent. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Courtney) also said it was a private measure, interfering with public legislation. It was wrong, therefore, to assert that there had been an expression of opinion on the part of the House that this exemption should not be extended to Keble College.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.) said, he had been anxiously waiting to know what the Government had to say in explanation of the most serious charge which had been brought against them by the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson).

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): It has already been explained.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: The First Lord of the Treasury explained.

MR. BROADHURST said, that since the hon. Member for Dundee had made his complaint in reference to the passing of the Lords' Amendment on Saturday evening, not a word of explanation had been offered on the part of the Government. It must have been known to the Government that there were a great number of hon. Members who took the greatest interest in this measure, and who only left the House on the understanding from the Government, repeatedly given, that no contentious matters should be taken after a certain date. Yet, on Saturday evening, at the fag end of the Sitting, a most important measure was smuggled through with the connivance of the Government.

MR. AIRD (Paddington, N.) said, he wished to ask whether the Government would, during the Recess, consider the question with regard to the Fire Brigade of the Metropolis? There was at present a feeling of great insecurity in the minds of the residents. He believed it was officially admitted that the fire brigade was at present insufficient to deal with any great emergency, and in regard to the important matter of saving life, under the altered conditions of London building; he therefore hoped the Government would, during the Recess, consider the matter seriously, for it was regarded by the public as one of vital importance.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth) said, he considered the remarks of the hon. Member (Mr. Broadhurst) entirely gratuitous. The House was not sharing the anxiety of the hon. Member for West Nottingham; because an explanation had already been given by the First Lord of the Treasury showing what the position of the Government was with regard to Keble College, and if the hon. Gentleman was either not in the House or was not paying attention to what was going on, that was no fault of the Government. He (Sir Edward Clarke) was very sorry the hon. Member for the Eifion Division of Carnarvonshire (Mr. Bryn Roberts) should have been moved to make an accusation of sharp practice against Her Majesty's Government. There was no ground at all for such an accusation. He (Sir Edward Clarke) had been present at the debate on Friday, and he knew that his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General desired that the Amendment should not be inserted in the House of Lords, and it was not inserted there by the Government at all. Indeed, the Lord Chancellor made a protest against it, and it would be found that several Members of the Government voted against it.

An hon. MEMBER said, that the Lord Chancellor voted for the Amendment.

SIR EDWARD CLARKE said, that the Lord Chancellor did make a protest, but he did not advise a Division. When the Bill came down amended, the Government did not think that the Keble College Amendment was of such importance as to interfere with the passage of

the Bill. Hon. Members who were so much interested might have taken care to ascertain what Amendments were introduced by the House of Lords. Though he agreed that the insertion of Keble College was a matter on which observation might be made, he thought himself that there was a very good case for including it. The Bill came down with the Amendment in it, and no one could think that the power proposed to be given was so very serious as to interfere with the passing of the Bill. He thought he had shown there was really no ground for any charge of sharp practice against the Government.

MR. CREMER asked, if he would be in Order in asking a question?

MR. SPEAKER ruled against the hon. Member.

MR. ASQUITH (Fife, E.) said, that, after the hon. and learned Solicitor General's speech, it was necessary that they should once again say, as he would do most emphatically, that in his opinion the charge of sharp practice was thoroughly justified. What were the circumstances? The Bill was under discussion for a considerable time on Friday night, and his hon. Friend (Mr. Bryn Roberts) brought forward an Amendment to insert certain Colleges which he thought ought to be excluded from the Law of Mortmain. That Amendment was withdrawn in deference to the hon. and learned Attorney General's assurance as to Keble College, and after that assurance, the change made by the House of Lords was not in the least expected. They did not say anything about the Government in the House of Lords; but what they did complain of was, that next day, after the Amendment had been accepted by the other House, Her Majesty's Government in this House took the responsibility of fathering the Amendment, and asking this House to accept it. That was the charge against them, and it was perfectly impossible for anyone who heard the speech of the Attorney General to believe Her Majesty's Government would have been guilty of making themselves responsible for that Amendment. He contended that there was no case for urgency. This was a mere Consolidation Bill, and it would not make the least difference to any human being if the consideration of the Bill were adourned to the Autumn Session.

MR. JACKSON said, the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Asquith) had imported into the discussion a certain amount of heat which, he thought, might well have been left out. He had undertaken to endorse the charge that the Government had been guilty of sharp practice. He (Mr. Jackson) must entirely repudiate the insinuation of sharp practice made against the Government. An hon. Gentleman had said there was no haste or pressure in the matter. But it would be in the recollection of the House that the Leader of the House was pressed over and over again during the Session by the hon. Member for North-East Bethnal Green (Mr. Howell) as to the issue of the new edition of the revised statutes. This was one of the Bills which it was necessary to pass to enable the right hon. Gentleman to carry out the wish that had been expressed so generally, and which it was extremely desirable should be met.

MR. ASQUITH said, he did not wish to make the Attorney General responsible; but the action of the Government was in violation of the whole understanding and assurance they gave on Friday night.

MR. JACKSON said, he claimed that the Government had exercised their best discretion in passing the Bill as it stood, and he was very sorry if hon. Members had been taken unawares, but it was certainly not the fault of the Government. As had been stated by the Solicitor General, the Government did not assent to the inclusion of Keble College in the Bill; but they came to the conclusion that, on the balance of advantage, it would be better to accept the Amendment than to lose the Bill. The Government had no intention of violating any pledge, nor did he think they had done so. He trusted they might now all be allowed to take their holidays with as much pleasure as they possibly could; and that when they met again, they would be able to preserve their temper as well as they could.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney) said, he felt it his duty to inform the House with regard to the Fire Brigade and the matter of fire escapes, that the Metropolitan Board of Works would be prepared to take the matter into their serious con-

sideration, provided the Government would undertake to indemnify the Board in their Money Bill when it was brought forward next year.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth) asked, whether the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms) had not been absent for some weeks, going about Europe trying to make some Convention about the sugar duties; whether he had been doing all he could to make sugar dearer in this country; and, whether the Government would undertake that no Convention or agreement should be signed to make sugar dearer, without the House of Commons having an opportunity of considering it.

MR. JACKSON said, he would remind the hon. Baronet that the First Lord of the Treasury had made a statement almost in the terms of the question.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: That no agreement will be signed?

MR. JACKSON said, he would not like to charge his memory with the exact words.

MR. WALLACE (Edinburgh, E.) asked, whether the Vice President of the Council would lay a copy of the Charter of the Keble College on the Table?

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he thought it was hardly necessary to do that, as it was easily procurable; but the hon. Member might repeat the question when they had an opportunity of meeting again.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

House adjourned at Three o'clock, till Tuesday 6th November.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 6th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Local Government (England and Wales) Electors Act, 1888, Repeal * (282).

STANDING ORDERS OF THE HOUSE—REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (Earl CADOGAN): My Lords, I have received several communications on the subject of the Report of the Committee which met in the earlier part of the Session to examine the Standing Orders referring to Public Business in your Lordships' House, and I think it may be for the convenience of noble Lords who are absent, as well as those who are present, that I should state that we do not propose to ask your Lordships to consider that Report until the beginning of next Session. I will put down a Notice with reference to that subject among the earliest possible days of the approaching Session.

AFRICA (EAST CENTRAL).

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF HARROWBY said, he desired to put to his noble Friend the Prime Minister a Question of which he had given him private Notice. His noble Friend would remember that last July he (the Earl of Harrowby) spoke with great apprehension of the dangers which he believed awaited our civilization on the coast of Zanzibar, and he wished now to ask his noble Friend the Prime Minister whether he could tell their Lordships what was the "more effective action" as to the Slave Trade which they were assured, by means of the public Press, the English Government were about to take now in concert with Germany on that coast? He confessed that he saw that announcement with some alarm. He had seen another announcement—but he did not know whether that was authoritative also—that the Universities Mission had received a warning that it would be well for them to leave their Mission Stations in the Pangani District—that was to say, in that district of country which stretched along the North of the country which was under the sphere of German influence up to the British territory. Their Lordships were aware that the members of the Universities Mission had been treated with great kindness and consideration by the Natives of that district, even though the whole of that district was in hot insurrection against German influence. A communication had been published from one of the leading Chiefs in the North, who stated that the English need not have the least fear; that the English were their friends; that they had no enmity against the White man as such; but that they were rising against what they considered to be the rough treatment of the Germans. It seemed to him that the moment was a very critical one. The Germans, no doubt, had been driven out, most unfortunately, from their stations along that long range of coast of 400 miles; but he asked himself—"What were the Germans driven out for by the Natives?" Was there the least evidence that the Germans were put to flight from that territory owing to any action on their part adverse to the Slave Trade? In the absence of official information, it was, of course, extremely difficult to be sure of the facts; but, as far as he could judge, he could not see that there was any trace that the treatment which the Germans had met with along that coast was at all owing to active exertions on their part to put down the Slave Trade. If the public papers were correct, it was announced that the English Government were now going to take more effective action against the Slave Trade in concert with Germany. Clearly that was a very important step one way or the other. They could not conceal from themselves that the German name had become very much out of favour with the whole of the Natives of all kinds and sorts along that coast. As Englishmen they very much regretted that, because they all wished that German colonization should answer. But there remained the fact that the Germans, as Germans, were very much out of favour among the Natives on that coast. If, therefore, we were going to unite with Germany in more forcibly repressing the Slave Trade, it might

lead to very unfortunate results. The English name, so far, stood very high in that district. Certain Chiefs respected our fellow-countrymen there, and our influence was a very precious position for good. We ought, therefore, to consider the matter carefully before we allied ourselves openly with the Germans. A false step might influence our great position for good in the future over the whole of that vast district. Therefore, he thought they should receive from his noble Friend at the head of the Government some assurance either that this serious step was not to be taken, or that, if it were to be taken, it would be taken in such a way as to prevent a result which they would so very much deplore. He hardly liked to say a word more about the subject for fear of helping to complicate a very difficult position. He trusted, however, that the Prime Minister would be able to assure them that in any attack made by Germany on that coast, whether in retaliation or for the purpose of putting down the Slave Trade, the English Flag would not be seen with hers. The men along that coast had befriended English missionaries, and had shown the greatest goodwill towards the English race. It would be absolutely fatal to our influence over that district if the English Flag were seen joined with that of Germany in anything like an attack upon these men. He hoped that, while showing all anxiety to show a friendly and neighbourly feeling towards the Germans, we should be careful at this moment, when they had become odious to the Native races, not to associate ourselves with them. Portugal, France, and Germany were out of favour with the Native races, while the English name had always been held in high esteem, and it was therefore important that we should not be identified by the Natives with those countries.

THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE said, that, as the Chairman of the Missionary Society to which the noble Earl had referred, he desired to acknowledge the kindness which they had always received from the noble Marquess and from the Foreign Office, and they were particularly thankful for the warning which had been given them as to the necessity of removing their missionaries before any trouble arose. He hoped, however, that the position of the missionary body on the Continent of Africa might be considered before any actual steps were taken. The removal of such a body of men could not be effected in a day. It might be the work of a week or even a month, and precipitate action might jeopardize the lives of men who might be working as far off as Lake Nyassa. Besides, he feared that the name of England would be mixed up in the minds of the Natives with that of Germany and other nations, who were in much disfavour at the present time, to the detriment of the missionaries. He had to-day been presiding over a meeting of the Universities Mission in Central Africa, at which great anxiety had been expressed with regard to the future of the Mission. He would not speak of the work which that Mission had achieved, but the manner in which they had for a number of years maintained even more than friendly relations with the Natives and the noble character of Bishop Smythies were the subject of admiration to all those who were acquainted with the history of the Mission. He had been requested by the Committee of the Society over which he had just been presiding to lay before the House the Resolution which had been passed almost unanimously, and which, in the main, agreed with what had fallen from the noble Earl who had just spoken. The Resolution was in the following terms:—

"That, in the opinion of this Committee, any combined Military or Naval operations on the coast of East Africa carried on by England and Germany at the present crisis will be fraught with injurious results to the friendly relations which have been maintained for many years past between the Natives of East Africa and the English missionaries."

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, perhaps it would have been more convenient if my noble Friend had deferred the Question he has asked me until I was able to lay some Papers touching the matter on the Table, which I hope to be able to do before the end of this week. But since the Question has been asked the best course I can follow is briefly to indicate what the position of things has been, and the course that Her Majesty's Government have thought it right to adopt. In consequence of the events which have taken place on that part of the coast which is

under German influence, the German Government came to the opinion that it was necessary to take more effective measures than had hitherto been taken for preventing that kind of traffic on which the Slave Traders had hitherto subsisted. They formed a very strong opinion that it was to the action of the Slave Traders that their calamities were due. My noble Friend appears to think that that suggestion is answered by the fact that the Germans were not engaged in any special hostility to the Slave Trade. No; that is quite true. But they were engaged in doing that which would have absolutely killed the Slave Trade—that is to say, founding Colonies along the coast, and their operations were looked upon with very great apprehension and disgust by the Slave Trading Arabs. I confess I share, to a considerable extent, the opinion that these disturbances are due to that agency. I am led to that opinion from seeing that other indications of a recrudescence of this horrible traffic are to be found at the present time. We have most of us heard the facts laid before the world by Cardinal Lavigerie. They are more than fully confirmed by our own countryman, Mr. Cameron, who says that the Slave Trade is four times more active than it was a few years ago. We have it that from Lake Nyassa, far away in the South, to Suakin in the North, agencies apparently of the same kind are the cause of the serious attack upon European influence. I do not say that the Slave Traders have been the only cause of the calamities on the coast. I should say that the increase of the Slave Trade influence has been the disposing cause, and the very grave errors committed by the German Company have been the exciting cause, and the two together have resulted in the terrible misfortunes that have occurred. When the German Government came to the resolution that it was necessary for them to take measures to oppose and prevent the importation of arms and the exportation of slaves, they came to us and asked us if we would take the same course. Their ground for appealing to us was a very obvious one—namely, that we were their next door neighbours; and if you closed the German portion of the coast to the importation of ams and exportation of slaves, and left the English portion open, the result would be obvious; it would simply lead to turning the traffic round to the English coasts. We had to consider the question, and what we were asked to do was what, practically, we are doing at the present time. We have long been struggling against the exportation of slaves. We have lately prohibited the importation of arms; and a more general measure for the purpose on the African Coast had been a great deal under consideration. In fact, your Lordships will have seen that the Congo State has recently taken a very definite step in that direction. If we had only to deal with these facts, I should have said it was a wise step to accept the co-operation of Germany for purely naval measures—for there has been no suggestion or intention of our taking any military action whatever. It is purely naval action, to prevent the importation of arms and the exportation of slaves. I should say it would have been a wise course to have acted with Germany in this matter, especially if by so doing we were upholding the sovereignty and maintaining the independence of the Sultan of Zanzibar; whereas, if we stood sullenly aside, we might expose his authority to a variety of dangers from which it might be difficult to shield him. There was another consideration which, to my mind, was quite decisive. I refer to the great difficulty we have experienced in struggling with the Slave Trade from the refusal of France to give us the right to search ships. This refusal has now lasted for a great number of years. I do not want to utter a word of criticism on the conduct of the French Government in that matter. I have no doubt they are as earnestly anxious as we are to stop the Slave Trade, although some national considerations of high moment may have led them to adopt the course to which I have referred. But the fact is still the same, that they refused us the right of search. We cannot search a vessel running under the French colours. There are scarcely any French ports on these seas. But French papers are got without great difficulty in Madagascar and the Comoro Islands, and we have undoubted evidence that a trade has been carried on under the French Flag, which we have been wholly unable to check, because we have no right to stop and

search French vessels. We represented this view very strongly to Germany, and the two Powers took occasion to approach the French Government. The French Government, although unwilling to depart from her traditional policy in this matter, have said that they are content to look upon a blockade such as we propose to institute as carrying, as one of its incidents, the right of searching every vessel, under whatever flag she may be running. So that we obtain by this arrangements with the Germans, for the first time, that which is of priceless value—namely, the power of stopping all vessels, under whatever flag they may sail, and I am glad to say that the French Government are going further, and it is probable that they will send a ship to join us in the naval operations which are about to take place. For these reasons I trust it will be seen that the advantages we gain by the arrangement far exceed any disadvantage with which it can be attended. My noble Friend (the Earl of Harrowby) rather reproached me last year with the consequences of the recent action taken on the East Coast of Africa, as giving greater facilities for the Slave Trade, and suggested that the accursed traffic was reviving. Well, now, here an opportunity occurs of striking against it such a blow as was never struck before. Are we to refuse that opportunity, lest, in the minds of some undistinguishing Natives, who hear of our actions out at sea, we should be confounded with the Germans, and the acts attributed to the Germans should be attributed to us? Surely that is a very slight and shadowy ground for refusal to carry out in the most effective way we can the policy that is traditional to this country, and being true to the cause which for three-quarters of a century we have upheld. My Lords, I fear that if we are to be particular as to our associates—if we do not like to be confounded with the Germans, the French, or the Portuguese, and will not accept any assistance in carrying on that great work of mercy in which this country has been engaged, we shall expose our sincerity to much suspicion, and I am sure we shall not be answering the earnest and generous wish of those at whose bidding these devoted missionaries — as the right rev. Prelate has said — have gone out. The Consul General, no doubt, telegraphed to say that he thought it would be desirable that the missionaries of the Universities Mission should be withdrawn for a time, or, at least, that the ladies and laymen should be withdrawn. Naturally, receiving such an intimation, we lost no time in communicating with the Universities Mission. But I do not myself believe that our operations at sea to prevent the exportation of slaves or the importation of arms, seeing that it is a thing which, so far as the exportation of slaves goes, we have done for many years, can add in any appreciable degree to the danger in which the lives of those excellent men stand. I believe they have the goodwill of all the innocent populations of those coasts. I believe they have the hearty ill-will of the Slave Trading community. But I am sure the Slave Trading community is one which will never be disarmed by affection or concession, and can only be operated upon by fear. Looking at the matter fairly and truly, I am of opinion you will really find an additional security for the life of every missionary in Africa if you break this accursed traffic, which is the only hindrance to the full fruition of their endeavours.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I have only a few words to say on this important subject, inasmuch as the noble Marquess has promised to lay Papers regarding it on the Table. It appears to me that these Papers are likely to be of a satisfactory character, and I propose to defer any observations until they are in your Lordships' hands.

PARLIAMENT—SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.—QUESTION.

EARL GRANVILLE: I wish to ask two Questions of which I have given Notice to the noble Marquess. The first is, whether he will be good enough to state to the House what Business he proposes to deal with during the next few weeks?

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): In answer to that Question, I have only to say that the House of Commons is assembling to make up its own arrears of Business, its own especial Business—namely, the voting of the Estimates; and I do not think it is necessary for

the House of Lords to meet every day to see the House of Commons going through the Estimates. There is very little Business before us. There is an Oaths Bill, which might be taken next week, and I think there are one or two Bills which have Amendments to be considered which might be taken at the same time. That is all the Business I know of at present; and though I should be perfectly prepared to make any other arrangements to suit the convenience of noble Lords, I think it will be sufficient if we meet on Tuesdays, and not on other days, unless there be special Business, or the exigency of our duty require it.

EARL GRANVILLE: I perfectly agree that the proposal of the noble Marquess is satisfactory to the small number of noble Lords sitting on this Bench. I assume that if we should be driven to it, the House might meet oftener than Tuesday?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Clearly.

UNITED STATES (RECALL OF LORD SACKVILLE).—QUESTION.

EARL GRANVILLE: The other Question I desire to ask the noble Marquess is this, Whether he is prepared to make any statement to the House or to lay any Papers on the Table with regard to the painful incident in connection with our Minister in the United States? I should be glad if he could answer, either by making a statement or promising Papers; but I do not press either course, unless he thinks it convenient.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): I think I should prefer to take advantage of the choice which the noble Earl has given me, and to avoid making any observations on the subject, merely saying that Papers are now in the printer's hands, and I believe they will be in the Library to-night: at all events, they will be in the hands of noble Lords to-morrow morning; and, of course, any further discussion noble Lords think fit to raise we shall be perfectly ready to join in.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS BILL.
QUESTION.

In reply to the Earl of HARROWBY,

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY) was understood to say that his impression was that there was very little chance of the Industrial Schools Bill passing the other House this Session.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) ELECTORS ACT, 1888, REPEAL BILL [H.L.]

A Bill intituled an Act for the repeal of the Local Government (England and Wales) Electors Act, 1888—Was *presented* by The Lord Denman; read 1ª. (No. 282.)

House adjourned at Five o'clock, to Monday next, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 6th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRITS ISSUED—*For* Merthyr Tydvil Borough, *v.* Henry Richard, esquire, deceased; *for* Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities, *v.* Right Hon. John Hay Athole Macdonald, Lord Justice Clerk in Scotland.

NEW MEMBER SWORN—The hon. William Henry Cross, *for* Liverpool (West Derby Division).

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 14 to 20.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887 (IMPRISONMENT OF MEMBERS).

MR. SPEAKER acquainted the House, that he had received the following Letters relating respectively to the Imprisonment of Mr. John Edward Redmond, Mr. William H. K. Redmond, and Mr. James O'Kelly:—

Court House, Wexford, Ireland,
26th September 1888.

Sir,

We beg leave to inform you that we have to-day convicted Mr. John Edward Redmond, a Member of the House of Commons, of the offence of having on the 22nd day of July 1888, at Scarawalsh, in the county of Wexford

aforesaid, being a proclaimed district under the provisions of "The Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887," did wrongfully and without legal authority use intimidation towards one Thomas J. Walker, in consequence of his having done an act which he had a legal right to do, namely, evict one James Clinch from the possession and tenancy of a certain farm situate at Scarawalsh, in the county of Wexford, and have sentenced him to five weeks' imprisonment without hard labour, and that he is at present in the prison at Wexford.

We have the honor to be

Your obedient servants,

J. S. MACLEOD, R.M.
D. G. BODKIN, R.M.

To the Right Honble.
The Speaker of the House of Commons.

Court House, Wexford, Ireland,
14th September 1888.

Sir,

We beg leave to inform you that we have to-day convicted Mr. William H. K. Redmond, Member of the House of Commons, of the offence of: that he, the said defendant, on the 16th day of August 1888, at Coolroe, in the county of Wexford, being a proclaimed district under the provisions of "The Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, 1887," did unlawfully incite certain persons, to wit, Thomas Somers, James Somers, Bartholomew Rochford, Patrick Fitzgerald, John Hall, Patrick Finn, Jeremiah Rossiter, William Sheill, Michael Morris, Michael Caul, Thomas Power, and Martin Tubbert, wilfully and unlawfully to resist and obstruct one John Donovan, he being at the time the bailiff of the Sheriff for the County of Wexford, while in the execution of his duty as such bailiff, and have sentenced him to three months' imprisonment without hard labour, and that he is at present in the prison at Wexford.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your humble servants,

J. S. MACLEOD, R.M.
D. G. BODKIN, R.M.

To the Right Honble.
The Speaker of the House of Commons.

Monson's Hotel, Boyle, Co. Roscommon.
October 29th, 1888.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that, on Saturday, the 27th instant, on the hearing of an appeal, at Boyle, in the county of Roscommon, from a Court of Summary Jurisdiction constituted under the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, James O'Kelly, Esquire, a Member of the Honourable House of Commons, was sentenced by me to two calendar months' imprisonment, to be treated as a misdemeanant of the first class.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your faithful servant,

WM. O'CONNOR MUIR,
County Court Judge and Chairman of Quarter Session for the Counties of Roscommon and Sligo.

QUESTIONS.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby) said, it would be for the convenience of the House if the First Lord of the Treasury would say what course he intended to pursue with regard to Public Business during the present Sitting?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, the first duty of the Government would be to press on with Supply. For the present week, the Government would not ask for the consideration of any other Business—at least, so far as he knew at present. The Government, however, would reserve their liberty in case of emergency; but the Civil Service Estimates would be proceeded with in the order in which they stood, with the exception of Scotch and Irish Estimates, which would be postponed until after the Civil Service Estimates had been concluded. The Education Estimates would be taken on Friday next.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD (Marylebone, E.) inquired whether the right hon. Gentleman proposed to take the Navy Estimates this week; and, if so, in what rotation?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he did not expect that the Civil Service Estimates would be got through before the end of the present week.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked, whether it was intended to proceed with the Bann and other Drainage Bills?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he thought it would be for the convenience of the House if he retained the liberty which he had just intimated in reply to the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked, whether Wednesday

Sittings would continue available for Private Members' Bills?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the hon. Member did not appear to be aware that the House had, by Resolution, placed Wednesdays at the disposal of the Government.

PERPETUAL PENSIONS—THE TREASURY MINUTE.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked, Whether the First Lord of the Treasury was aware that the Treasury Minute on Perpetual Pensions, laid on the Table on July 20, had not been distributed to hon. Members until August 11; whether such Minute was to be acted upon after it had lain on the Table for 30 days from the sitting of the House; and, whether the right hon. Gentleman would state upon what early day the Government would afford facilities for the discussion of such Minute? The hon. Gentleman gave Notice of the following Resolution:—

"That this House dissents from so much of the proposals of the First Lord and Chancellor of the Exchequer, contained in the Treasury Minute of 20th July, 1888, relating to Perpetual Pensions, as propose 'that holders of pensions, allowances, or payments, which the Law Officers of the Crown consider to be permanent in character, but to which no obligation of an onerous kind attaches, should be invited to commute such pensions, allowances, or payments on the same terms as have been accepted in the numerous cases already commuted;' and this House approves the Report of the Select Committee on Perpetual Pensions, 'that the rate of commutation usually adopted, of about 27 years' purchase, is too high.'"

THE FIRST LORD (MR. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, it had never been the intention of the Government to act upon the Minute in question without giving the House full opportunity of expressing its opinion upon it. He would take steps to afford the hon. Member an opportunity of moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked if it were not the case that within six or seven days the Minute would have all the effect of an Act of Parliament, empowering the Government to spend the money?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I have already given an undertaking that the Government will not act upon the Minute until the House has had an opportunity of discussing it.

PARLIAMENT—NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE, 1888—CLOSURE RULE (APPLICATION ON THE 19TH JULY).

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Speaker, as a point of procedure, Whether on Friday, July 20, the hon. Member for Camborne was suspended from the service of the House; and, if so, what was the effect of the vote on the right of the hon. Member to enter the precincts of the House, Galleries, or Libraries? The hon. Gentleman added that he ought to apologize for his ignorance on the point; but he had endeavoured to obtain the information after the vote without success.

MR. SPEAKER: It is very unusual for an hon. Member to put a Question to the Chair in this manner. If the hon. Member will communicate privately with me, I will endeavour to give him all the information in my power.

MR. CONYBEARE gave Notice that on an early day he would move the following Resolution:—

"That the application of the Closure on the 19th of July last to the Motion, that the Bann Drainage Bill (which proposes to make a free grant of large sums of public money for the benefit of certain Irish landlords) be now read a second time, without any Debate having taken place thereupon, and the refusal by Mr. Speaker to permit an Amendment to such Motion standing in the name of the Member for Camborne to be moved, constituted a very gross abuse of the Rules of this House, which by Standing Order 25 require Mr. Speaker to use his discretion for the protection of the rights of the minority."

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE—RETIREMENT OF MR. JAMES MONRO, C.B., ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department a Question of which I have given him private Notice. I wish to know under what circumstances Mr. James Monro, C.B., has retired from the office of Assistant Commissioner of Metropolitan Police; whether he is now in the Public Service; and, if so, in what capacity?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (MR. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Mr. Monro, to my great regret, thought it necessary to resign the office of Assistant Commissioner of Metropolitan Police on account of differences of opinion between himself and the Commissioner on questions of police administration. With

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egard to the second Question, I can only say that I have made arrangements which enable me to have the benefit of Mr. Monro's advice in matters relating to crime, where it may seem desirable.

MR. PICKERSGILL asked if he was to understand that a new office was created which Mr. Monro would fill?

MR. MATTHEWS: I cannot add anything to the answer which I have already given.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): In reference to the answer just given by the Home Secretary, I beg to give Notice that I shall call attention to the matter in moving the reduction of the Police Vote.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £3,210, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Land Commissioners for England, and for defraying the repayable Expenses to be incurred in matters of Enclosure and Land Improvement, and under 'The Extraordinary Tithe Redemption Act, 1886.'"

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, he had carefully looked through this Estimate for the Land Commission, and he thought it was a fair specimen of the style of Estimate which was constantly brought before the House. The Land Commission, as far as he was able to understand, had not much to do. It was reformed in 1886, under a Tory Government, when it took further work into its hands. Under the present Estimate there were three Commissioners, each with a salary of £1,500 a-year, while the work which had to be done in the Office was scarcely sufficient to occupy the time and attention of one Commissioner. His first objection, therefore, to the Vote was that so large a sum of money should be voted to the Commissioners who presided over this Office, on the ground that the work they had to discharge in the Office was not sufficient to occupy the whole of their time, and it was only necessary that they should attend at the Office occasionally. He was sorry to say that the Government, in framing the Estimate, had given very little information indeed—in fact, none whatever—as to the work done by these Commissioners. It was only by private inquiry that he had been able to ascertain that these Commissioners enjoyed a longer holiday and had less work to do than any other Government official. Nevertheless, each of them received a salary of £1,500 a-year. The first Motion he intended to submit to the Committee was that the Vote should be reduced by the sum of £3,000, being the salary of two of the Commissioners, leaving only one Commissioner at the head of the Office. Whenever any real work had to be done an Assistant Commissioner had to be employed, who received remuneration for his services at the rate of four or five guineas per day. As far as he (Mr. Molloy) had been able to learn, the only important work that had been done recently had not been carried out by the Commissioners, but by an intelligent and learned gentleman—a barrister—who received payment for the work he did, which work, he contended, ought to have been done by the Commissioners themselves. The whole of the Vote was of a very extraordinary character. He had several times called attention to it and moved reductions in it; and, with the permission of the Committee, he would point out briefly the points to which he took exception. There was one item in the Vote of £100 which was payable for opinions given to the Heads of the Department by the Law Officers of the Crown. Now, the Law Officers of the Crown, in the opinion of a considerable portion of the Members of that House, already received remuneration far in excess of that to which they were entitled. He had always thought that the purpose for which Law Officers of the Crown were appointed was that they should advise the Government and the Government Departments, and for that work they received a large remuneration. This was essentially part of their duty—a portion of the work they were appointed to discharge, and for which they received, in one case, £9,000, and the

other £7,000 a-year. In addition, they claimed the right to receive certain fees, and fees were constantly charged in the Votes. The question was one which had aroused considerable feeling in that House, because, in the opinion of a large number of hon. Members—he might say in that of the majority of the House—it was felt that the remuneration of the Law Officers of the Crown was more than sufficient at present without any extra payments at all in the shape of fees. There was one item in the Vote—a very small item, no doubt, but one which appeared to involve a question of principle. The item to which he referred was a sum of £30 paid to the Legal Assistant Commissioner in the shape of fees for taxing. The explanation of this item was that it represented the fees paid on taxing; but, if so, it ought to be clearly stated in the Estimate. It would also appear that the Surveyor to the Department, who received a fair salary, received also, according to the Estimate, a further sum of money for doing what appeared to be his ordinary work. It appeared to him that the Legal Assistant Commissioner did the real work of the Office, especially in connection with arbitrations and questions relating to inclosure and tithe; but surely the very object for which the Commissioners themselves were appointed was to do that work. Nevertheless, when any work had to be done they employed an Assistant Commissioner from outside the Office. He had also a further objection to the Estimate. Under Sub-head K there was an item for "Appropriations in Aid," giving the estimated amount of expenses repayable and recoverable within the year. For last year the amount was stated to be £15,000, and for the present year the Estimate was £10,000. These sums represented advances to the landlords for works and public improvements. Although the Estimates last year stated that £15,000 was repayable and recoverable within the year, it had not only not been repaid, but this year a further sum of £10,000 was required under the same head. The Estimate said nothing as to what had become of the £15,000 repayable last year. There was no pretence of giving a debtor and creditor account, and it certainly seemed to him that the Treasury were not dealing altogether fairly with the public. With regard to the item of £15,000, he had searched, as far as he was able, the Papers which had been laid before Parliament, but he did not find any record of this sum having been paid. He wished to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) whether it had been paid, and, if so, where the payment was shown? Without troubling the Committee by going into further details, he would move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £3,000, being the amount of the salaries of two of the Commissioners out of the three who were now required to do the work of the Office. He believed that one Chief Commissioner was quite sufficient, and that the other two were of no earthly use to the Department.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

That Item A, Salaries and Wages, be reduced by the sum of £3,000, the Salary of two of the Commissioners."—(*Mr. Molloy.*)

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) said, that probably the hon. Member did not recollect that in the Session of 1886 a similar discussion was raised as to the Office of the Land Commission. At that time he (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) made himself acquainted with the facts of the matter, confining himself, however, to the policy of the Office, and leaving the financial details to his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury. At that time he discovered that the letters alone which were received in the Office of the Examiners amounted to 35,000.

MR. MOLLOY: In the year?

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, the number he had mentioned was received in the year 1885. The transactions of the Office were not only numerous, but were connected with a great variety of subjects: for instance there were inclosures; compensation for extinction of common rights; cases under various Acts of Parliament which numbered 69; improvement of land, 387 cases; five main drainage cases; 197 copyhold cases; 102 cases of University property dealt with by the Commissioners; tithe cases; appropriations, reductions of rent charge, and other similar cases amounting to 606 in that particular year; and 208 cases under the Settled Lands Act. There

were altogether 1,900 cases or different transactions, to which it was necessary to add 2,192 applications involving inspection of documents. The total number of cases dealt with by the Office was 557. Since that period the legislation of Parliament had materially added to the work of the Land Commission Office, two important Acts of Parliament, the Extraordinary Tithe Redemption Act and Copyhold Enfranchisement Act, having come into operation. He was assured that there was no day in the year, except when the Commissioners took a natural holiday, that they were not all in attendance at the Office. He believed that the Commissioners signed all the letters and gave their personal attention to the various transactions he had named. No doubt there were Assistant Commissioners in addition. It was their duty to go down into various parts of the country, and make local inquiries, reporting the result of their investigations to the Commissioners, who exercised their discretion in particular cases.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he thought he ought to answer the remarks of the hon. and learned Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) as to the sum of £15,000 to which he had referred, and which appeared under Subhead K. The hon. and learned Member was probably aware that the Extraordinary Tithe Act of 1886 imposed certain special duties upon the Land Commission, which duties consisted in taking certain valuations, the cost of which was to be repaid when the valuations were completed. The item of £15,000 represented the estimated expenditure under that head last year, which would be repaid; but he was afraid that it would not be recovered this year, for this reason: that, although the valuations had been made, it was necessary to make them locally, and certain persons interested in the matter had raised objections to the valuation. Some of the facts were disputed, and it would be necessary to arrive at a decision in regard to them before the whole of the money could be recovered. He believed it had been agreed to submit certain test cases which would decide the whole. Arrangements had been made for collecting the money by the Inland Revenue officers, on behalf of the Commission, as soon as the questions now pending had been satisfactorily decided. With reference to the item of £100, which appeared in the Vote as the Estimate for fees to be paid to the Law Officers of the Crown, perhaps it was right he should say that last year a question was raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) as to the principle involved in this Vote. The right hon. Gentleman contended that an Office like the Land Commission should, as far as possible, be made self-supporting. With that principle he (Mr. Jackson) entirely sympathized; and, with a view of giving effect to it, the question he had to consider was whether the Commissioners were more numerous or more highly remunerated than the proper discharge of the duty on behalf of the public required? There had been certain alterations sanctioned by the Treasury, from which certain facilities would accrue to the public from the future discharge of the functions of the Commission, and it was anticipated that these charges would enable the Commission to provide £1,500 or £2,000 in aid of the expenses of the Office. With regard to the amount specified in the item referred to by the hon. and learned Member, it did not represent a sum which had actually gone into the pockets of the Law Officers of the Crown; but it was an amount estimated as the legal expenses likely to be incurred in connection with the Department.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) wished to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury if it was intended that the future Grants in Aid to be given to England were to include the charges of this Office, or whether, over and above the grant to England, the actual cost of this Department was to be paid by a Vote of that House?

MR. JACKSON was understood to say that the charge for the Land Commission would remain as at present.

MR. CALDWELL said, that was exactly what he had expected. He wished, therefore, to point out to the Committee that this was a Land Commission for dealing with subjects in England for which there was no corresponding grant for Scotland. The consequence was that when they came to divide Grants in Aid between England and Scotland it would be found that England would take more

than her fair division of the money. He might further point out to the Committee that, over and above the excess which England would take to herself, there were grants to England for which there was no corresponding grant to Scotland, and which the Scotch ratepayers had to pay out of their own pockets. He might carry the case a great deal farther, but he would only deal now with the Land Commission for England. The principle had been practically admitted by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury that the Land Commission ought to be self-supporting, and that the cost of maintaining it ought not to be laid as a burden upon the taxes of the country. If the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for King's County were carried and the salaries of two of the Commissioners were struck off the Vote, the reduction effected would only amount to £3,000, and would still leave a sum of £10,000 raised by general taxation for England, while Scotland was left to manage its own affairs without any similar contribution from general taxation. He saw no reason why England should not be called upon to bear its own expenses in the same way as Scotland, and he thought that the Scotch Members ought to resist this Vote on the ground that it was exceptional legislation on behalf of one of the Three Kingdoms.

MR. JACKSON said, the hon. Member appeared to be under the impression that the total Grants in Aid given to England exceeded relatively those which were given to Scotland.

MR. CALDWELL: Exactly.

MR. JACKSON said, that according to the information in his possession he believed that that was not the case, but that in England the Grants in Aid were less if the population of each country were taken into consideration.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. Member was now referring to a subject which was altogether irregular, seeing that it had no bearing upon the Vote before the Committee. It was a matter which could not be entered into upon the present discussion.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) said, that unless the Committee received a more satisfactory explanation than they had yet had from the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley), he should certainly give his vote for the reduction of the Estimate which had been moved by the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Molloy). It was perfectly absurd to suppose that 5,000 transactions in the course of the year required three highly-paid Commissioners and a Legal Assistant Commissioner to do the work. But he objected to the Vote on another ground. He objected to all these permanent Commissions. Such Commissions were all very well when they had permanent work to do; but when an Office had permanent work to do Commissioners ought to be abolished, and they ought to have the work done on a different system. There ought to be one man at the head of the Department, who would take upon himself a personal responsibility for the whole of the business transacted. It was utterly impossible, when they had three heads, to fix any responsibility; and he entertained a very strong opinion that these various Offices were kept up for patronage purposes. He found, on going through the list, that every one of these Commissioners had been either a Treasury Clerk or the Private Secretary to a Minister. He did not think that posts in the service of the country ought to be reserved as patronage posts; and, if only for the sake of entering a protest against the present system of Commissions, he should support the Motion of the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he entirely agreed with the remarks which had been made by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury); but he would suggest to his hon. and learned Friend the Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) that he had not gone far enough. Certainly, he should feel desirous of pushing the point of the objections raised by his hon. and learned Friend a little further. His hon. and learned Friend proposed to reduce the number of the Commissioners by two, so as to leave one Commissioner at the head of the Office; but he (Mr. Conybeare) contended that there was no necessity even for the third Commissioner, seeing that there was already another Commissioner bearing the title of Resident Legal Assistant Commissioner. Why not have a Commissioner possessing legal know-

ledge, and pay him £1,500 a-year? That was all they wanted; and, therefore, after the Motion of his hon. and learned Friend was disposed of, he (Mr. Conybeare) would propose a further reduction by the omission of the salary of £800 a-year paid to the Resident Legal Assistant Commissioner. The Committee had not been informed by the Secretary to the Treasury, except in the most general terms, what the Commissioners did; and he had failed to gather what the hon. Gentleman's explanation was of the legal expenses, amounting to £100, proposed to be paid to the Law Officers of the Crown. He did not see why the Treasury should be called upon to pay fees for the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, in addition to the salaries those hon. and learned Gentlemen received. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had not enlightened the Committee at all upon that matter, and he would press for further information upon the point. Nor had the hon. Gentleman told them how many days in the year, or how many hours in the day, these highly-paid gentlemen were to be found in the Office. The statement of the hon. Gentleman was that they were always in attendance every day, except when they took their natural holiday. He wished to know what was the length of the natural holiday of these Commissioners? Was it one or two months? The natural holiday of a Civil servant was 10 days or a fortnight. Did these Commissioners get much more? Certainly, the Committee ought to know what was the natural amount of work they did in the Office. He held in his hand a Report of the Commission; but it did not reveal anything like an amount of work which would justify the expense of the Office, or the continuance of such a staff as the Committee were now asked to vote. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) said that 35,000 letters and documents were received by the Land Commission in one year; but the Committee were not told the number of letters actually written in the Office. The hon. Gentleman stated the number of letters the Commissioners were required to sign two years ago.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: I did not say that they were signed by the Commissioners.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he had understood the hon. Gentleman to say so.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: No; what I said was "letters received."

MR. CONYBEARE remarked that the mere reading over of letters was not an onerous duty; and, therefore, he wished to know what number of letters were sent out in reply? Having had the number received, he asked the hon. Gentleman to supplement the information with the number sent in reply. He saw that the Land Commission consisted of three Commissioners with salaries of £1,500 a-year each; a Resident Legal Assistant Commissioner with £800 a-year; five Assistant Commissioners who conducted the local inquiries; a Chief Clerk with £600 a-year; a Senior First-Class Clerk with £550 a-year; four First-Class Clerks with salaries ranging from £300 to £500 a-year; a Chief Surveyor at £380; six Second-Class Clerks, a Lower Division, a Record Keeper, and so on. He ventured to say that the principal portion of the work was done by the clerks, although the lion's share of the pay went to the Commissioners. In regard to the Report of the Commissioners, he felt bound to complain that it was exceedingly deficient in the information which the House of Commons desired. The first portion of the Report related to the reclamation and inclosure of commons and the application of the compensation money paid for the extinction of common rights. A certain number of commons were named in the Report as in the process of being inclosed and regulated. It was perfectly well known that in the past history of the country most of these inclosures involved robberies committed upon poor people; and when he looked at the figures given in the Report as to the cases of inclosure and appropriation, he became convinced that the same system of robbery under the inclosure of common rights was still going on. In one case in the County of Westmoreland, 6,383 acres were to be regulated and 4,075 acres inclosed. Another case related to the County of Cornwall, a Division of which he had the honour to represent. Of the Lizard Common, Cornwall, 280 acres were to be inclosed, and only 70 acres were to be regulated. As a distinction was drawn between regulation and inclosure, he assumed that the portion to be regulated was

that which was to be retained for the use of the public, while the remainder was to be taken away. He wished to know why, in the case of the Lizard Common, Cornwall, so large a proportion as 280 acres was to be converted into private property, and only 70 acres left for the use of the public? As to compensation, he found in the Report a statement that in 45 cases compensation money had been paid for the acquisition of the common rights upon land belonging to the public which was required for railway purposes, and that in 19 other cases money had been invested for the benefit of the public. In 17 instances the money had been laid out in public improvements. What he had to complain of was that in the Report itself more detailed information was not provided. It was impossible for hon. Members sitting there, and endeavouring to check the Votes, to ascertain, without further information as to places and localities, where the changes were going on, the number of persons who were interested, and whether the inclosures were properly carried out or not. There was grave suspicion that hitherto they had not been properly carried out. It was, therefore, necessary that there should be a further Report; and he hoped that the Secretary to the Treasury would be able to promise information in reference to the places where the acquisition of common rights and the inclosure of common land were going on, together with the number of persons interested. If that were done, hon. Members would be able to form some opinion as to the extent of the transactions, and the number of persons who were being deprived of their common rights, together with the sums of money they were receiving in the shape of compensation. He found, from another portion of the Report, that in the case of transactions under the Tithe Commutation Act, where this Department and the landlords and the main appropriators were concerned, about 16,000 acres had been redeemed for a capital sum of £416,000, which worked out to 26 years' purchase. What he wished to ascertain was, whether anything like the same proportion had been observed in the compensation given to those who had been deprived of their common rights under Section 2 of the Act? He considered that 26 years' purchase was a very long price to pay in the case of the redemption of tithe, and so on; but if it were not too large a price, then the public ought to receive compensation for the extinction of their common rights on the same principle as the tithe holders were paid for the extinction of tithe. Until the Committee received far more information than they now had, it would be impossible for them to form a satisfactory opinion, from the bald statement contained in the Report, as to the cost at which these commonable rights were taken away from the poor. He thought these were points upon which the Committee were entitled to receive further information before they consented to pass the Vote; and he, therefore, heartily supported the Motion of his hon. and learned Friend for the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £3,000.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, that his hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury) had quoted the figures which he (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) had given as representing 5,000 transactions in which the Commissioners took part in the course of the year.

MR. HANBURY: Five thousand separate transactions.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, that, no doubt, there were 5,000 separate transactions in the course of the year; but his hon. Friend had mistaken the figures he (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) had given. The letters received in the course of the year he had mentioned numbered 35,000. The hon. Member for the Camborne Division of Cornwall (Mr. Conybeare) complained of the course that was pursued in reference to the inclosure and regulation of common land. He would remind the hon. Member that in every one of these cases of inclosure the House itself was a party to what was done. Every scheme recommending the inclosure of common land was sent to a Committee upstairs, nominated specially for the consideration of such questions; and all the evidence bearing upon the scheme was fully gone into and thoroughly sifted by that Committee. Therefore, if any injustice had been done, it was really the House itself that must bear the responsibility. In addition, the previous and subsequent stages of an Inclosure Bill gave the House the power of interfering in regard to com-

pensation for the extinction of common rights; these were not cases in which there could be any question of the robbery of the poor, or their unjust deprivation of their rights as commoners. This could happen only when compulsory powers were granted for any purpose such as the construction of a railway; and in such a case Parliament had full opportunity of seeing that no injustice was done, and if injustice were inflicted Parliament itself was to blame.

MR. CONYBEARE said, the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) had not met the main points of his objection. He did not complain of any injustice being done in ordering these inclosures; but he complained of the form in which the Report was presented on the ground that it failed to give full information whether, in exchange for the extinction of commonable rights, a sufficient amount of compensation had been given to the public or not. He trusted that better and more full information would be included in next year's Report.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, that in the case of every Provisional Order the scheme was accessible to the hon. Member in the Library.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) remarked, that it was all very well to say that hon. Members might go to the Library; but what were these gentlemen who received large salaries as Commissioners paid for, if it was not intended that they should make a general statement in regard to what they had done? In this case they found that a certain number of acres had been inclosed, and when they asked for information they were told to go and look in the Library into a lot of old and musty archives. It was not a question of whether there had been 5,000 or 6,000 transactions in the Office; but they had three gentlemen receiving salaries of £1,500 a-year each, who were said to be always at the Office when they were not upon a holiday. The Government were asked how long the holiday lasted; but the Treasury did not appear to know, nor were the Committee told for how many hours a day the Commissioners were occupied in the Office. As a matter of fact, he believed that these £1,500 per annum gentlemen were very rarely to be found at the Office. If a Return were made it would be found that they were not there upon one-half of the working days of the year, but were absent on their mysterious holiday, which, as the Committee were told, the Commissioners indulged in. The Chief Clerk did all the Commissioners' work, and for services in copying, &c., beyond those done in the establishment, a sum of £1,050 appeared to have been paid. He was prepared to say that the unfortunate gentlemen who performed these services were not allowed a holiday at all. If they were to enter into the question of separate letters and transactions, he had no doubt it would be found that the clerks who were in the Office morning, noon, and night did all the work themselves. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for the St. Rollox Division of Glasgow (Mr. Caldwell) that, so far as Scotland was concerned, the work was done by the Scotch people themselves, and that they ought not to be called upon to pay for the work done in England. He thought it was a great abuse to throw these charges upon the general public. The best proof possible that the charge ought to be borne by the proprietors of land was furnished by the fact that there was no corresponding Vote for Scotland. That fact afforded convincing proof that the expenditure was unnecessary, for the Scotch people would not consent to do without the money if it were necessary and could be got. Under these circumstances, he would support the Motion of his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Molloy), and also any Motion of any sort or kind in regard to this or any other Vote that would tend to bring about a reduction of expenditure of any amount upon a Public Department.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) said, he had failed to gather from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson), or the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley), whether there had been any increase or reduction in the work last year?

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, the figures he had mentioned appeared in the Commissioners' Report last year. In addition to a large number of transactions in connection with the Office

last year, there were 56 applications for schemes which were in progress of consideration now. That number was less than in previous years; but he imagined that the parties interested had been waiting for the Copyhold Act to come into full effect last year.

MR. HUNTER said, he found that in 1885 there were applications for about 1,000 schemes; in 1882, 269; and it appeared that this year there were only about 50; showing the diminished amount of work the Land Commissioners had to perform. Personally, he wished to support the view put before the Committee by the hon. Member for Preston, and which in theory had been accepted by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury—namely, that it would be inexcusable that any portion of the payment for this work should be thrown on the shoulders of the taxpayers of Scotland. The Land Commission did excellent work for the landowners, and were doing work for them which in former days would have necessitated their going to the Court of Chancery or applying for the benefit of an Act of Parliament. They were now able to get the same work done at an extremely small cost, and it was work in which the general community had no interest whatever. He thought that the Commissioners ought either to raise the fees, so as, at least, to equalize the expenditure and income, or, if they found they could not obtain more in the shape of fees, they ought then to reduce the expenditure. If they found it impossible to afford three salaries amounting to £4,500 per annum, let them afford one at £1,500; and if they could not do that, let them reduce the salary to £500. He maintained that if the Government continued to do the work for the advantage of the landowners they ought to make a profit upon it. They made a profit upon every letter they carried for the poorest person in the Kingdom, and they ought not to undertake the work of the landlords without making a profit also. It was quite clear that there was a diminishing amount of business, and it was necessary that the Commission should be kept in full employment. Upon these grounds he should vote for the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy).

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) said, the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury) had, in a very clear manner, enunciated the principle that the cost of this Office ought not to be borne by the public. That principle had been accepted in theory by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson), and he (Mr. Ellis) was quite certain that it received the sanction of a large number of the Members of that House. In 1886 there was a strong opinion expressed on both sides of the House that the taxpayers of the country ought to receive more value for their money than they had hitherto had. The Secretary to the Treasury had said that he agreed with most of the remarks of the hon. Member for Preston, and was of opinion that the public ought not to pay the sole charge of these Commissions. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman was not aware that in 1868 an interesting debate took place in that House upon this very question. The Conservative Party were in power at the time, and a Resolution was moved by Mr. Goldney, who was then Member for Chippenham, declaring that the expenses of this Commission ought not to be thrown upon the public. The late Mr. Ward Hunt, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer at the time, said that he accepted the principle entirely; and there now stood upon the Journals of the House a Resolution that, in the opinion of the House, the expenses of the Copyhold Commission and of the Charity Commission ought not to be borne by the public. It was a matter of regret that the Resolution had not been acted upon during all the years which had since elapsed. Under the circumstances, he should support the Motion for the reduction of the Vote, because he looked upon it as a protest against the present state of things. He earnestly hoped that the principle of relieving the public from the cost of this Office would be acted upon.

MR. JACKSON said, the hon. Member opposite (Mr. J. E. Ellis) had asserted that the principle which he accepted was that the cost of this Office should not be borne by the public. That was not the principle he had accepted; but he did sympathize with the theory that, as far as possible, the Office ought to be

made self-supporting. There were certain duties discharged by the Office which were exclusively for the benefit of the public, and he thought that for those duties the public were entitled to pay. In the remarks he had made he went on to show that the Government had been endeavouring to give effect to this principle, inasmuch as they had just sanctioned additional fees which ought to bring in £1,500, or probably £2,000 a-year more. Taking that fact into account, he did not think the Committee would be of opinion that it was desirable to dislocate the whole of the business of the Commission, but that they should proceed to give effect gradually to the principle he had indicated. The Government were of opinion that the work done by the Commission was for the public benefit. They ought, as far as they could, to make it self-supporting; but he had been far from expressing the opinion that the whole of the cost of an Office from which the public derived considerable benefit ought to be borne by individuals other than the public who resorted to it.

MR. BROOKFIELD (Sussex, Rye) said, that an impression prevailed that a certain amount of dilatoriness existed in regard to the way in which the duties of the Assistant Commissioners were performed, and considerable inconvenience had been the result in the localities more particularly affected. These Assistant Commissioners were appointed under the Tithe Commutation Act of 1886, and he would like to hear whether they were paid so much per day for their services, or whether they received fees without regard to results? He suggested that it would be better to pay them by piece work, or by results. Probably, if such a system were adopted, the progress of their investigations would be accelerated.

MR. JACKSON said, the question was carefully considered at the time the Assistant Commissioners were appointed, and a scale of payments was settled. He was only speaking from memory, but his impression was that these gentlemen were paid so much per day. The work, however, was of a character that was very easily surcharged, and he did not think there had been any undue delay. The only reason why it had not been completed was that there were certain test cases which had been raised in connection with certain points upon which it had been found necessary to take legal advice. Upon these test cases a decision would shortly be come to, and after it had been announced the work would be proceeded with rapidly.

MR. MOLLOY remarked, that if he wanted any justification of the Motion he had placed before the House for reducing the number of the Commissioners from three to two, it was to be found in the fact that from the Treasury Bench itself there had been no defence of the scale upon which the Office was manned. The nearest attempt at a justification was made by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley); but of all the meagre defences ever put before a Committee of Supply, that of the hon. Gentleman was the most meagre. The hon. Gentleman entirely ignored the fact that the whole of this subject had been debated in the House of Commons in 1886. The hon. Member had quoted in defence of the Office a set of figures the House refused to accept in 1886. He had quoted almost precisely the same set of figures which the House refused to accept in justification of the retention of three Commissioners—namely, that in one year the Office received 35,000 letters. He was reminded of the old smoker who acknowledged how much tobacco he had smoked in the course of 20 years, but defended it on the ground that it all came to nothing. The defence of the Government amounted to this—that from 30,000 to 35,000 letters were received in the Office in the course of a year; and in order to deal with that large amount of correspondence an Office was kept up in connection with which there were three Commissioners, a Resident Legal Assistant Commissioner, 18 regularly paid clerks, and a number of unknown clerks called copying clerks. Something like 26 or 27 persons were employed to receive the letters and peruse them at the rate of about 100 per day; yet this was put forward in that House as an immense amount of business, sufficient to justify an extravagant expenditure of the public money. Now, what were the letters that were received by the Land Commission? One-half of them were merely formal acknowledgments of the receipt of plans, and asking who was to receive so and

so. If these 100 letters represented 100 different classes of business transactions which had to be carried out, there might be something in this defence. But what would an hon. Member say if in the course of business a complaint was made that the staff he employed was not large enough, and on inquiry he found that all the staff did was to receive 100 letters a-day, about one-half of which, or about two per day for each man employed, were answered? He had specially avoided entering into any question of a personal character; but he warned the Secretary to the Treasury that if this style of Estimate was to be continued, a Committee of the House would have to examine into how the Commissioners came to be appointed. The Office was over-manned, and it afforded one instance of the jobbery by which men were appointed to Commissionerships, which they had not earned and did not deserve. He had no hesitation in saying that a very considerable amount of jobbery went on in connection with the Public Expenditure—much more than the country had any idea of. As he had said, a number of men were appointed to positions they had never earned, to the detriment of others who had worked hard in the Office. He believed the public would be astonished when the true facts came to be known. He would ask those who really wished to see economy carried out in the Public Expenditure whether they were prepared to continue voting year after year £3,000 per annum to men who did not earn £150 throughout the whole year? He had put a Question to the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department as to the number of hours the Commissioners actually spent in the Office during a day, but he had failed to elicit a satisfactory answer. He was told that they attended the Office every day, except when they were enjoying their natural holiday. But they might go down to the Office every day and only remain there for half-an-hour. There were no particulars before the Committee as to the work done. All they had before them was the amount of money spent annually, and spent for work done which, if it were the only work transacted, would be not worth one-fourth of the money paid for it. He wished to make no personal allusion to the present Commissioners, but he must enter a most determined protest against the present system, and against the continuance of this most extravagant expenditure of the public money without any explanation whatever from those who were employed in the Office, or any explanation from those in authority. He asked for this information in the name of the taxpayers of the country; and as he certainly intended to go to a Division he trusted that all who were in favour of economy and the saving of the taxpayers' money would vote with him.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) remarked, that the justification which the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) had given of the Estimate was one which would not only induce him to vote for the reduction of the Vote, but would compel him to move still further reductions. What was the explanation which the Under Secretary of State had given? The hon. Gentleman had drawn attention to the fact that the same question had been raised in 1886. The statement then made was that a certain amount of work was then done by the Commission, and it was now added that that work had since been very much increased. But had the hon. Gentleman turned to the very next page of the particulars of the Vote which the Committee were considering, he would see that there were several thousand pounds more charged for the additional work created by the Tithe Redemption Act of 1886 and otherwise. Therefore, instead of pleading this in any fashion as a defence of the Office, if the hon. Gentleman was not able to defend it otherwise, he should have left it alone altogether, because he was really damaging the Vote by the explanation he had offered. Sub-heads E and F dealt with the whole of the extra work created by the Tithe Redemption Act; and he maintained that it was by no means satisfactory for a Minister who took up the defence of a Vote to be unable to offer any kind of explanation as to details, but simply to desire hon. Members to go into the Library and look up the information which he himself ought to be prepared to give to the Committee in justification of the amount of money asked for. He would put it to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Trea-

sury (Mr. Jackson), who always gave the Committee the whole of the information in his possession, that, instead of maintaining the present officers, one Commissioner might be retained, and that the note at the top of the page showed that the Assistant Commissioners were paid at so much per day, and an additional fee on Report. He trusted that in future the Committee would not be asked to vote blindly in this way in favour of a Vote without having received a word of explanation.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 69; Noes 154: Majority 85.—(Div. List, No. 277.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. CONYBEARE stated that in accordance with the intimation he had conveyed a short time ago he proposed now to move the reduction of the Vote by a sum of £800, being the salary of the Resident Legal Assistant Commissioner. He did not object to the appointment of a Legal Commissioner, but he thought it would answer every necessary purpose if they had a Chief Commissioner who had received a legal education and training. As he had already commented upon that matter, he would direct his observations now to another point. Under Sub-head No. 5 there was an item which very much corroborated what he had already characterized as the unbusinesslike way of setting forth the details of the work of the Commission in the Estimates. The Committee were told under that head that the expenditure in 1887 in Great Britain, under various Improvement Acts, had amounted to some millions of the public money. He maintained that the House of Commons had an absolute right to know some of the details of that expenditure, so that they might become acquainted with the rate of interest at which the public money had been lent to landowners, how much had been repaid, and how much still remained to be repaid. He trusted that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would be able to give the Committee some information upon that subject. No doubt it might be answered that if he went to the Library and would look up the different Statutes he would be able to get all the information he required for himself, but he maintained that that was not the way in which the House ought to be satisfied upon important points of this character. They had a perfect right to have all those matters set out in full detail, so that by the time when the Votes were under the consideration of the Committee of Supply hon. Members might be furnished with full information on which to base their criticisms of the Estimates. With reference to the reduction which he was about to move, he had no doubt the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would also tell them that if the Motion were carried it would dislocate the whole business of Commissions; but that was not an argument to which they ought to pay any attention, because no change could be carried out without, to a certain extent, dislocating existing arrangements. Hitherto it had been the custom, year after year, to put off the Committee of Supply by arguments of that kind. What they desired was to effect some permanent improvement at once. If that were not done, and the matter be raised again some 10 years hence, no matter what Government was in power, they would be met with the same arguments. These things had been going on far too long already, and it was time the House took measures to effect some real reform. The hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) had attempted an apology for the large expenditure in connection with this Vote, on the ground that a great deal of the work done by the Commissioners was public work, done in the public interest. He wished to know, on the other hand, how much of it was work done in the interests of the landowning classes? If they took the different sections of the Acts of Parliament under which the work was done, it would, no doubt, be found that a certain amount of work was carried out which might be called public work; but, on the other hand, there was a great deal of work done which was not public work in any sense—namely, that affecting the alteration and division of land under the sanction of Public Acts of Parliament, such as the enfranchisement of leasehold property, of inclosure of common land, and transactions under the Tithes Commutations Act and the Universities College Estates Act. If hon. Members would look carefully into

the Report of the Commission, it would be found that a great bulk of the work was done in the interests of one class—namely, the landowning class of the country. At any rate, if the House of Commons was to be asked to vote these large sums of money because public work was being done, they were entitled to have a clear statement showing what was the amount of public work, and what was the amount done in the interests of the landowning class. If a Return of that nature were given, hon. Members would be able to see whether the public or the taxpayers were unfairly treated.

Motion made, and Question,

"That Item A (Salaries and Wages) be reduced by the sum of £800, the Salary of the Resident Legal Assistant Commissioner,"—(*Mr. Conybeare,*)

—put, and *negatived.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, there was one question upon which he should feel it necessary to take the sense of the Committee, unless the Government were able to give a clear and satisfactory explanation in regard to it. He was afraid they would be unable to do so after what he had already heard from the Treasury Bench. Under one of the Sub-heads to this Vote, there was an item of £100 for fees upon the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown. He had failed to understand, either from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury or the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, what proportion of those legal expenses had been paid in the last year or the year before, so as to guide the Committee in arriving at an estimate of the probable expenditure. Before making a Motion, he should wait to hear what explanation was given upon the matter; and he would suggest to the Committee what the principle was which was involved in this item. If it involved the payment of fees to the Law Officers of the Crown on non-contentious business, then he thought the Committee ought to know why those Officers were thus being paid, because he was of opinion that a payment of that nature was a matter which Parliament should directly set its face against. He should be glad to receive some explanation from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury before putting the Committee to the trouble of a Division.

MR. JACKSON said, it would be obvious to the Committee that this item of £100 placed on the Estimates was a provision made in case of an emergency, or of a complicated point arising when the expenditure would become necessary. It did not follow that the amount would be expended, but of course the Treasury was bound to provide for any contingency that might be likely to arise. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had raised a fair and practical question, and, therefore, it was desirable that he should give some information to the Committee as to what had been done. In 1886-7 there was no expenditure under this head. In 1885-6 the total expenditure amounted to 13*s.* 4*d.*; in 1884-5 the expenditure was £57 5*s.* 7*d.*, and in 1883-4 there was no expenditure at all; so that the Committee would see that, although this was a provision necessary to be made in the event of some complicated question arising for which the Commission would have to pay for outside opinion, there had hitherto been a really small expenditure under that head; probably if the money were voted it would not be necessary to use it.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he would suggest to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury that the answer he had given showed the absolute necessity of raising questions of this kind in Committee, because an unfair view was placed before the Committee that there were fees paid to the Law Officers of the Crown under this particular item. It now appeared quite clear that in some years the Law Officers of the Crown got nothing at all. He should be glad if the hon. Gentleman would inform the Committee how much the Law Officers got out of the £57 that were paid in 1884-5. If Law Officers of the Crown got nothing at all, he thought it was a pity to keep putting on the Estimates an insertion which was bad in principle and which hon. Members ought to challenge. He asked the Government to relieve him of the duty of moving the rejection of this item by an intimation that it would not appear on the Estimates again.

MR. JACKSON said, he was afraid that he was unable to say off-hand what portion of the fees was received by the

Law Officers or the Crown in regard to the sum of £57 expended in 1884-5. He thought, however, he might say, and probably he would be borne out by the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster), that the Law Officers of the Crown received no fees in connection with Government business.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Then why not put the fact as it actually is?

MR. JACKSON said, he hoped the hon. Member would be satisfied with the expression of an opinion that an alteration next year would be of advantage.

MR. BRADLAUGH asked if it would meet the views of the hon. Gentleman if he moved the omission of the words, "Fees for the Law Officers of the Crown?" He had a great objection to the insertion of a principle which could not be conscientiously sustained.

MR. JACKSON said, he had no objection to accept a proposition of the kind.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, that if the Government would undertake to carry out an understanding of that kind he would not press the matter.

MR. MOLLOY asked if the Committee were to understand that in the event of the hon. and learned Attorney General, or any other Law Officer of the Crown, being called upon to give an opinion to any Government Department, the work was done for nothing, and that in no single case did the Law Advisers of the Crown receive fees?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, there was no doubt whatever as to the practice, or as to the way in which it was worked. So far as the non-contentious business of the Government Departments were concerned, the Law Officers advised without fees, but there were certain offices, not directly Government Offices, which from time to time consulted the opinion of the Law Officers and paid fees. So far as the Government Offices were concerned, the Law Officers of the Crown discharged all the non-contentious legal business of the Government without extra expenditure.

MR. MOLLOY asked why, under such circumstances, an Estimate of £100 was inserted in the present Vote for extra fees? He wished to know if he understood the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury correctly that a similar item should not appear again on the Estimates?

MR. JACKSON said, the undertaking he had given was to alter the wording of the item.

MR. MOLLOY asked if he was to understand that this sum of money was not intended to be paid to the Law Officers of the Crown in the shape of extra fees for their opinion upon Government business, and that an undertaking was given that it should not appear again in the present form?

MR. JACKSON: Yes.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £173,968, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Local Government Board, including various Grants in Aid of Local Taxation."

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he would like to have information from the Government in regard to one or two points connected with this Vote, and he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board would be able now to bring before the Committee his proof in support of his pet argument that Scotland obtained more Grants in Aid per head of the population than England did. He found on looking over the Medical Vote—and he wished to call special attention to that Vote—that in England the Medical Vaccination Vote was £21,724, whilst Scotland only received £400. Now, the £400 granted to Scotland was not per head of the population equal to £21,724 granted to England. England drew far more than Scotland, and practically Scotland paid for all its own vaccination, in addition to which it had to help the unfortunate English taxpayers by paying a portion of the charge for the others. He also found in the Vote a charge for the Medical Department, which received £9,080 in the shape of salaries and £2,900 for the expenses of the Department, making a total in salaries and expenses of £11,980. When he turned to the Vote for Scotland he found that it got £200, as against £11,980 paid to England; then certainly, so far as that grant was concerned, Scotland

did not get so much per head of the population as England. In looking over other parts of the Estimates in connection with the old Medical Vote, he found that there was £149,200 paid to the Medical Officers of Health, and a sum of £74,500 for the Poor Law Medical Establishment, making altogether more than £200,000, while the entire Scotch Vote was only £20,600; comparing the population of England with the population of Scotland the money voted amounted to £10 per 1,000 in England, and £5 10*s.* per 1,000 in Scotland. He should be glad if the right hon. Gentleman would explain how it was that the Scotch people got so much less than the English. The same discrepancy occurred regularly throughout the Vote; for instance, £9,600 was paid to Registrars in England, while in Scotland they had to pay all their own Registrars out of the local taxation. He failed to see why, under those circumstances, they ought to be required to pay any portion of the £9,600 required for the English Registrars. Then, again, he found that £15,000 was required to be paid for District Auditors; but in Scotland the cost of the District Audit was paid entirely from local sources. According to the Vote, the money expended in England was twice as much in comparison with the population as that in Scotland; and, in addition, the Scotch taxpayers were made to contribute a portion of the English taxes. Before moving the reduction of the Vote by £100,000, in order to bring the Vote for England to a level with that of Scotland, he would like to hear from the right hon. Gentleman opposite the basis upon which the statements he had made in reference to Scotland was founded.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) said, he thought it would be convenient, in discussing the Local Government Vote, to go into matters of detail. He wished to draw attention, in the first place, to the item for the inspection of workhouse schools in England. In Scotland there were no workhouse schools whatever, but all the pauper children were educated in the ordinary board schools, and the inspection took place in the ordinary way. He was not going to enforce the great importance of educating the children in the parish schools, and do away with the workhouse schools altogether; that was a principle which he proposed to bring forward later on. All he desired now was to call attention to the important fact that in Scotland all the children were educated in the ordinary board schools, and by that means the expense charged in the present Vote in connection with the audit and inspection of the workhouse schools was saved. He found that there were four Inspectors, who received £600 a-year each, and £250 for personal expenses, in addition to £112 10*s.* 0*d.* which each received for travelling expenses. He thought it was monstrous to suppose that those gentlemen expended £250 a-year in personal expenses, in addition to £112 10*s.* 0*d.* for travelling expenses, or a total of £362 a-year; that was about £1 a-day, whether the Inspectors were in work or not, and they were paid for carrying on the work of inspection as well. Formerly the sum paid in this way was still greater, and it had been commuted in the case of personal expenses to £250 for each Inspector. The sum paid some years ago was much larger, and it was considered convenient to cut it down. Now, in the case of Scotland the children were inspected in the various localities where they happened to reside, without any extra cost of inspection at all. The whole of this Vote was an extra charge for which there was no corresponding charge whatever in Scotland. He did not ask for the reduction of the whole Vote, because he certainly attached some importance to the duty of inspection; but he did object to the payment of enormous sums for personal and travelling expenses, and he would therefore move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £1,000.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) said, that he had a Motion upon the Paper which would precede that which had been made by the hon. Member for Glasgow.

THE CHAIRMAN asked what the item was to which the Motion of the hon. Member referred?

MR. PICKERSGILL said, it had reference to Sub-head F, which related to Metropolitan vagrants, and appeared upon page 140 of the Estimates.

MR. CALDWELL said, that he would withdraw his Motion for the present.

MR. PICKERSGILL said, the item of the Vote to which he desired to draw

attention was that which defrayed the cost of the Inspectors who were employed to inspect the vagrant wards in the Metropolis with a view of detecting those who visited a Metropolitan vagrant ward more than once within a month. If a vagrant was so detected he became liable to be detained for four days. The matter was one of special importance at present, owing to the action taken by the police last winter, which action might be repeated in the approaching winter—namely, the driving of destitute people out of the streets, and, in fact, compelling them to have recourse to the casual wards. It was not his purpose now to question the action or policy of the Government in the matter, but merely to point out what that action had been, and to show that its practical result had been to force people to go into the casual wards. The policy of the law which the Inspectors were appointed to carry out was to deter people from having recourse to the casual wards, so that the police and the Local Government Board appeared to be at cross purposes on the matter. If they compelled vagrants to go into the casual wards it would certainly seem right not to treat them with too great severity when they were there; and especially the policy adopted ought not to be one that would deter them from going to the casual wards at all. What were the facts of the case? It had been said—and he believed there was a good deal of truth in the statement—that those people would rather be in prison than in the casual wards. There was, at all events, some reason why they should prefer the prison, because he understood that the tale of work exacted for them in prison was one-fourth less than in the casual wards. A person imprisoned in a gaol was required to pick three pounds of oakum, whereas in the casual wards they were required to pick four pounds. He had heard it said that it was a very easy thing to pick four pounds of oakum. Very likely it was so, if the person picking it knew how to do it; but, at all events, the result would be this—that they were providing a task which pressed with peculiar severity upon those who were most deserving, and upon those who were not habitual vagrants, who had no means of acquiring the same facility for doing the work which old vagrants had acquired. He should like to say one word as to the detention of persons who entered the casual wards. That detention amounted to this—that if any man was found in any Metropolitan casual ward twice within a month, he was liable to be detained until the fourth day after his admission. This detention, in many cases at all events, he might say without exaggeration, worked most unfairly and oppressively. A short time ago a person was brought before one of the Metropolitan Magistrates charged with refusing to perform his allotted task of work in the casual ward. It happened that the man was admitted on a Friday night; on Saturday he performed his allotted task of work, and on the Sunday morning he desired to be released. It would appear, however, that according to the Rules Sunday was a *dies non*, and therefore the authorities refused to release him. When the prisoner was let out of his cell, he refused to go back, and he was therefore given into custody; upon which the Magistrate said—"Are they put in cells? It sounds like a prison." The witness exclaimed that they were put in single cells, 10 feet by 5, and that the work they had to do was done in solitary confinement. The prisoner said—

"I had no money to pay my lodgings, and so I went to the casual ward. On Sunday they wanted to lock me up all day long; but I preferred to come before you, in order to know if I could be treated like that."

The witness from the workhouse said that the man had stated the truth, whereupon the Magistrate said he would make further inquiry into the facts of the case, and would visit one of the workhouses where the casual ward system was in operation. The prisoner remarked—

"What is a man to do? If they had told me that I should be detained on Sunday, I would not have remained."

The Magistrate said—

"It does seem a little hard, but I suppose they have some good reason for the Rule. I will discharge you now."

He thought it desirable to call the attention of the Local Government Board to the matter, and the way in which the Poor Law Authorities discharged the duties laid upon them, no doubt by statute. He found that the Casual Poor Act of 1882 provided that a casual pauper should not be entitled to be discharged. He invited the right

hon. Gentleman's attention to the words used in the Statute. The words of the Statute were "shall not be entitled to be discharged;" but what did the Board do when they came to frame their Order under the Statute? They deliberately altered the word "entitled," and substituted the word "allowed," so that the words ran—

"A casual pauper shall not be allowed except within a prescribed period."

Now, he ventured to think that the Board had rather exceeded its power, or, at all events, had acted contrary to the spirit of the Statute; the statutory word being "entitled" and not "allowed." The effect of the alteration was to give a large discretion to the Guardians as to whether they would detain the casuals or not; and the Order, by substituting the word "entitled," made a material alteration. The Statute did not say, you shall detain them; but gave to the Board of Guardians a wide interpretation of the Order. However, the Local Government Board said that a casual pauper should not be allowed to be discharged, and the Order, therefore, practically took away from the Guardians the discretion which the law had given to them. He was aware that something had recently been done in this direction, and that the Board had issued an Order giving the Guardians a discretionary power to discharge vagrants at an early hour in the morning, so that they might be able to get work; but, as he understood the Order, that relaxation of the Rule only applied to the morning of the day on which the pauper would have been discharged if there had been no relaxation of the old Rule. It seemed to him that persons who were, unfortunately, obliged to enter the casual ward as an exceptional thing were treated somewhat harshly and oppressively. He therefore desired to impress upon the President of the Local Government Board the necessity of doing something in the matter, and the advisability of altering the word "allowed" in the Order issued by the Board, so as to make it agree with the Statute, in which, as he had stated, the word was not "allowed," but "entitled."

THE CHAIRMAN asked whether the hon. Member moved an Amendment?

MR. PICKERSGILL said, he would move the omission of the item of £416 in respect of salaries of the Inspectors of the Metropolitan Vagrant Wards.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Item F, £416, for Inspection of Metropolitan Vagrant Wards, be omitted from the proposed Vote."—(*Mr. Pickersgill.*)

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bethnal Green seemed to think that the only duty which had to be performed by Inspectors of the wards was the identification of habitual vagrants. No doubt that was a portion of the duties they had to perform; but, in addition to that, they had to make regular Reports to the Local Government Board in reference to the sanitary condition of the casual wards, and all the conditions that were necessary to be observed for the health and comfort of the inmates. Therefore, he thought no one would regret more than the hon. Member himself if his Motion were carried, because there would not be that inspection which, in the opinion of the Local Government Board, was necessary to be made in regard to those casual wards. It was perfectly obvious that precautions ought to be taken against what might be called the professional tramp, who never attempted to get any work, or to provide himself with lodgings, but who made the casual ward his hotel. One of the duties the Inspectors had to perform was the identification of that class of pauper. They were required to go from one casual ward to another, to inspect the people who went there, and ascertain whether any of them were professional tramps, who made it a practice to go to the casual ward for shelter; therefore, under certain circumstances, it was desirable that the Rule objected to by the hon. Member should continue to be enforced. The hon. Member had referred to the action taken by the Local Government Board in connection with the matter, and had said that the Board had gone beyond what the Act of Parliament proposed. Now, he did not think that that was so. The Act of Parliament expressly laid upon the shoulders of the Local Government Board the duty of making Regulations,

and certainly used the words which had been quoted by the hon. Member. But the hon. Gentleman knew also that a considerable discretion was left by the Orders of the Local Government Board in the hands of the Guardians, who, if they considered it desirable, might deal in a different way with any particular person or class of persons. They had full power to relax the Regulations laid down by that Order of the Board in favour of any individual if they thought proper to do so. The hon. Gentleman was apparently unaware of the fact that the Local Government Board had expressly drawn the attention of the Guardians last year to the power placed in their hands in relaxing the hour at which the inmates of the casual wards might be discharged.

MR. PICKERSGILL said, he thought that relaxation was confined to the hour of the morning at which they should be released.

MR. RITCHIE said, that no doubt it was considered the best course to enable the Guardians to dismiss those persons at an hour of the morning that would enable them to go to work; but, in addition to that, instructions were given to the identification officers that they were not to be too particular in the identification of persons who were not of the habitual class of vagrants it was considered desirable to deal with. As a matter of fact, the Detention Order of last year was not put in force; but it would, in his opinion, be a great mistake to take away permanently the power of enforcing the Order if it were not exercised in any harsh manner. He was quite certain it was desirable, in the public interests, that the power of enforcing the Order should exist if a time of pressure came. The hon. Member might be assured that everything would be done in the way of relaxing the Rules, if any Rule existed that might do harm. The hon. Member found fault with the fact that some of the casual poor were confined in separate compartments. That was not so in all the workhouses; but in several of the workhouses in London, no doubt, the separate cell system was employed. He could quite understand that a *bonâ fide* honest wayfarer who had occasion to go into a casual ward for a night's lodging would very much prefer a separate cell system; and it was mainly in the interests of such honest casual wayfarers that the separate cell system had been set up. If the hon. Gentleman supposed that they were treated as prisoners and locked in their cells for any long period he was altogether mistaken. Instances might, no doubt, be quoted; but, so far as the Local Government Board was concerned, they distinctly set their faces against any proceedings on the part of the Board of Guardians to convert those apartments into prisons, or anything like prison cells. The hon. Gentleman had referred to the action of the police with reference to driving the people into the casual wards. That was a matter of which he himself had no cognizance. No doubt, at the time referred to last year, there was a great pressure in certain casual wards in the Metropolis, and a large collection of people in Trafalgar Square and other places. It was desirable that those persons should be taken off the streets, and the effect of dealing with them was to fill the casual wards. He earnestly hoped that owing to the improved condition of trade there might not be a similar pressure this year; but he had no doubt whatever that, in any circumstances, ample accommodation would be provided to meet any emergency that might occur. He thought it was not in the interests of the poor themselves, or of the Metropolis at large, that those unfortunate persons should be allowed to lie about the streets or in Trafalgar Square; but that some place should be provided for them into which they might go.

MR. PICKERSGILL said, that his object had been substantially served in calling attention to the subject; but there were some portions of the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman to which he desired to refer. He had understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that the Inspectors were required to certify that the casual wards were properly maintained. He believed they were required by Statute to certify that the casual wards were in a proper sanitary condition. It certainly seemed to him strange that men receiving 30*s.* a-week should have imposed on them a duty so important and so responsible as that of giving a certificate that the casual wards were maintained in a proper sanitary condition. He should like the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether a man employed at 30*s.* a-week was a proper person on whom to impose so important and responsible a duty?

MR. RITCHIE said, the duties of the Inspectors were clearly laid down. There were certain printed questions which they had to answer, and they were of such a nature that he thought any man of reasonable common sense would be perfectly able to understand them and reply to them. They were such as—Is there a proper light? Are there separate beds? Are the wards properly warmed? Are they properly ventilated? Is there a lavatory in the ward?—and matters of that kind. The hon. Gentleman would be aware that there were Inspectors employed by the Local Government Board, whose duty it was to visit all these wards and to make a Report. The Reports which the Inspectors were required to send were such as they were perfectly competent to make.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, he rose to move the omission of the amounts under Sub-heads S, T, and U. It was against bonuses that his Motion was directed. However unfortunate it might be that he should have to move the reduction of the Vote, he had no doubt that hon. Members and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board would agree with him in expressing satisfaction that this would be the last time that the subject would be brought before that House. He would like the Committee to deal with the question on that occasion, especially as it would be dealt with by the Local Authorities in future, and because he desired to obtain an expression of opinion on the subject of bonuses which were given in England, but not given either in Ireland or Scotland. If these bonuses served any object at all it would be shown in the prevention of small-pox. But, curiously, they had the strongest evidence that in this respect bonuses were an utter failure. In the case of Sheffield, year after year, they had the most glowing accounts of successful vaccination, and large bonuses were paid for the alleged successful vaccinations; but there had been in Sheffield a most serious epidemic of small-pox. He had no intention of taking up as much time on this question as he should have done if the Vote had been discussed before the passage of the Local Government Bill, because he felt sure the Committee would regard this as a sort of partial criticism over a subject which was dead so far as the House of Commons was concerned. But it was part of an emphatic pledge he had given to make this protest while the matter was still in the hands of the House, and he did so in order that Members who felt strongly on the subject should have an opportunity of expressing their opinions in the Division Lobby. There was a very strong feeling on the question outside the House. He had received letters from poor people in Sheffield which were extremely touching; these people thought a real injury had been done to them, and he thought that many of them had ground for thinking that they should look to that House for the justice that otherwise they could not obtain. He did not intend to go into the question of the good or evil of vaccination generally, but he wished to put it that there were Members of the Medical Profession to whom bonuses had been paid for successful vaccination, while they had evidence of which the House had taken cognizance that some of the cases of vaccination had resulted in death, the vaccinator receiving the bonus; notwithstanding that he might have used instruments which were not clean, or otherwise communicated disease to the child. He was afraid that the right hon. Gentleman would think that he was going beyond the text he had shadowed out for himself if he suggested that certainly in many cases serious diseases had been communicated by vaccination, and that the evidence that syphilis had been so communicated was overwhelming. This was perfectly true, although the right hon. Gentleman might say that it had only occurred in some few cases, and to that answer of the right hon. Gentleman he would reply that although it had only been proved in very few cases, yet the possibility of this might be considered an excuse for a poor father and mother refusing to submit their children to undergo the process of vaccination. He had received an account of a case in which a child, supposed to be healthy by its parents and the officer, was vaccinated and died soon after the operation. He was aware that skilled evidence disagreed very much as to whether death in this case resulted from the operation or from other causes. But he put it

that where there was the colour of a grievance of this kind, and more than that, where poor people were prosecuted over and over again for refusing to have their children vaccinated, this aspect of the case demanded attention. Cases had been repeatedly brought before the House of Commons in which it was said, perhaps truly, that the fines imposed had been paid by some association, and it was, perhaps, fortunate for the parents if this was the case. But he pointed out that one of the Members of that House who had conscientious objections to vaccination had only been fined once; his conscientious objections having been allowed to prevail, and no other prosecution following, because he was a Member of Parliament. As against this a man at Bedford had been prosecuted 14 times, and one Charles Hayward had been the subject of between 40 and 50 proceedings. He asked whether, in that case, the persons to whom he now referred were not justified in denying that we were dealing out even justice? He would not say more than that the bonuses given in England, and which were not given in Ireland or Scotland, had failed in preventing the disease for the purpose of preventing which they were given. They had had a Parliamentary inquiry, the evidence at which showed that in one case a doctor, who had received, and was still receiving, as he believed, bonuses for successful vaccination, had several children die under his hand in one way or other, admittedly under conditions of gross neglect. He hoped there would be an expression of opinion on the part of the Committee on this question, and for that purpose he begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £1,864, the item for the National Vaccine Establishment.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Item S, £1,864, for the National Vaccine Establishment, be omitted from the proposed Vote."—(*Mr. Bradlaugh.*)

MR. PICTON (Leicester) said, that while he could join with his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) in congratulating the Committee that this matter, in the same form, was not likely to come again before the House, there were grounds on which he was inclined to regret that fact. He rejoiced at it because the local elections for the County Councils would afford an opportunity of stimulating public opinion on this question to an extent which, perhaps, did not prevail in the election of Members for that House; at the same time he regretted to be deprived of the opportunity of dealing in that House with a subject, which, however rarely alluded to, was one of undoubtedly deep importance. His hon. Friend had mentioned cases of suffering and persecution that had resulted in connection with the subject then before the Committee, but he had not alluded to the very angry feeling which existed in many places with regard to vaccination, and of which many hon. Members on that side of the House were well aware. He should, however, endeavour to keep as closely as possible to the immediate question of the Vote for vaccination purposes before the Committee. Although the Chairman had very properly restricted the Motion of his hon. Friend to one sub-head, he hoped he might be allowed to direct the discussion to the other sub-heads to which his hon. Friend had alluded. The sum of £18,000 was not relatively very large, but at the same time it was a large sum of public money to be wasted; and one strong argument for cutting down the Vote was that it was actually wasted because it did no kind of good. Professedly it was put forward as the most practicable means of securing that vaccination should be performed effectually and safely, and the principle was that of payment by results. Doctors were not only paid a fee for performing the operation, but were promised a further reward, as a bonus, if the operation should be performed effectually and safely. To this there was the strong objection that the medical men were paid twice over for doing the same work; and then again there was underlying it the assumption, not complimentary to the Medical Profession, that doctors had to be bribed to do their work properly. He thought this was humiliating to the Medical Profession, and, if the principle was legitimate, should not it be carried further? Why not make extra grants to parish doctors for cures, or go further and say, "No cure no pay?" He could not imagine any principle consistent with professional dignity or honour that would justify the manner in which these bonuses were given. The

notion was to secure general immunity from small-pox; but though in Sheffield £190 had been paid in bonuses, according to the last Report the visitation of small-pox there had been extremely bad. Dr. Sinclair White, writing to the Local Government Board upon the severe outbreak of small-pox in Sheffield, said it should not be forgotten that there was such a thing as imperfect vaccination; that the value of the operation depended on the extent of the efficiency with which it was performed. Sheffield had received a large sum in bonuses, which he (Mr. Picton) believed amounted, in the course of 10 years, to £2,500. The Committee would observe that Dr. Sinclair White said that the value of vaccination depended upon its efficient performance. This Vote was intended to secure, by a certain test, that vaccination should be efficient. But the test had been proved to have completely broken down, because in Sheffield there had been one of the most terrible outbreaks of small-pox within recent experience. In the Report of the Local Government Board they found a list of towns in which there was very little vaccination, and when they turned to the catalogue of bonuses given to them they would find that, with respect to them, those towns stood at a very low figure. For instance, in the case of Keighley, where 71·7 per cent of the children born were unaccounted for in the vaccination list, the bonuses this year only amounted to £16 10*s.*, and yet the town was entirely free from small-pox. In Leicester the number of children who were unaccounted for in the vaccination list was, as was well known, exceedingly large; and there, also, the amount of bonuses was only £34 13*s.* Leicester was not mentioned in the new Report, and the figures he had given represented the amount for last year. As he had already urged, Leicester was entirely, or to a great extent, free from small-pox, but not so entirely free as to allow hon. Members to say that if the disease came into the town the population would be speedily decimated, because Leicester had been frequently attacked, but had always managed to suppress the disease. Without pursuing this point in detail further, he would remark that in most cases where the amount of bonuses earned was very low, the neighbourhoods were practically free from small-pox. On the other hand, if hon. Members would turn to the towns where a large amount for bonuses was paid, such as Leeds and Sheffield, they would find that the mortality had been very great. It followed, therefore, that the efforts to secure successful vaccination had broken down. But he might be told that it was not intended by these bonuses to secure immunity from small-pox, and that the immediate object was to secure the safety of the operation. That was an admission that the operation was in itself a dangerous one, and that unless special guarantees were given for its safety many evils were likely to result. In other words, the operation was so perilous that ordinary skill was not considered sufficient. But when the Regulations under which the operation was to be conducted, and for compliance with which these bonuses were given, were carefully scrutinized, it would be found that literal obedience to them was impracticable, and that, where practicable, it was impossible to test compliance in any fair and sufficient manner. The first Regulation required that the public officer should refrain from vaccinating in districts where there was any report of the existence of erysipelas, or where, at any rate, it was prevalent. Hon. Members would recollect the inquiry which had taken place into the cases of the vaccination at Norwich, the evidence on which he held in his hand in the form of a Parliamentary Paper. Dr. Guy, of Norwich, had received, and, he presumed, continued to receive, bonuses for vaccination; and in the course of the inquiry he was closely examined as to his practice with reference to the Regulations. With regard to the first Rule, which provided that there should be no vaccination where erysipelas was epidemic, Dr. Guy said that on the 13th of June last he believed erysipelas was epidemic in Norwich, and that he had heard so since; that a Dr. Airey had told him that there was a case of erysipelas, and he had also heard of isolated cases. He believed there was a slight epidemic; that it was very slight at the end of June, and that he still continued to vaccinate. Again, the second Rule required that the vaccinator should take care to see that there were no eruptions on the child's body, and that a very close examination should be

made. Dr. Guy said, in reference to this, that when a child was brought to him he asked if it was healthy, and if it had the thrush. He also asked whether it had skin disease; that the examination he made was not by having the child stripped; that if he complied with the instructions of the Local Government Board he ought to have the child stripped. He (Mr. Picton) understood that as many as 50 children would be operated on in the course of two hours, and it was, therefore, perfectly impossible to carry out such a class of examination and to take such precautions as were prescribed in the first Regulation. Yet they were told that these bonuses were given for compliance with this Rule, among others. But he contended that even if compliance were practicable, it was impossible for anyone to test the matter, and to ascertain whether the public vaccinator always made the examination required, or whether he had continued to vaccinate when there was a prevalence of erysipelas. Again, what was there in the examination to show whether the vaccination was efficient or not? No true test whatever could be said to be properly applied except in the case of the inspection of the vaccination marks, which were ripe on the eighth day. He contended that he had given some proof that the bonuses did not secure any immunity from small-pox; that the Regulations were impracticable and could not be carried out; and that there was no adequate test of compliance with the Regulations. But there was more than this to be said. The dangers from vaccination, as appeared from the Instructions and Regulations themselves, were mainly two—syphilis and erysipelas. He asked whether these grants operated in such a manner as to give any guarantee against these two dangers? Dr. Creighton, Mr. Hutchinson, and Dr. Cory—the latter unwillingly and in his own person—supported the view that these diseases were communicable by vaccination. He trusted that the President of the Local Government Board would keep his eye upon this subject, with regard to which medical opinion did not stand where it did a few years ago, as would probably appear also from an article in the forthcoming volume of *The Encyclopædia Britannica*. It was certain that vaccinal matter was capable of producing the effects of syphilis, and if it were said that this had not been proved in cases brought to the knowledge of the Local Government Board, it must be remembered that the preliminary manifestations of the disease did not appear until three or four weeks after the operation, while the certificate of successful vaccination was given on the eighth day. All things being considered, he thought there was very great reason for hesitation in making this grant of £18,000, which could be of no possible use. It was well known that erysipelas was increasing among children, and he believed cases of syphilis were more common than formerly, which could not always be traced to the sources from which they were supposed to arise. He would, therefore, ask the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board seriously to consider the issue at which they stood. The question, as he had said, had created a considerable amount of anxiety in the country, and something ought to be done to soothe the feelings of the many afflicted people who stood between their conscientious sense of duty to their children and their sense of obedience due to the law. If the right hon. Gentleman would give the Committee some assurance that an inquiry of some kind would be instituted for the purpose of throwing fresh light on the question, the course of Business might be facilitated. For his own part, with his present information on the subject, he should cordially support the Motion of his hon. Friend for the reduction of the Vote.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) said, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board to look at this question from an English point of view. He was not there to dispute the benefit of vaccination, and admitted that, as far as the evidence went on the subject, it was on the side of vaccination. In Scotland the law compelled a parent to have his child vaccinated within a certain time; if the child was not vaccinated, then the Registrar brought him before the Parochial Board, which was equivalent to the Board of Guardians in England, and instructions were then given to the medical officer to have the operation performed, or to see that it was properly done, and the expense was entirely borne by the

ratepayers. He asked why it was that while the people of Scotland voluntarily paid the whole of the expense of vaccination, the ratepayers in England got relief from the Public Revenue to which the people of Scotland contributed? He should suppose the reason to be that in Scotland there was no difficulty whatever in having the Vaccination Acts applied, but that a certain amount of difficulty existed in England; for which reason it was found necessary to give a sum of money to have the work properly done. He maintained, however, that if vaccination were a public duty at all, the State should not in any way contribute to the cost.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) said, that if Scotland had a grievance it would end with the present Vote, as the duty of paying these awards would in future rest with the Local Authorities; and the hon. Member who had just spoken would have the satisfaction of knowing that henceforward no ratepayer in Scotland would be called upon for any contribution to these amounts. He hoped that the hon. Member would not ask him to go into the question with regard to how far Scotland contributed. Still, if they were to go into the whole question, he did not think Her Majesty's Govenment would have any difficulty in showing that in Scotland there was no public vaccination in the sense in which it existed in England, and that Scotland would not be found to suffer any injustice when all the grants given to her were compared with those given to England. He acknowledged the fairness with which the question had been brought forward by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), and the narrow limits to which he had confined his remarks. He did not, however, think that the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) had confined himself within limits quite so narrow. He would ask the hon. Gentleman to excuse him from entering into the merits of Sheffield, Leeds, and other towns, and the manner in which they illustrated the operation of the law, because the hon. Member was aware they had already had a discussion on this question during the present Session. He was perfectly ready to admit the remarkable character of the Leicester system, but he thought it would be a great mistake to argue from it that vaccination might be dispensed with throughout the United Kingdom because Leicester had been free from small-pox for a period. If he were to enter into a discussion on the subject, he thought he could show facts which might make the people of Leicester feel a little alarmed, if they were placed under circumstances which all must hope might not take place. His position was this—that if vaccination was a good thing, and he must occupy that position, precautions ought to be taken to carry it out with the greatest amount of safety and efficiency. The hon. Member for Leicester said that these awards were given for the safe performance of the operation, and he argued that this process of securing safety was an admission that it was a very dangerous process. He (Mr. Ritchie) entirely differed from the hon. Member. He denied that the rewards were given solely for the purpose of securing the safety of the process. No doubt it was necessary and right that this should be one of the conditions; but the rewards were given mainly with the view of securing the efficiency of the process, both in quantity and in quality. He would add that it was a well-known fact, demonstrated by example, that the protective character of vaccination did vary with the manner in which it was performed—with the quantity and with the quality of the vaccination. He would not trouble the Committee with many figures; but as the hon. Gentleman had raised a very particular question, he would point out the result of an examination which had been made into the cases of 27,000 vaccinated children, between the ages of seven and 14 years. Of those who had four scars, 0·67 per 1,000 were pitted with small-pox; those with three, 1·42; with two scars, 2·49; and those with one, 6·80 per 1,000; so that there was a great difference between those who had four scars and those who had only one—namely, as between 6·80 and 0·67 per 1,000 who were pitted with small-pox. The statistics of cases of small-pox at all ages admitted at the Highgate Hospital showed that the deaths of those stated to have been vaccinated, and upon whom no cicatrices were visible, amounted to 21¾ per cent; of those with one cicatrix visible, 7½; with two, 4⅛; with three, 1¾; and with

four or more cicatrices, the deaths were ¾ per cent. The question of whether one or 10 should die after contracting small-pox was, therefore, found to be a question of the quantity of vaccination received. Similar results were obtained in the Montreal epidemic; and it could be no question at all that the amount of protection given differed greatly according as the operation was performed successfully or not, and with its quantity and quality. That being so, he now passed on to the hon. Member's argument that this constituted a double payment. But he would point out that the payment was made according to Act of Parliament passed in 1857, which distinctly stated that there should be one payment for every operation, and that, in addition, there should be this other payment depending on the examination made. The hon. Gentleman was, perhaps, not aware that this matter, in 1876, was very minutely examined into by the Treasury, and that the result was that Lord Lyndhurst stated that this was not an extra payment, but that the payments were to be read together as the payment which Parliament had decided ought to be given for the operation, but that the second portion should be made contingent upon the character of the operation. The hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) and the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had spoken of Sheffield as being a place where, notwithstanding the fact that considerable awards had been made, the protection given was extremely small. Now, he (Mr. Ritchie) entirely denied that this was so, and he referred to a Report which, he hoped, would be in the hands of hon. Members in about 14 days, and which would show that the success of vaccination had been completely demonstrated.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he had intended to say that, notwithstanding that there had been for a series of years many thousand cases of successful vaccination, a severe epidemic had resulted.

MR. RITCHIE said, he did not think that anyone would say that vaccination, however well performed, was an absolute protection, and that people vaccinated could not take small-pox; but he would say that it was an enormous protection, and this he would like to make clear with reference to Sheffield. The population of Sheffield was 300,000; of that there were 292,500 persons vaccinated and 7,500 unvaccinated. The total number of attacks was 6,120, of which 5,075 occurred to vaccinated persons, and 1,045 to unvaccinated persons. It followed from this that one unvaccinated person in every seven was attacked, and that if this proportion had been maintained among the vaccinated, the total number of attacks would have been 41,300 instead of 6,120; the total number of deaths among the vaccinated, 246, or 57 per cent; and the total number of deaths among the unvaccinated was 342, or 33 per cent. Therefore, if the same proportion of deaths had occurred among the vaccinated who were attacked, as among the unvaccinated who were attacked, there would have been 1,691 deaths among them instead of 246; and if the whole population had been unvaccinated the attacks would have been 41,300, instead of 6,120, and the deaths would have been 13,200 instead of 589. These figures showed the enormous value and the enormous protective power of vaccination. The hon. Member for Northampton spoke very feelingly about a number of cases which were said to have resulted in disease by vaccination, and the hon. Member for Leicester had quoted Mr. Hutchinson to show that syphilis might be communicated by the operation. But he also said that Dr. Cory had vaccinated himself four times with lymph taken from persons impregnated with syphilis, so that in order to sustain the hon. Gentleman's case he had to give an illustration of a man who ignored all the instructions of the Local Government Board, and only, by so doing, succeeded in innoculating himself with syphilis. He was not prepared to say that under such circumstances it was not possible for syphilis to be conveyed, but he said that out of the last 6,000,000 cases of vaccination which had taken place, there had not been one case in which it was proved that syphilis had been communicated. But with reference to the question of deaths referred to vaccination, he wished to state that it was his intention to have the most thorough and complete inquiry into every case, and he had arranged with the Registrar General that where vaccination was alluded to as a cause

of death, the case should be brought at once before the Local Government Board, and a full inquiry should be instituted. The Local Government Board would, immediately after death had taken place which was attributed to vaccination, inquire into all the circumstances, and every care would be taken to get at the truth of the matter. With regard to the cases alleged, of the particular disease referred to by the hon. Member for Northampton, he had always instituted inquiry immediately, and the result had been that there was not a single proof that the disease had resulted from vaccination. He believed he had shown that it was extremely desirable that these grants should continue to be made. Parliament had distinctly laid down that they should made, and the whole question had been impartially inquired into, with the result that a confirmation of the view on which Parliament had acted had been arrived at. As the Committee was aware, he had stated that, so far as the money part of the question was concerned, these grants would not be asked for from Parliament again, and that they would be paid out of local funds; but he was satisfied that it would not be right or proper to discontinue this inspection of the result of the efforts which the Government were making to improve both the quantity and quality of vaccination, and to see that, as far as possible, proper safeguards were preserved, and that no injury resulted from the operation. Under these circumstances he hoped the Committee would not consent to the proposal of the hon. Gentleman, and that after the observations he had made the hon. Gentleman would not put the Committee to the trouble of dividing on his Motion.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) said, the right hon. Gentleman had made one announcement which he thought would give some satisfaction to those on that side of the House—namely, that there should be special inquiry in cases where ill results were alleged to have occurred. The right hon. Gentleman had also said that vaccination was an absolute protection, and had given a number of statistics to prove that there was immunity resulting from vaccination, and that protection was in proportion to the number of scars. The right hon. Gentleman, however, had not in his remarks alluded to a subject to which he (Mr. Channing) had drawn attention on several occasions at the close of the Summer Session—namely, the severe outbreak of small-pox at St. Joseph's Industrial School, Manchester. As being distinctly pertinent to this question, he believed the Committee would allow him to draw attention to the Report which had been made to the Health Committee of Manchester. He understood that the Local Government Board had sent a medical man to inquire into this case; but, as far as he could ascertain, his Report was not yet in the hands of Members of Parliament. The Report he referred to showed that 67 persons, including two sisters and five assistants, had been attacked by small-pox. He had marked eight cases of vaccinated children which were reported to the sanitary committee as being "very severe" and "severe." They were as follows—Age 15, three scars; age 14, two scars; age 16, one scar; age 14, three scars; age 12, three scars; age 15, four scars; age 13, four scars; age 14, three scars. It would be seen from this that the total number of scars was 23, which gave an average of three scars apiece for those children who were vaccinated and who had "severe" or "very severe" attacks of small-pox. He thought from this aspect of the case that there was not very much in the number of scars, because in those very severe cases the children were comparatively young, and had had the advantage of the system the Committee were now asked to vote for. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that re-vaccination was complete protection, but he would point out that there were three cases of disease mentioned in the Report as occurring to re-vaccinated persons. Thus they had the fact that, in all these cases where, he presumed, bonuses had been awarded by the Inspectors of the Local Government Board, it had been scientifically and practically proved that there was not the absolute or relative protection from vaccination which the right hon. Gentleman asserted. Upon the general question of vaccination, he ought not, perhaps, to enter at that moment; but the Returns which he moved for, and which were furnished by the Government, amply supported the contention which persons

interested in this question had put forward again and again—namely, that there had been a very serious increase in the proportion of deaths of children of under one year old, due to causes and diseases which were alleged by certain scientific men to be associated with vaccination. He represented a great many persons deeply interested in this question, and their feeling was that this Vote aggravated the very serious evils of the compulsory system of vaccination. He submitted that there was a good cause for a much fuller and wider inquiry than had yet taken place, an inquiry which he hoped might lead to the abolition of a system which was causing great affliction and distress in many parts of the country.

SIR GUYER HUNTER (Hackney, Central) said, he had had considerable experience in India with reference to vaccination, and that experience led him to the conclusion that compulsory vaccination was absolutely necessary for the protection of the inhabitants from small-pox. It had been shown by the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) that vaccination in itself was not an absolute protection against small-pox; and, indeed, that had been proved by statistics and by experience over and over again. But the right hon. Gentleman did not say that re-vaccination, and, if necessary, a second re-vaccination, did not afford protection from small-pox. That re-vaccination did afford protection was shown in the vast experimental scale adopted in Germany. Formerly our statistics were ahead of Germany, but now, since compulsory vaccination had been introduced into Germany, our statistics were far inferior to those of that country. It was at the present moment a recognized fact that vaccination, in the course of a few years, wore off, and required its re-introduction in the system to act as a protection to the individual against small-pox. Dr. Buchanan, in an able and exhaustive Report which he wrote on this very question, had shown that the incidence of small-pox in this country, in consequence of re-vaccination not being compulsory, was not among young children, but among the adult population. That, in itself, was sufficient evidence to prove that vaccination did wear out, and that re-vaccination was an essential if people were to be protected from small-pox. With reference to the allegations of hon. Gentlemen opposite, that substances other than vaccine might be introduced into the system by vaccination, Dr. Buchanan showed conclusively that the number of cases in which allegations of this nature were made could be reduced by careful examination to nothing at all; and in the conclusion of his Report he made the statement that in the year which had passed no less than 960, or nearly 1,000, children, had been suffocated by bedclothes, and he stated that surely that was no reason why bedclothes should not be used, but rather showed that a better application of them was desirable. He (Sir Guyer Hunter) had pleasure in supporting the President of the Local Government Board in the statement he had made.

DR. R. MACDONALD (Ross and Cromarty) said, that from a very different point of view from that of some of his hon. Friends who had taken part in the debate, he must give his vote in favour of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). He considered the present system of public vaccination altogether wrong. In his opinion, all the troubles which had arisen in reference to vaccination had come mainly from the Office of the Public Vaccinator. Any hon. Member of the House who took the trouble to inquire would see how vaccination had come to be looked upon by thousands of the people from the bad way in which the work was done at the vaccination stations. He had had himself to look for vaccine with which to vaccinate his private patients, and therefore he knew what care was required in the selection of the vaccine. As a rule, syphilis did not appear until after a child had been vaccinated. Unless a medical man knew something about the family history of a child he could not possibly tell whether there might or might not be syphilis latent in the child. The public vaccinator took his vaccine from a likely child—a fat, plump child, as the case might be—and used it, and then it might turn out later on that there was something wrong with the child. If matters were allowed to go on as previously, if private medical men were allowed to vaccinate their own patients, and to be paid out of public funds for the work,

they would take good care that there was no supposition of syphilis in the family of the child from which the vaccine was taken. He believed that the odium of the whole present system was owing to the fact that it was impossible for the Public Vaccinator to tell whether the child he took lymph from was all right or not. As he had already said, he had had large experience in vaccination. He was not in the least afraid to attend a person suffering from small-pox, because he was vaccinated once, and he had tried to vaccinate himself at least half-a-dozen times since, but the operation had never succeeded. Consequently, he knew he had immunity from small-pox, and he had no fear. It was well-known to medical men that epidemic waves swept over districts, especially erysipelas. There were certain cases which were apt to go wrong at certain times; there was a tendency to epidemic all round; and he hoped that something might be done to inquire into such matters. In the last debate on this subject in the House he had said that if 20 individuals were vaccinated at the same time, with the same lymph, it might happen that 19 out of them would do well, while the twentieth would have abscesses under the arms or other similar symptoms. Who was to blame for such a condition of things? The anti-vaccinators would say it was vaccination. He, however, should say, no; he should say it was not. If 20 people were vaccinated, and one of them went wrong, he should say it was not the fault of vaccination, but the fault of the individual himself. He thought there was some justice in the complaint made by medical officers of Unions that they did not get grants for their work as well as the public vaccinators. There was a great deal of heartburn among medical men because they saw that some men received these grants year by year and other men were overlooked. For this and other reasons it would be much better that the particular grants should be done away with, and that vaccinators should be paid a reasonable and proper fee for vaccination, and if they did not do their duty properly let them be dismissed.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he desired to endorse all that had fallen from the hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Guyer Hunter). It was a very great mistake to have these debates upon vaccination. Year after year the same objections to vaccination were urged, notwithstanding that they were always ably and thoroughly refuted. There could be no doubt that vaccination was an extremely great boon to the country. Every medical man who had any practical acquaintance with the subject would endorse that statement. It did not follow that because there were periodical outbreaks of erysipelas vaccination was at fault. Erysipelas might attack any child who suffered from the slightest scratch; it did not follow that if a child were vaccinated it got erysipelas. Erysipelas might attack a child which had not been vaccinated, because, as they all knew, in many young children erysipelas was latent. He sincerely hoped that the Government would take such steps as would afford every inquiry into the subject, and that by satisfying all reasonable demands, and by adopting all the reasonable suggestions which had been thrown out by a great number of hon. Members, who probably were not very experienced in the subject, this matter might be set at rest once and for ever, and in that way extend the benefits of an indisputable boon to the community at large. It would be a very terrible thing if the anti-vaccination doctrines were to spread, and especially as it was often found they did spread in the very districts where vaccination was most desirable.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) asked if there was a corresponding charge to this for vaccination in the Irish Estimates?

MR. RITCHIE: There is none.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he could not find any charge for vaccination in the Irish Estimates. Ireland was a poor country, and that it should have to pay for its vaccination and receive no grant from the Exchequer, while the richer country of England did, was absolutely absurd. He was quite confident that the Secretary to the Treasury or the First Lord of the Treasury would not allow such a thing when attention was called to it.

MR. WHITBREAD (Bedford) said, that the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) had spoken on this subject in a more tolerant spirit than he (Mr. Whitbread) had ever noticed displayed by Gentlemen

occupying the same position and having to defend the vaccination grants. What he was particularly anxious to point out, however, was that as the right hon. Gentleman had promised an inquiry into every case where it was alleged that it was possible that death arose from vaccination, it was of the utmost importance that the inquiry, if it was to be of any real good, should be an inquiry that on the face of it would carry weight; it must be an inquiry which would show that there was no prejudice bound up with it, and which would accordingly carry conviction to those whose minds were alarmed on the subject. As far as the Vote went, he was not able to vote with the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), because, so long as vaccination was compulsory, he would not mind spending large sums of money in order to secure that it should be conducted as well as possible. He had always felt that they in the House of Commons were almost incompetent to deal fairly with this subject, owing to the enormous difference between what vaccination meant to them and what it meant to the humbler classes. He wished that his right hon Friend (Mr. Ritchie), when he turned his attention to the subject, would turn it a little more to the vaccination stations. Vaccination was probably looked upon by most Members of the House of Commons as a great protection to their families, but it meant a very different thing to them from what it did to the poorer people. Their children were taken to be vaccinated when in the best of health and condition; they would not think of sending a child to be vaccinated if it was not fit for the operation it had to undergo. That, however, could not be said of the humbler classes, many of whose children were taken to be vaccinated when they were not in a proper condition. Hence those outbreaks of erysipelas, and many of the other evils of which complaint was made. He confessed that with regard to a rather larger question which had been a good deal touched upon in the debate, he doubted whether those in favour of vaccination were not losing very much more than they gained by insisting on the continuance of the present sham compulsory system. His right hon. Friend would not dare for a moment to take a child from its parent's arms and vaccinate it by force. By such a proceeding they would raise an immense amount of hostility to the system. He could not help thinking that by sending persons to prison, or by fining them for not having their children vaccinated, those of them who believed that vaccination was a good thing were losing far more than they gained, because they were insisting upon maintaining clauses which they found they were really unable to carry out.

Dr. FITZGERALD (Longford, S.) said, that he noticed that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) seemed to have no remedy for small-pox but to let it alone. He, however, had a remedy which would deal with this awful visitation, and at the same time conciliate the poor who objected to compulsory vaccination. The compulsory Act was passed, he was fully persuaded, with the very best intentions, and, as he understood, the National Vaccine Establishment was raised, and had been maintained at enormous cost, for the purpose of supplying what was called pure stock lymph. The National Vaccine Establishment was established to supply medical practitioners with the lymph so that they might transfer it from person to person in order that it might afford immunity to them against small-pox. But the vast majority of the population of this country, notably the poor, who had to avail themselves of these methods of vaccination, on account sometimes of pecuniary circumstances, complained, and, he thought, justly, notwithstanding the protest of the President of the Local Government Board and the medical scientists who, he supposed, instructed the right hon. Gentleman in these purely professional matters—they complained that while the Legislature sought to protect them, they were really devouring them, because they were introducing into their systems a disease still more awful than small-pox, a disease which, for convenience, he would call a specific disease. That specific disease was more terrible than small-pox, because it was not merely confined to the victim, but transmitted to future and unborn generations germs of maladies so loathsome and so disgusting that it might be well called the giant scourge of humanity. How did

the officials of the Local Government Board obtain the pure stock lymph? It was sent to them from what were called vaccination stations, and, would it be believed, that those vaccination stations were situated in the slums of London; would it be believed that they found one of those stations in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden? As a matter of fact, the stock lymph was derived from the poor and necessarily diseased and unfortunate persons who inhabited the alleys of Drury Lane and the vicinity. He believed this to be one of the most stupid bits of blundering ever perpetrated. It was said that this poison, which, he contended, was conveyed to the human race through vaccine virus, could not be conveyed if the professional gentlemen at vaccine stations, who happened to take up the vaccine, did not take up a little blood. He cared not whether this virus was conveyed in blood or lymph, or in both. He believed it to be conveyed in both, and there were ample means of knowing that it was conveyed, and that it did do this destruction. If it were not conveyed, why should they find, day after day, those acres of skin disease which he believed to be merely the result of the specific disease of which he had spoken. He had said that he believed he had a remedy for small-pox, against which there had been no complaint. His remedy was no great secret, for it was an ancient remedy for small-pox—namely, calf lymph. He found that, notwithstanding the promise made by Mr. Dodson on the 11th of June, 1880, when President of the Local Government Board, the medical scientists of the National Vaccine Establishment supplied this lymph with such a niggardly hand, and surrounded with such red-tapeism, that medical men throughout the country had almost ceased to apply to have it supplied to them. There was no such thing as specific disease known among cows; therefore, the question was at once settled that specific disease could not be conveyed from cows to the human race. He had no regard whatever to the theory of medical scientists; it was well known that doctors differed and patients died. What he desired to impress on the mind of the President of the Local Government Board was, that he should gradually withdraw from the vaccine stations, which were no better than poison dens, and concentrate the energies of the officials of the Local Government Board, and the spending of the grants made by Parliament, upon procuring and supplying pure calf lymph, which was the ancient remedy for small-pox, and which statistics proved to be a real immunity against that awful disease, to give, moreover, to medical men in Scotland and Ireland the 9*d.*, in addition to the 1*s.* 6*d.* fee, which was now allowed to medical men in England, but which, for some reason unexplained, was withheld from the profession in the poorer portions of the United Kingdom. By so doing, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would conciliate, if not satisfy altogether, the anti-vaccinators of the country. He certainly would be conferring an everlasting benefit upon the poor by removing from their shoulders a scourge which was inflicted upon them by Act of Parliament, in the shape of compulsory vaccination; but against which, sooner or later, if allowed to remain, the humbler classes in this country would justly and, he hoped, effectually revolt.

MR. RITCHIE said, that the hon. Gentleman thought that if some arrangement could be made by which calf lymph could be supplied to every public vaccinator, all the troubles which met them in connection with vaccination would disappear. He assured the hon. Gentleman that that was not at all so. The hon. Gentleman would find, upon further inquiry, that the anti-vaccinators would not be one bit less strong in their opposition to vaccination if every person in the Kingdom were vaccinated with calf lymph. But it would be perfectly impossible for the Government to set up such an enormous establishment as would enable them to provide calf lymph for all the vaccinations in the country. The Government considered it their duty to maintain a central station, such as was maintained in London, from which supplies of lymph could be issued; but, if more was to be done, he was afraid it would have to be provided by the Local Authorities. He certainly did not think that the Government would be justified in increasing the size of their calf lymph station, or that they could be called upon to do more than they were now doing. There was a great difference of opinion as to

the relative merits of calf and human lymph. Many medical men argued that the result from human lymph was superior to that obtained from calf lymph. As to the assertion of the hon. Gentleman that the lymph was obtained from the purlieus of Covent Garden, he could only say that the lymph obtained by the Local Government Board was obtained with very great care.

DR. FITZGERALD remarked that one of the largest stations was situated in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden.

MR. RITCHIE said, that it did not follow that lymph was obtained from the purlieus of Covent Garden. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) had asked a question with reference to vaccination in Ireland. The hon. and gallant Gentleman inquired whether there was any corresponding grant for Ireland? There was no corresponding grant for Ireland, but the circumstances of vaccination in that country were entirely different from those in England. Vaccination was performed in Ireland by the dispensary doctors, and half the salary of the dispensary doctor was paid——

COLONEL NOLAN said, dispensary doctors were paid specially for vaccination.

MR. RITCHIE said, he was aware of that. Two shillings was paid for each vaccination, but half of the salary of the dispensary doctor was paid by the Guardians, therefore the cost of vaccination to the Guardians in Ireland was something less than the cost of vaccination in England. If, however, there were anything in this grant of which hon. Gentlemen from Ireland or Scotland had any reason to complain, they would not have any reason in future to do so, because this was the last year in which the grant would appear in the Estimates; this expenditure would in future be met out of the rates. The hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), referring to the arrangement to institute inquiries into cases of death reported to the Local Government Board, stated that the inquiries in order to carry conviction to men's minds must be thoroughly impartial. Of course, the inquiries must be impartial; but it was impossible that inquiries of this sort could be conducted by other than medical men. He assured the Committee that everything would be done to secure that the inquiry should be one which would give satisfaction to the public. The hon. Gentleman spoke of what he called vaccine stations; he supposed the hon. Gentleman meant vaccination stations. So far as the results of the operations performed by the public vaccinators and private practitioners were concerned, there was no doubt whatever from the figures before them that, if there be a better result obtained by one than by the other, it was in favour of public vaccinators. There was nothing which would meet with sterner condemnation at his hands than that the poor should not receive every consideration and proper treatment. He hoped and believed that they did receive considerate treatment; certainly, if any case were brought to his knowledge where there was any neglect, it would be severely dealt with by the authorities. As they had passed vaccination laws making vaccination compulsory, it was the duty of the Legislature to take every precaution they could that vaccination should be performed in the best possible manner, that every consideration should be shown to poorer people. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) had made some remarks upon the subject of compulsory vaccination being a sham. He was afraid he could not agree with the hon. Gentleman, as neither did he think that it was right to admit that vaccination was less availed of now to any extent than it had been. There was no doubt there were certain districts in which the vaccination laws were not properly and adequately carried out, and this was the principal reason for such reduction as was noticeable in the country. It was only in particular districts where a great propaganda had been carried on, in which all kinds of misleading statements had been put before the people in a misleading form—and he could not express very great surprise that these statements had misled the people and led to indifference in carrying out the vaccination laws—that the percentage of vaccination had gone down. He was afraid he could not hold out any hope that the Government would take any step to put an end to the law as it now existed, because their opinion was very strong that anything in that way might and probably would result in consequences of a disastrous character to the people of the country.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that the reply of the right hon. Gentleman was most unsatisfactory. The right hon. Gentleman had publicly acknowledged that for a very considerable time a large proportion of the cost of the vaccination of the English people had been borne by the Government, and from the resources of the Exchequer, and that at the same time the Irish people had had to pay for their vaccinations out of the local rates. The right hon. Gentleman's argument as to the salaries of medical men of workhouses did not apply; vaccinations were totally separate and distinct from the ordinary work of medical officers. He had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman was right when he said that 2*s.* was paid for each vaccination, but that charge was put on Ireland, and then the Irish people were expected to pay towards English vaccination. That showed the enormous disadvantage of Ireland being governed exclusively by English administrators. The President of the Local Government Board was very proud of his new Local Government Bill, and was most anxious to impress upon the Committee that under that Bill this injustice to Ireland would cease. The right hon. Gentleman quite forgot that an enormous sum of money was being transferred from the Imperial Exchequer to those localities to pay for vaccination and for everything else. Vaccination was a very small item, and it was extremely probable in the present state of politics that the same state of things which now existed would continue in Ireland. Ireland, a poor country, would still have to go on paying for vaccination, while in this, a rich country, the localities would be recouped one-third of the cost of vaccination, though in a different fashion. He protested against this system under which Ireland was taxed to pay for English vaccination. He considered compulsory vaccination an absolute necessity, but its cost ought certainly to be equitably borne as between the three countries.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, that he intended to vote for this Amendment on the ground that it was very unfair to make the Scotch people pay for the whole of their vaccination and to pay a portion of the cost of English vaccination. But, apart from that, he objected to the present system of compulsory vaccination, and against the way in which the Vaccination Act was being carried out. He did not know anyone who mislead the Committee or misrepresented the state of things more than the right hon. Gentleman himself. The right hon. Gentleman was not a professional man, and therefore was unable to understand the arguments placed before him; he merely repeated statements of which he was the vehicle and not the author. He (Dr. Clark) put it to the Committee whether it was likely that a private practitioner, who knew something of the history of the family, and who would be paid for doing the work by the people, would not be more careful and get better results than servants who were paid partly by the Poor Law Authorities and partly by the Imperial Government, and who never saw the parents of the children from whom the lymph was taken? Another misrepresentation of which the right hon. Gentleman had been guilty had reference to the source of the lymph. When the supply of lymph ran short and a man wrote to the Government for more, he generally got bad lymph. He (Dr. Clark) had used all lymph supplied to him, and he had found it perfectly valueless. What was the source of the lymph? It was public vaccination stations, which were generally to be found in the poorest localities. The source of all the lymph sent out was a very suspected source, and he for one would not use it. They were told by some gentlemen that they would not propagate disease by vaccination unless there were blood in the lymph. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman knew anything about microscopy, but he (Dr. Clark) had examined hundreds of the sealed tubes, and he had got other people to do the same, and he had invariably found blood mixed with the lymph. He defied anyone to take lymph from any child without getting blood in it. Let them examine any lymph sent out by the Local Government Board through the microscope, and they would find in it red disc as well as white. They could not separate blood from the lymph. His strong point, however, was that as soon as they had had compulsory vaccination, they had had scrofula and consumption and other diseases increased thereby. While they had gained by the diminu-

tion of small-pox, they had lost by the increase in the number of cases of the diseases he had spoken of.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 45; Noes 154: Majority 109.—(Div. List, No. 278.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) said, he wished to take exception to the next item in the Vote—namely, Grants in Aid in respect of Poor Law Schools.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) (interrupting) wished to know whether, if he allowed this Vote to pass, he could question the gross sum later on, as he wished to have the Medical Vote reduced? Might he move a reduction at the end, or must he do it now?

THE CHAIRMAN: What Medical Vote is it to which the hon. Member refers?

DR. CLARK: The item is for salaries in the Medical Department, and comes under the headings "P. Q, R."

THE CHAIRMAN: We have already voted on "S." and, therefore, it is impossible to take the items "P, Q, and R."

MR. CALDWELL said, he saw here an item for Poor Law schools in England, and desired to point out that there was no such corresponding charge in Scotland. In Scotland, the children who were being educated by the Parochial Boards were educated by those Boards at their own expense in the ordinary board schools; whereas in England, in connection with their Poor Law administration, they had schools for the purpose of educating the children belonging to the pauper class. Upon the general question of the expediency of Parliamentary grants for Poor Law schools, he would make a remark founded on the expenditure, the subject being one of considerable importance. They had in Scotland, as he had said, no such thing as Poor Law schools; but they had the pauper children distributed among the ordinary schools of the country, and educated in the ordinary manner. Now, pauperism was often the result of misfortune—probably, through the death of a parent, or of both parents. It was no crime, therefore, that the children should be educated at the expense of a charity such as the Parochial Board, and the result of the Scotch experience was this—that by boarding the children out, and educating them at the ordinary board schools like other children, they took away from them the stamp of pauperism, which was so inherent in the English system. And what was the result of the Scotch experience? Why, in one parish with which he was acquainted in Stirlingshire, they had a record relating to each child educated at the expense of the Parochial Board, and they found that the children in regard to the Standards they were in and in regard to regular attendance, were above the average, having regard to the ordinary children of the district who were in attendance. They found that the children whose school fees were paid by the Parochial Board passed Standard V. at 11 years of age, and that many of them passed Standard VI. at 12 years of age; and he ventured to say that if they took the statistics relating to the Parochial Board children it would be found that the poorest children educated at the expense of the parish would bear more than favourable comparison, so far as education was concerned, with the ordinary children of the working classes. He thought the present a favourable time for considering the question as to whether or not pauper children should continue to be educated as paupers by themselves. He contended that by such education they lowered the tone of these children, and gave them a stamp of pauperism from which they did not soon escape; whereas it was found that by doing away with the stamp of pauperism and mixing the children up with other children, they prevented pauperism becoming hereditary. It was not at all unusual to find in cases where these pauper children had been properly educated that they got into good situations, and in many cases were able to relieve their mothers from pauperism, and frequently to help in the maintenance of younger children. He did not wish to take up the time of the Committee any longer, merely desiring to point out the result of the system of boarding out in Scotland. His contention was that it would bear comparison with the English system—that the comparison was all in favour of doing away with Poor Law Schools altogether, and of allowing the pauper children to mix with other children in the ordinary schools of the country.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member move to reduce the Vote?

MR. CALDWELL said, if he understood from the Government that this subject would receive their special attention he would not move a reduction. He understood that the Vote was only for the present year; and, therefore, it would hardly be convenient to move the reduction.

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire) said, he entirely agreed with the remarks which had fallen from his hon. Friend (Mr. Caldwell). He believed the system of boarding out pauper children which prevailed in Scotland was immensely superior to the English system of bringing up children in pauper schools. In Scotland the system of boarding out had stamped out the character of pauper children altogether, having enabled those children to mix with other children, and lose all trace of their pauper origin. In England, on the other hand, destitute children were trained up in pauper schools. In England those children were practically orphans, and were a charge upon the State. As many as 1,000, and even 1,500, children were to be found in some pauper schools in London; and they cost, in some cases, as much as £30 per head per annum; whereas, in Scotland, under the boarding out system, the cost was only about 4*s.* per head per week, or £10 a-year. He was told that in some cases it was not more than 3*s.* per week. And in the case of London it must be remembered that this enormous cost of £30 per head was wrung out of the very poorest class; therefore, even from a pecuniary point of view, the English pauper school system was an entire mistake. The pauper system was a most expensive way of bringing up pauper children. But not only was it a mistake from a pecuniary point of view, but the moral results were equally unsatisfactory, as the system tended to fix a stamp of pauperism upon the children, and make pauperism hereditary. In these pauper schools, in fact, many of the children were not even called by their names, but were referred to as "No. 100," or "200," or "300," as the case might be. No one knew better than the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board how bad had been the result of bringing up these children in large schools. The right hon. Gentleman was acquainted with the Report of Mrs. Senior, who had given a deplorable account of the results with regard to the girls brought up in pauper schools. She had pointed out that as many as 50 per cent of these girls went to the bad. He did wonder, with all these facts so well known—with the fact that the expense was so enormous, and the moral effect so distressing, and that the Scotch system showed so much better results—that we should go on from year to year with the same pauper school system. He was aware that the Local Government Board was doing something now in the right direction; but the Board was proceeding so feebly that its action amounted to nothing. In England there were probably not more than 2,000 out of a total of 60,000 pauper children boarded out. The result in the case of those who were boarded out was good; but he desired to ask the Committee whether the best way to deal with these pauper children would not be to send them out to the Colonies, where the population was thin and employment was ample, in place of training them in London and other large centres where the population was congested and work was very difficult to get? He maintained that there was no better means of dealing with these pauper children than that of planting them out in the Colonies. There was an unlimited demand for such children in the Colonies, provided they were properly trained before being sent out. They could not send the pauper children out to the Colonies as at present trained. The Colonies would not accept them. The Committee could hardly imagine the dread the Colonies had of workhouse children. The workhouse system had been so wretched in its results in this country that the Colonies would hardly receive pauper children if the fact that they were such was known; and what he would therefore suggest was that these 60,000 children in this country to which he referred should never be permitted to become paupers at all. When the parents died, and the children were left to the care of the State, in place of putting them into workhouse schools, they should be handed over to some of the numerous Charities which abounded in our country which undertook education, and

which would treat them tenderly and wisely; but do not let them ever come under the operation of the English Poor Law so that it could be said at some future time, "These people were once paupers." Let these children have guardians appointed to them—let them be handed over to people who would undertake to board and train them for the sum of, say, 4*s.* per week; and he did not suppose, from their experience in Scotland, that it would take more than one or two years to train such children. They found no difficulty in getting people in the Colonies to take charge of the children at ages varying from six to 12 years. He ventured to say that if the system he advocated were adopted it would do more than anything else which could be devised to drive pauperism out of the country. Pauperism in England was hereditary; it went on from generation to generation. Such a condition of things was a shame to this country—there being a larger class of hereditary paupers here than in any other civilised country in the world. He did not think he need say more. He had spoken upon this subject in that House again and again; and the reason he had done so was that, although the Local Government Board professed to sympathize with his views, they did nothing, or if they did anything it was only to lay down Regulations which hampered all attempts made to improve the condition of these pauper children. There was a large class of persons, official and otherwise, interested in the administration of the existing pauper schools. He did not know whether these were responsible for the inaction of the Local Government Board; but, at any rate, he knew that there was something at work against the efforts of those who were striving to bring about a better state of things. He believed that nothing would be done until the House passed a Resolution condemnatory of inaction, and calling for the removal of all obstacles in the way of adopting the boarding out system.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.), said he sympathized with the remarks which had fallen from the hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith). He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had spoken on this subject on many occasions, and had always been most strongly of opinion that pauper children should not be brought up in workhouse schools. He had stated that opinion very strongly for several years past, and had always found that right hon. Gentlemen at the Local Government Board, whoever they might be, sympathized to a great extent with his remarks. The question, no doubt, was a very difficult one to deal with; and the hon. Member for Flintshire travelled very widely when he expressed the wish that all pauper children should be sent to the Colonies. No doubt it was a desirable thing that a certain number of those children should be enabled to go there; but it was a rather strong statement to say that the parents of all such children were dead, and that, therefore, the State should take possession of them. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) was in a position to say that a large number of the parents of those children were alive. It might be right to say of some of the children who were not orphans, that it was the proper sort of thing to remove them from the evil influence of their parents; but all the parents of those children were not alike.

Mr. S. SMITH said, he was aware that a certain number of the children educated in pauper schools had parents living. He did not say "all" the children were orphans; but the major portion of them—some 33,000 out of 60,000.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he thought that if they could make an advance upon what had been done already, and could get rid of all the workhouse schools, so that the children could be educated in the ordinary schools which were to be found in every town and village of England, they would be making a great step in advance. This was the subject which the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board should consider, and one, no doubt, which he had been considering; and he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) would, therefore, ask him to say what advance had been made, and how many schools they had now which might be called workhouse schools? Then as to boarding out, which was a most important branch of the subject, he believed that the system

was largely increasing. Every man who knew the habits and condition of both men and women of this country must be aware that to place a child in a good family, where it would be well taken care of, was to confer the greatest possible benefit upon that child. Instead of having the brand of pauperism put upon it, the child becomes a member of a respectable family, and would be in a fair way to become a decent member of society. But, of course, it did not do to farm out children in places where they were not well taken care of. Most careful supervision was required, in order to make sure that the children were put in proper places, and that the people who had charge of them would not abuse their trust. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) ventured to think that both the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, and his hon. Friend (Mr. Long) who sat by his side, were both of them most anxious that the two things to which he had referred should be done—namely, that the pauper children should be taken out of the workhouse schools, and that they should be boarded out. If any statistics could be given to the Committee upon this subject it would be an advantage, and hon. members would be grateful for the information. He held that anything which could be done to raise the children of that class who had been paupers for generations, from their condition of pauperism, would be a benefit, not only to the people interested, but to the State itself.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.), said, he had placed upon the Paper a Notice to reduce the Vote, not with the intention, however, of endeavouring to bring about a reduction, but simply with the object of calling attention to what appeared to him the unsatisfactory condition of some of the Metropolitan pauper schools. The hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) strongly advocated the boarding out system, and he (Mr. Pickersgill) went with the hon. Member in supporting that principle so far as it was practicable; but he thought it would be obvious that it was not always practicable to adopt it. In some parts of the country a sort of middle course had been adopted, with, he believed, very satisfactory results, that course being to keep the pauper children in separate establishments; but instead of teaching them in a pauper school, to send them out to ordinary public elementary schools in the neighbourhood. He thought there could be no doubt as to the unsatisfactory results in the pauper schools in face of the Reports of the Inspectors of those schools. Mr. Holgate, for instance, in his Report for 1886, had referred to the poor quality of the reading and spelling of the children, and had said that he was disposed to think that those difficulties arose from the monotony of their life, destroying alike the interest and energy of teacher and taught. And then in regard to the status of the teachers themselves, he was afraid they did not get, as they ought to have, teachers of the very first class in the pauper schools. Mr. Holgate declared in his Report that many of the teachers remained in those schools a very short time, owing to their status not being duly recognized, and also because the limited freedom they possessed became unbearable to them. He further stated that of those who remained, some lost all their energy in the work, either from its monotony or from the limited amount of encouragement they obtained. There was another branch of the educational part of the work in those schools which he (Mr. Pickersgill) was afraid was still more unsatisfactory, and that was the industrial training given. Dr. Clutterbuck, the Inspector for the Western District, said there were 1,789 children under instruction at an annual cost of £2 per annum per head. Well, the question arose whether they could expect to get adequate teaching at an expense of only £2 per annum per child. Dr. Clutterbuck was manifestly sceptical on that point, because he said it was not right that payments out of the local rates, or from a Parliamentary grant, should be made on behalf of an officer who was little less than a servant in the workhouse, or whose so-called teaching, in spite of some excellent exceptions, was the merit shown, and of no real benefit to the children. The industrial training of the children was, of course, of very great importance, and it was also important that in this matter the country should not be deceived. If industrial training was given it should not be a sham, but should be real and beneficial, and that was one of the points to which

he hoped the attention of the Local Government Board would be directed. The other point to which he would wish to direct special attention was this—where the boarding out system could not be carried into practice, the workhouse authorities should be encouraged, instead of taking the education of those children into the walls of the workhouses, to send the children to public schools outside.

THE SECRETARY TO THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. LONG) (Wilts, Devizes) said, he was sure that everybody interested in this question of the education of pauper children would readily admit the right of the hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) to address the Committee on the subject, looking at the great interest he had taken in it and the devotion which he had shown in its ventilation; but he thought that hon. Member was a little hard on the Local Government Board when he said that he believed the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board and himself (Mr. W. Long), who were actuated by as good motives as the hon. Member, had thrown obstacles in the way of the better education of those pauper children. He could assure the hon. Member that during the time his right hon. Friend (Mr. Ritchie) and himself had held their present offices, they had not thrown any obstacles in the way of securing improvement in the education of pauper children when it tended in the direction of making arrangements for their being boarded out within or without the limits of the union, or of sending them to schools other than those belonging to workhouses. He could assure the hon. Member for Flintshire that if he had occupied the position of either the President of the Local Government Board or himself (Mr. Long), he could not have done more than they had. They had lost no opportunity of impressing upon the Guardians the necessity of taking every precaution, and ascertaining the condition of the homes to which it was intended to send the children when they were boarded out. In 1888 there were 1,227 children boarded out beyond the limits, and 2,324 boarded out within the limits of the unions. Those figures showed, if not a large, at least a steady increase on the figures of the preceding year; and he did not think the charge of obstruction on the part of the Local Government Board could be sustained on any basis of fact. His hon. and gallant Friend behind him (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) asked the Local Government Board for some figures as to the education of pauper children. There, again, though the numbers were not very large or striking, there was to be found a steady advance. It would be found that the number educated wholly in workhouses had decreased. The figures were 303 workhouses in 1883, against 210 in 1888. In 1883 there were only 79 unions which had detached schools, while in 1885 there were 87. Of those 87 unions, 63 had detached schools of their own, and 24 had detached schools which they shared with other unions. In the unions which sent their children to public elementary schools, the increase was more marked. For 1883 the number was 201, and for 1888 it was 298. The figures showed that there had been a steady increase in the number of unions in which the children were boarded out, either within or without the union. The hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) appeared to make a somewhat serious charge with reference to the children who were brought up in workhouses, and had referred, in somewhat general terms, to the number who went to the bad. Well, one of the most recent Reports which they had seen on that subject was the Report of the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants. That Society, in its Report for 1887, stated that the number of young girls which it supervised in that year was 2,326, and that 2,073 of them were from district and separate Poor Law schools in the Metropolis. Of those girls 916 cases were referred to as "very good"; 782 as "fairly good"; 219 as "unsatisfactory"; and only 48 as "bad." Although it was to be regretted that there should be those 48 bad, yet they hardly bore out the hon. Member's contention that a large proportion of the children brought up in Poor Law schools went to the bad. He had listened with great interest to what the hon. Member had said about the emigration of pauper children; but it seemed to him that the hon. Gentleman had made some slight error. The hon. Member was apparently not aware of the powers at present possessed by Boards of Guardians. The hon. Gen-

tleman practically suggested that instead of those children, when they were orphan or deserted children, going into the workhouse, they should go into Charitable institutions which gave industrial training to fit them for emigration. But there was nothing to prevent that from being done now. The Guardians had power at present to send children to industrial schools, the only necessary condition being that the schools should be approved by the Local Government Board, who endeavoured to secure that in those schools there should be such industrial training as would, at all events, to some extent fit the children for earning their living in the future. Therefore, that part of the hon. Member's proposal seemed to be hardly needed; because if the Guardians saw an opportunity and were willing to send children to schools of that description, they could do so now; but he must confess he had listened with some alarm and astonishment to the hon. Member's proposal that all pauper children should be treated in that way. When the children were sent out under proper conditions and placed on those Canadian lands, they might, no doubt, get on very well, and within certain limits the Local Government Board were very willing to see that emigration continued; but he scarcely thought that the public mind was prepared at present to see all pauper children, or any very large proportion of them, sent out of this country. There might be a better prospect for them in the Colonies under a judicious system; but if they were properly educated and started in life, there was no reason why many of them should not be able to obtain a good living and have a fair prospect before them in this country. He did not, therefore, think that a case had been made out to justify the Local Government Board in making such a complete alteration of the Poor Law system as was shadowed out by the hon. Member for Flintshire; but, at the same time, their desire was that not only should there be no sham in the system of education, not only should no obstacle be thrown in the way of the Guardians adopting a more humane, more civilized, and better system of education, but also that they should send the children to schools outside the union, and provide an education which would improve them both mentally and physically; they would continue to do everything in their power to assist the Guardians in carrying out such a system, and would help the Guardians when they found any difficulty in their way, and certainly would not themselves be parties to the creation of any obstruction.

MR. P. J. POWER (Waterford, E.), speaking as Chairman of a large Board of Guardians in a seaport town in the South of Ireland—namely, Waterford—complained of the deportation of paupers from England, Wales, and Scotland to Ireland. He thought he might say, without exaggeration, that in the union to which he referred every month they received warrants from different unions in England, Wales, and Scotland sending over to them workhouse inmates simply because they happened to be born within the Waterford Union, and altogether regardless of the fact that they had spent their energies and the best years of their lives in contributing to the wealth of those parts of the United Kingdom from which they were deported. He had last year called attention to the deportation of two men who had spent 40 years of their lives in South Wales—men who were sent over to Waterford when they had become incapable of working simply because they had been born in that union. These men were now rendered a permanent burden to the rates of Waterford. The most tantalizing part of the arrangement was that there were in the Waterford Workhouse at the present moment three or four inmates who had been born in England, and yet there was no power of sending them across to this country. The Waterford Union had to continue to support these people. This was a very unsatisfactory state of things; and although he had called the attention of the Government to it, nothing had been done to remove the grievance. When he had asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland whether he intended to introduce a small Bill to deal with the matter, notwithstanding that it would not have been a Bill of a contentious nature, the right hon. Gentleman said that he had no such intention. The Irish Members might be asked why they did not themselves bring in such a measure; but the answer to that was that it would be useless to do so, as they would have no prospect of passing it. Only the Session

before last they brought in 39 Bills on various subjects, and not one of them became law. It was ridiculous to expect the Irish Members to trouble themselves with the preparation of Bills when there was no chance of their becoming law. He should like to ask the President of the Local Government Board what was the precise condition of the law with regard to the deportation of paupers to Ireland, and from that country—why it was possible to deport paupers from England to Ireland, and impossible to send them from Ireland to England?

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire) said, that on a former occasion he had spoken of the bad results which followed the teaching in our workhouse schools. He had not now his figures by him; but, if he remembered rightly, there were 60,000 children in pauper schools, and whatever reduction had taken place in the number it was very discouraging to see how small progress had been made. He had pointed out that about 50 per cent of the children, especially in the case of girls, turned out badly. Since the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants had been established it had done admirable service, but had dealt only with 2,000 or 3,000 outof a total of 60,000 pauper children in the country. But the stress of his remarks on a former occasion was devoted to the question of emigration; and the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Long), in replying to him, said that there was nothing to prevent Boards of Guardians emigrating the children if they chose. He (Mr. S. Smith) could not agree with that statement. He had received numerous letters from Clerks and Chairmen of Boards of Guardians, asking him how they could obtain emigration powers; he had referred them to the Local Government Board, and in the end they had written back to say that such obstacles were placed in their way that they could practically do nothing. They were hampered by certain regulations, one of which required that no child should be emigrated unless it had first been in a workhouse school. Now, their very object was to get rid of that; they did not want the children to go into workhouse schools at all; they wanted them to pass into voluntary homes and escape the taint of pauperism altogether. As to the condition of the boys brought up in pauper schools, he wanted to make one observation. A year or two ago he read the report of a treat which had been given to a number of rough lads who were prowling about the streets of London; at the close of the entertainment the lads who had been educated in pauper schools were asked to stand up, and the result was, as far as his recollection went, that 1,800 of the boys who were living in the streets in idleness and mischief said that they had been brought up in those establishments. He imputed no blame to the managers of workhouse schools, who did their best for those under their charge; he admitted that all that could be done for the boys in those schools was done; but he said 1,000 children could not be brought up like a herd of cattle without their turning out badly in after life. It was contrary to nature, and could not be. In all countries the conclusion had been come to that these institutions worked badly; they had been found to work so badly that the Trustees had broken them up, and the children had been taken away and planted in private homes. The hon. Gentleman opposite stated that the Government could not contemplate the deportation of all these children from the country; but he maintained that the country would not suffer by these 60,000 children being planted in the Colonies. Employmens was not easily obtained in our great towns; on the contrary, it was well known that nearly one-third of the working population in East London was always on the verge of pauperism, and had the greatest difficulty in getting the barest subsistence. And, again, there was no adequate employment for this huge population of London, and, in his opinion, never would be, for they were suffering from congestion of population. It was only quite recently that a very careful statistical statement was made, which showed that in one area containing about 900,000 persons, 300,000 were ascertained to be on the verge of extreme poverty or absolute destitution. There were many cases in which parents endeavoured to make money out of the degradation of their offspring, and it would be well if parental authority could be curtailed in cases where the parents had forfeited all moral claim to its exercise. In no other country was there such extravagant respect paid to the wishes of parents who had proved

themselves to be worthless, and he hoped the law would be liberalized in such a way as to enable children to be taken from the control of parents who were frequently their very worst enemies.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) said, he would not have troubled the Committee on this subject after the very full statement made by his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long) were it not for the statement of the hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith), which he thought had been made under a misapprehension. The hon. Gentleman had spoken of some friends who were extremely desirous of taking steps for the emigration of pauper children; and he said that, having communicated with the Local Government Board, he found that there was great difficulty in getting the assent of the Board to the proposal. He could not understand that, because the Local Government Board had lately taken great pains in considering the Regulations under which they would assent to the emigration of these children.

MR. S. SMITH said, he had stated that the gentlemen to whom he referred were so hampered by the Regulations that practically they could not carry out their view.

MR. RITCHIE said, he understood the hon. Member to make two statements—one, that it was difficult to get information; and, secondly, that the Regulations were such as to hamper Boards of Guardians to a very large extent; and he had been very anxious to hear from him the particular conditions by which the Guardians were so much fettered. The hon. Gentleman had given one instance—namely, that the children were required to have been educated in a Poor Law school. There was no such Regulation. The condition, so far as schooling was concerned, was that a child under 14 should have been under previous instruction for at least six months in a workhouse school, or in a separate school under Government, or in a school certified in accordance with the requirements of the Act 25 & 26 *Vict.*, c. 43. Of course, the condition would be complied with if the child had been educated in a workhouse school, but that was not at all essential. The hon. Gentleman would quite admit the necessity of some preliminary training, and he could assure him that the Department had enlarged to the utmost the definition of the schools to which these children might be sent; and if any schools were submitted to them where proper training was given and where regulations were made for the comfort and bringing up of the children to the satisfaction of the Board, they would immediately certify that children might be emigrated from them. He could assure the hon. Gentleman that there was no foundation whatever for the statement made upon this particular point, and that no impediment would be put in the way of Guardians by the Local Government Board in this matter. He could not say how strongly he agreed with the hon. Gentleman in his desire to rescue these children from their condition while they were children. He believed that comparatively little could be done with our adult pauper population, and that the country would get value for its money and secure the greatest results by taking children and trying to reform them. He was satisfied that any Board of Guardians who desired to do the best for the ratepayers to whom they were responsible would try their utmost, under proper conditions, to snatch these children from the life to which they would otherwise be consigned. As he had said, no impediment would be put in the way of Boards of Guardians by the Department over which he presided; and if the hon. Gentleman would point out any Regulation which he thought unduly and unnecessarily impeded them, he would be ready to reconsider it. But they must take care that proper Rules were carried out, or otherwise the last state of those children might be worse than the first; they must have proper safeguards that they would be taken care of and properly brought up. With reference to the taking charge of children whose parents were living, that, of course, was a very important question, and much consideration must take place before the Government could come to any conclusion upon it. He thought, however, that public opinion was growing very much in the direction in which the hon. Gentleman desired to travel. The public were beginning to think that

parents who grossly neglected their children and deserted them, were people who should have very little control over them. But the question was a large one, and could only be dealt with when public opinion was practically unanimous in favour of legislation. He hoped he had convinced the hon. Gentleman that the Government were as anxious as he himself could possibly be to promote the object in view.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he thought the reply of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) had been more satisfactory than that of the hon. Gentleman beside him (Mr. Long). He (Dr. Clark) was strongly in favour of emigrating children rather than adults. The question of boarding out children had come before the Board of Guardians of which he had been a member, and he had himself inspected a great number of children who were boarded out, the results of his examination being very satisfactory; for he found that they had developed a degree of independence which they would not get in the Poor Law schools. He had also occasionally gone to the large caravanseries of children of which the hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) had spoken, and found that the physical results were very bad indeed; he had seen ophthalmia and other diseases generated in them. If this form of pauperism was to be got rid of, he thought that every facility should be given to Boards of Guardians by the Board of Trade to send the children to fields where they would have a better chance than they could get here.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, he wished to draw attention to the question of the deportation of paupers from this country to Ireland. Irish-born subjects came over here, spent the whole of their life in work which was profitable to the State, and then, at the moment when they could work no longer, they were, under the present law, sent back to the unions from which they came. On the other hand, the Irish unions were obliged to maintain English and Scotch paupers. He thought that some measure should be introduced to relieve Ireland of this grievance, and trusted the matter would be considered by the Government with the view of putting an end to the system.

MR. LONG said, that so far from pooh-poohing the question referred to by the hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith), as the hon. Member for Caithness had been good enough to remark, he had felt that nothing could be better done in the interest of the country than something in the nature of the work in which the hon. Member for Flintshire had been so long engaged. The hon. Member for East Waterford (Mr. P. J. Power) had told the Committee that men were sent back to Ireland who had passed 40 years in England, and became chargeable to the Waterford Union. He had no doubt that the hon. Member was sure of his facts; but the persons referred to must have led a very wandering life during their stay in this country if they were liable to be sent back to their native land. Although the existing law was surrounded by many difficulties, and appeared to inflict some hardship on Ireland, at the same time the fact was that a man acquired a settlement in England in the parish in which he had resided for three years, without having had relief from the rates, and became thereby chargeable to the union in which the parish is situated, and could not be removed to Ireland. There was, no doubt, a considerable number of paupers who were returned from England and Scotland to Ireland owing to the Law of Settlement, about which there were a good many difficulties in this country. There was much to be said for the suggestion of the hon. Member who had just proposed that the Government should deal with this question by a Bill; but that was not the only aspect in which it could be regarded. There were parts of the country in which any attempt to alter the Law of Settlement would be met with strong opposition. He was, therefore, afraid that the Government could not hold out any hope of legislation on the question, which was admittedly a very difficult one. If the hon. Member would look at the figures for the whole country, he would find that, although there were many paupers sent back to Ireland, the number was not so very great and serious as he had been led to suppose from the figures of one particular union.

DR. CLARK said, he was sorry that any statement of his should have reflected upon the hon. Gentleman, and begged to withdraw it.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) said, the explanation of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long) was that a person who had lived in England or Scotland for three years in one place obtained a settlement; and, therefore, that the individuals referred to by the hon. Member for East Waterford (Mr. P. J. Power) must have led a very roving life not to have obtained a settlement in 40 years. But it might, he thought, have occurred to the hon. Gentleman that a person might have changed his place of abode through illness, or the inability to find a living, and in that case they complained that he would be sent back to Ireland. This was, in fact, what really occurred, and what he contended ought not to be allowed to occur again. There had been a considerable amount of agitation for national rates in Ireland, and he thought it very probable that there would, some day, be a national rate for paupers. On the subject of the emigration of pauper children, he was rather inclined to agree with the Secretary to the Local Government Board in thinking that there was not too large a population in the country. There were, of course, a large number of improvident people, and those who lived in indolence; but there were others who, although they did not find work throughout the year, yet had work during the remainder of the year. He had very little sympathy with the former class, who squandered their money and left their children in poverty, for which he would have them put in prison and given some substantial punishment. That, he thought, would be a better way of dealing with the matter than sending the children to the Colonies, and putting the cost on the parishes. He thought, also, that the boarding out system was preferable to the workhouse system, and that children brought up in the houses of the industrious poor were quite as likely to learn as if they were with people of a different position.

MR. P. J. POWER said, with reference to the remarks of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. Long), the facts of the case he had referred to had been sent to him by the Board of Guardians of which he was Chairman, although he could not personally vouch for their accuracy. But in a question put by him to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) he had stated the particulars, the accuracy of which the right hon. Gentleman admitted, and said that these people were now a permanent charge on the rates. He could tell the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) that there was no dissentient voice on this subject, and that the *ex-officio* Guardians were all in favour of an alteration of the law. With regard to the Poor Law administration, the result of his experience in both countries was that the Irish people might learn many useful lessons from the way in which the law was worked in England; and, on the other hand, he thought that Boards of Guardians here had something to learn from the way it was administered in Ireland. For instance, he had found in one union in England people in the same ward of different denominations, whereas in Waterford union there were 14 Protestant inmates, who had a ward to themselves and a Protestant clergyman to minister to them. If English gentlemen would visit Ireland and see how Protestants in the unions were provided for, they would see how wrong were many of the arguments founded on the supposed existence of religious intolerance, and he threw out this suggestion in the hope that a better state of feeling might be brought about.

DR. CLARK said, he wished to point out that, calculating upon the figures of the last Census, he found that the Poor Law Medical Officers in England received from Grants in Aid sums equal to £10 per 1,000 persons, whereas in Scotland they only received £5 per 1,000. There was this disparity with regard to the payment of every official in Scotland as compared with those in England. He would also point out that the payment of Registrars of Births and Deaths was in Scotland entirely defrayed from the local rates, whereas in England it was made a charge on the Imperial Exchequer. As this was the last time the items under Sub-heads D, E, and F, to which he referred, would come before the Committee, he should not, on the present occasion, put them to the trouble of dividing against them.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,717, be granted to Her Majesty's Government, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Commissioners in Lunacy in England."

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, that in every Public Department the Reports were produced annually; but he did not think that throughout the history of the Commissioners in Lunacy this rule had ever been observed. These gentlemen had been opposed to every proposal of lunacy reform, and they had even gone so far in their Report as to draw attention to the fact that they altogether disagreed with the method of the proposed legislation which had been introduced into the other House of Parliament. He did not think it was the business of the Commissioners to instruct that House in the matter of legislation, but that if they had any criticism to offer on the subject they should make it to the Government of the day. The main object of the Bill of Lord Herschell, which had passed the Upper House, was to put an end to the system under which it was in the power of any two doctors to cause a man under their certificate to be deprived of his liberty and cast into a lunatic asylum. He had brought before the Committee cases of the most deplorable and cruel character, where the object of imprisonment was generally that of getting the money of the person imprisoned; and the legislation in question was proposed with the view of getting rid of the possibility of this, even if it had not happened. It was to this Bill that the Commissioners said they objected, and advised its withdrawal. He asked the Committee to remember that a few months ago application was made to the Courts of Law for the release of a man who had been imprisoned through the influence of his wife on the certificate of two doctors who were proved afterwards to be improper characters. Then there was the case of Mrs. Weldon, who had worked so hard as eventually to obtain her release. Upon these cases the Report practically gave no information; what information there was not being of the character to which Parliament was entitled. The Commissioners were originally appointed for the protection of lunatics in asylums, and for the purpose of seeing that they were not illtreated, and that the law was properly carried out. But during the year the Commissioners had to supervise the treatment of 60,000 lunatics, and it followed that to carry out the work properly the Commissioners would have on the 200 working days of the year to examine over 300 lunatics, an amount of work which he did not believe any hon. Member would suppose it to be in the power of any man to carry out properly. Again, he had looked to see if the Commissioners had taken any particular note of the cases of cruelty and injury and death in lunatic asylums, and he had been able to find scarcely a reference to them. The whole character of the Report of the Commissioners on such subjects was most fragmentary. Some of the private asylums were of a very high character, and were conducted in a manner worthy of the greatest commendation, whereas there were others which were a disgrace to the country. By way of exemplification, he would refer to a piece of evidence which recently came out of a certificate being given to a man to establish a private lunatic asylum who had been in the service of a Peer—his only recommendation was that he had been his butler. This one case would suffice to show the character of some asylums. It had been decided by the unanimous assent of the House, year after year, that the Lunacy Law was so bad that it must be changed; yet at that day no change had been made, although the Bill of Lord Herschell had passed the House of Lords. Whether it was owing to the opinion of the Commissioners that this Bill had not come down to the House of Commons he could not say; but certainly their Report was now two years in arrear. He begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £5,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the reduced sum of £717 be granted for the said service."—(*Mr. Molloy.*)

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) said, it appeared to him that the Commissioners of Lunacy discharged their duties in a singularly perfunctory way. The information they laid on the Table of the House in their Annual

Report furnished material which ought to wake in them some sense of the importance of the interests entrusted to their care, and ought to drive them to make some effort to abate the evils which were growing dayby day and year by year in the country in the province over which they were placed to watch and to guard. He feared there were few Members of the Committee who realized the full significance of the details furnished by the Commissioners in the Blue Book they had presented to Parliament. In the year 1859 there was a total number of lunatic patients in the country of 36,762. In 1888 that number had gone up to 82,643. The number of patients in private domestic treatment was practically the same now as then, making allowance for the increase of population; it was a little under 6,000 then, now it was a little over 6,000. The number of patients in provincial licensed houses was also much the same—about 2,000. In Metropolitan licensed hospitals the number was also about the same, 2,500. In registered houses the number was 1,855 30 years ago, and now it was 3,426. The figures were small, and the ratio did not make very much difference. But in the borough and county asylums, where there used to be 15,844 patients, there were now no less than 50,180. A little further examination of the figures would show that the increase was principally in the poorer classes, and that the pauper lunatics, who 30 years ago bore a proportion of 3·68 per cent of the total number of paupers, now numbered 8·92 in every 100 of the ordinary paupers. In other words, the total number of the pauper lunatics had increased more than two-and-a-half times. The total number of lunatics in borough and county asylums had increased three-and-a-half times, and the total number of lunatics in the country had increased by something more than 100 per cent. But what was very much more important was that the rate of recovery of patients was lower than it formerly was in every single class of these institutions, except the Metropolitan licensed houses. Table 6 showed that the recovery per 100 of the admissions was, in the Meeropolitan licensed houses, in the year 1878, 28 per cent. It had risen in 1887 to 38 per cent, a very substantial improvement, showing, presumably, a considerable improvement in the general treatment of the patients in those institutions. In the registered hospitals, the recovery bore to the admissions a proportion of 50·14 to 100 in 1878; that proportion had fallen to 46. In the county and borough asylums there was also a diminishing rate of cure, very much lower than that in the registered hospitals. Again, if they looked to the question of the number of deaths, they found that in private practice, where patients were treated singly, the number of deaths was now 4·87 per cent. In registered hospitals and in the naval and military hospitals it was much the same, the figures being rather better—4·77 in the one case, and 4·44 in the other. But in the provincial licensed houses it rose to 6·11, in the Metropolitan licensed houses it rose to 7·58, and in the county and borough asylums, where all the poor people were accumulated to the number of 50,000 and more, the rate of death was 7·89 per cent. The question which, in his opinion, ought to have forced itself upon the attention of the Commissioners, was whether there was no connection between the accumulation of the poor in the borough and county asylums, and the extraordinarily high death rate which was there discovered, and also the falling ratio of cure. He was inclined to think the Commissioners were alive more or less to the truth of the proposition which he had suggested, but, for reasons best known to themselves, they hesitated. Possibly they were afraid to put forward their views on the matter; whether it was from the point of view of economy, or for fear of raising professional jealousy or what not, he did not know. But the increase of the numbers in the county asylums was important, for the reason that the Commissioners had not as much authority in the county asylums as they had in other institutions. In their Report, page 87, the Commissioners said—

"It will be observed that in visiting licensed houses particular attention is given to the mental condition of individual patients. In licensed houses, and in lunatic hospitals, we are entrusted with the power of discharge, if satisfied that any patient is detained without sufficient cause, while in county and borough asylums, as we have already remarked, we have no such power.'

That, therefore, was one important fact to be borne in mind. When he spoke of the diminished rate of cure, he must

not be supposed to be merely putting forward something he himself had gleaned by comparing the figures in the Report. The Commissioners themselves referred to the matter. On page 4 of their Report they said—

"The recovery rate, as compared with the admissions in 1887, is considerably below the average of the three preceding years;"

and then they went on to make the extraordinary statement that to the accumulation in the county and borough asylums was to a great extent due the diminished rate of cure. That was to say, that the curative treatment was less effectual; that people were left in these asylums who ought to have been cured under other circumstances. That fact alone had a considerable effect in causing the congested state of these institutions. Another question he desired to dwell upon was the insufficient authority of the Commissioners, which they themselves also complained of, in these institutions. In the Suffolk Asylum a man died of broken ribs, and the Commissioners in Lunacy reported to the Home Office that in their opinion the patient was done to death by the attendants of the asylum. The Commissioners proposed that the most extreme measures should be taken in order to ascertain who were the guilty parties. And yet the Committee of Visitors of the asylum were able to treat the Report with absolute contempt, and the inculpated and charged attendants were in the same position as if there was not the least complaint to be made against them. It was no earthly use to have Commissioners at all if their powers were to be ineffectual in so serious a case as the practical murder of an innocent fellow-creature. Amongst the different classes of lunatics were the unfortunate inmates of workhouse lunatic wards. From the Commissioners' Report it was found that at Maidstone the Governors condemned eight poor idiots to hard labour, in the shape of continual water pumping. A system which admitted of such cruelty being administered must be very faulty. Some arrangement ought certainly to be made whereby the visitation and inspection of the lunatic portion of the workhouse population ought to be thorough and frequent. There was another matter which the Commissioners might seriously turn their attention to. Frequently an inmate of a workhouse who was fit to be removed to an asylum was taken by the police or by the workhouse authorities before a magistrate, as if he or she were a criminal, and dealt with in a Police Court. Again, he found from the Report that in the case of 784 patients, 442 were Roman Catholics. Those 442 Roman Catholics, in different stages of mental ailment, were never allowed to hear Mass, at any rate, inside the institution. There might not be upon the Government Bench at the present moment anybody who could appreciate what that meant; but if the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) would consult his Chief, he would find that the deprivation of attendance at Mass to 442 Catholics was something more than a sentimental grievance. He had dwelt especially upon the accumulation of pauper lunatics in borough and county asylums; but he affirmed that even a cursory examination of those institutions by anyone who had an opportunity of spending some hours in any of them would convince him that there was a radical fault at the bottom of the system, and it was that medical superintendents were not regarded by the Government as medical superintendents at all, but were really treated as if they were so many students. A medical officer who had charge of an institution with, perhaps, 1,000 inmates, was really little better than a clerk: he had such an amount of figures to attend to, he had so many returns and reports to make, he had so much financial responsibility, that he practically had no time at all to devote to the individual treatment of his patients; and the reason why there was so low a rate of recovery in these institutions was that the medical staff was ridiculously inadequate for the business which was put into their hands. It was an incontrovertible fact that there was not a single institution in the country for the treatment of the insane which was furnished with a medical staff such as the poorest hospital for the treatment of bodily diseases was furnished with. [Sir HENRY FLETCHER: Oh, oh!] His authority was Dr. Rayner, who made the statement a short time ago in a letter to *The Times*. The question of treatment was really very important. The charge for lunacy was

very great, the evil and the misery of lunacy was extreme, and in other countries—in Scotland and in Belgium, for instance—there were very different results from those which attended the treatment of the insane in this country. Here there was no adequate individuality of treatment; hundreds and thousands of lunatics in different phases of mental infirmity were herded together, and then left. The treatment of these lunatics was sufficient to keep them alive, but it was not sufficient to cure them. He should like, if time permitted, to deal with the question of mechanical restraint of the insane; it was a question which the Commissioners ought to have dealt with in their Report. The Report, however, was the baldest possible thing; it was really startling from its baldness and its formality. It furnished a large number of tables, though it omitted some of the interesting information of previous years, and upon matters which did go to the root of the administration of relief to the lunatic poor it had absolutely nothing to say. The question of mechanical restraint was of immense importance, especially from an Irish point of view. It was admitted that in Ireland lunatics went in chains for weeks together; but he found that at the Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum, for instance, there was no restraint of the kind. That showed that when they had an intelligent administration a great deal of the cruelty and misery inflicted by mechanical restraint might be done away with. Under the circumstances, he thought it was quite right of his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Molloy) to move a reduction of the Vote.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER (Sussex, Lewes) said, he had been for 18 years a member of the Lunatic Asylums Committee, and he could say that the magistrates who were members of that Committee had done their best to carry out everything connected with lunacy administration in an honourable and straightforward manner. He maintained that all the remarks of the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) were without foundation, and in that statement he would be supported by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department. The Asylums Committee had looked most carefully into everything connected with the unfortunate lunatics placed under their care; they had investigated every case, and they had carried out all the recommendations of the Report laid before them.

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire) said, there was one abuse in the administration of the Lunacy Laws to which he desired to direct attention, and that was the practice of placing idiot children in asylums for adult lunatics. Those children were often very harmless, and yet they were placed amongst lunatics who were sometimes outrageous in their behaviour. It had been strongly pressed on him as one of the necessary reforms in the administration of the Lunacy Laws that there ought to be a separate establishment for harmless idiot children. He hoped the Bill to be brought before the House would contain some provision whereby these children would be dealt with on a different principle to that applicable to grown up pauper lunatics.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) said, the hon. and learned Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) had repeated a complaint he made two years ago—namely, that the Commissioners were undeserving of public confidence, because in their Report they had indicated their opinion of the way in which they thought reforms of the Lunacy Laws should or should not be carried out. He disagreed with the hon. and learned Member in the view he took of the Commissioners' functions. The opinion entertained and expressed by the Commissioners with regard to the Lunacy Acts Amendment Bill was the opinion entertained by the great Lord Shaftesbury, and he thought the Commissioners might have been treated with more respect when, as they had done, they ventured to lay before the public an opinion founded, as it must be, on a very long and close experience of administration of the law. It was not true to say that the Bill for the Amendment of the Lunacy Laws had not reached that House. He held in his hand a copy of the Bill, and he observed that the Bill was brought from "another place" in March of this year, and was ordered to be printed in April, and ever since then it had been in the hands of the House. Hon. Members who were criticizing the

Estimates might render assistance in passing a measure which represented the labour, experience, and concurrence of opinion of three successive Lord Chancellors. It was also complained that the Commissioners had passed lightly over cases of abuse which unfortunately occurred, and must occur, in administration. He found in the last Reports presented to Parliament no less than 30 pages of closely printed matter, dealing with details in particular establishments; indeed, he submitted with some confidence that the Report showed that the Commissioners had gone about their labours with energy, and had used their powers to the fullest extent. There was certainly nothing on the face of the Report which justly exposed the Commissioners to the condemnation with which they had been treated. He could not help thinking that the hon. and learned Member for King's County and the hon. Member for East Donegal had answered each other. One of the hon. Gentlemen objected to an expression of opinion by the Commissioners, and the other appealed to that expression of opinion as a justification of what he said; one objected that important cases of abuse were left out of sight, and the other founded his speech upon a reproduction of the very kind of cases which were supposed to be left unnoticed. If it were true that Boards of Guardians were lax in the management of pauper asylums, that was a reason for an amendment of the law, and an opportunity for amending the law was one which the Government hoped to present to the House at no distant date. Of course, questions affecting legislation must be addressed to someone higher in the Government than himself. All he could say confidently was that the present Lord Chancellor took the warmest interest in the prosecution of the measure which had now been before the House for months. He (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) believed that with a little assistance from the quarter from which the present complaints proceeded that Bill might very soon be matured into a most useful piece of legislation in which all the abuses complained of might be dealt with. The point raised by the hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) was one deserving of the most serious attention. It was, of course, more a question of expense than of anything else. Certainly there was no one who would not wish to see the desirable measure which the hon. Gentleman mentioned carried into effect. In conclusion, he had only to say that if the powers at present existing were inadequate, or if the law was defective, the remedy was an amendment of the laws.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he could not help being amazed at the hon. Gentleman's (Mr. Stuart-Wortley's) reference to the Lunacy Act Amendment Bill. Surely the hon. Member knew that a Bill like that could not be slipped through the House anyhow. As a matter of fact, it was always after 12 o'clock at night that the Bill was brought up for discussion. If the Government were sincerely anxious to legislate in this matter they ought to bring the Bill on at a time when it could be reasonably and properly discussed. Now, he did not propose to argue the question whether private asylums were desirable or not. He believed they were not desirable, and he sincerely hoped the day might soon come when all the unfortunate people who were suffering from mental affliction would be looked after by the State. Complaint had very often been made as to the infrequency of the Commissioners' visits. There was no doubt that the Commissioners did not visit lunatic establishments often enough. If they did, many patients might soon be restored to liberty. Reference had been made to the workhouse asylums. Personally, he objected to the retention of insane people in the wards of any union. Unions had no provision for the classified treatment of the insane. Provision for these unfortunate creatures ought certainly to be made in asylums which were suitable for their cases, and in which adequate treatment could be provided. The hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had said that lunatic asylums were under-officered. He (Dr. Tanner) could assure the Committee that that was practically the case. Again and again he had heard complaints by his medical *confrères* that it was utterly impossible for them to do their duty in asylums, in consequence of the many cases which were cast upon them, and notably in consequence of the immense amount of clerical work they were called upon to do. He trusted that

before long all these questions would be thoroughly looked into.

MR. DILLWYN (Swansea) said, he thought that the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) was inclined to blame the House of Commons for not dealing with the Bill which the Government laid on the Table in April last. That Bill, no doubt, should have been dealt with, but it should have been dealt with at the instance of the hon. Gentleman's own Government. Instead of casting blame upon the House of Commons, the hon. Gentleman ought to cast blame on the Government for not urging forward their own measure. It was a very important measure, and it was one of such importance that it could not be brought forward in the small hours of the morning. He did not blame this Government more than any other Government. The question of the amendment of the Lunacy Laws had been before the House for many years past. Government after Government had admitted the evil of the Lunacy Laws, and one after another had promised to deal with the subject. Still nothing had been done; and, unless the matter was urged forward with a little more heart and earnestness, it was very likely that nothing would be done. He trusted that, whether the present Government was in Office or not, the subject of the amendment of these laws would be taken in hand early next year, and pushed to a settlement.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he did not think that his hon. Friend (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) intended to blame anybody, but rather understood his hon. Friend to invite the assistance and co-operation of hon. Gentlemen opposite in procuring an amendment of the law.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) said, it was a matter of great regret to him that his Party was not in Opposition when these Estimates were being dealt with. The whole of the accounts were confusing and unsatisfactory. He desired to reduce expenditure, but he was placed in a very difficult position. He was asked, as a Conservative, to support Members of the Government, but he found that if he did so he was merely supporting officials in their extravagance. There was a great deal of extravagance; and it was impossible to get a clear, satisfactory, and unequivocal account of the expenditure of the country. He was often tempted to vote against the Government. He had done so on several occasions, and once or twice they had succeeded in defeating them. He should be very much better pleased when he could act as an entirely independent Member, instead of being called upon to support officials who seemed to him to be ruining the country. [*Opposition cheers.*] Hon. Members opposite might cheer, and probably embarrass him in the statement he was making; but, no matter what Government was in power, he was bound to confess they were getting in a more difficult position every year. If the Government would only give them a fuller statement of the——

THE CHAIRMAN: I must ask the hon. Member to remember that we are discussing the Vote for the Lunacy Commission.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON said, if a fuller and straightforward account were given of the Lunacy Commission, they would not be detained there for hours trying to understand that extraordinary Vote. He had only to say, further, that the Government would gain the confidence of the country if they would try to compel the officials to state clearly what the various Votes were for. He certainly was in utter confusion about the matter, and he looked forward to the time when the Government would furnish the Committee with fuller particulars, and thus save that endless discussion.

MR. MOLLOY said, that as he understood the Government were about to introduce the Bill brought in in "another place," and as on that Bill hon. Members could propose reforms which were necessary, he would not put the Committee to the trouble of taking a Division.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR inquired whether there was in the hands of the Government or of the Lunacy Commissioners any power to insist upon an increase in the medical staff of borough and county asylums?

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, that the Government Grant to asylums was not administered by the Department to which he belonged, therefore he could

not say from personal experience exactly what power there was for controlling such matters. But he should say that probably hitherto the power of keeping the medical staff up to a proper state of efficiency had been exercised by means of the power of controlling the Government Grant.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

(4.) £18,941, to complete the sum for the Mint, including Coinage.

MR. MONTAGU (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel): Sir, I wish to call attention to the subject of decimal coinage, and to briefly state what has been done since the last occasion on which I advocated the introduction of such a coinage system, and to ask the Government if they will grant a Select Committee to consider this important question? In June last year I had the honour to introduce to the Chancellor of the Exchequer an influential deputation, composed of members of the London and Provincial Chambers of Commerce, their object being to urge upon the right hon. Gentleman the adoption of the decimal system of coinage and of weights and measures. The Chancellor of the Exchequer received the deputation very favourably, and suggested that during the Recess they should formulate their views. In order to comply with this suggestion, I went down to Swansea in September of last year to attend a Congress of Trades Unions, and there found the delegates in favour of a decimal currency. Subsequently I attended a meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, where a Resolution was unanimously passed in favour of the same improved system of currency, weights, and measures; and only to-day I have sent in Petitions containing some 2,000 signatures, most of them of working men, also in favour of this system. Signatures of this kind can be almost indefinitely increased, if only someone goes to the expense of hiring persons at 5*s*. a-day to collect them. The Petitions to which I refer contain a fair sample of the signatures which can be procured by this means. My object in bringing the subject forward is to obtain, if possible, the more active support of Members of Parliament in the advocacy of this improvement, which all foreign nations have adopted with advantage. Unless the Government will undertake the matter, an Association must be formed to force the subject to the front. Another matter connected with the currency is that of light gold. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced his intention of bringing in a Bill dealing with the light gold, which now forms quite the half of our gold circulation. I trust that when he does so he will also provide that the composition of our gold and silver coins shall in future be 9-10ths fine, which quality is considered by almost all other nations to be far more suitable for coinage than ours, which in the case of gold is 11-12ths, or 916·6 fine, and in the case of silver 925 fine. I hope that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has obtained, or will obtain, information on this subject from foreign Mints, as well as from our own Mint. Experiments have been tried in London as to the wear of coins by placing them in revolving boxes. This friction is too regular, therefore not so trying to the coins as actual circulation, yet the result has been greatly in favour of the 9-10ths alloy. My own experience of over 40 years with all kinds of currency proves, without the shadow of a doubt, that our coins are far less durable, and in consequence far more costly, than almost any others. Naturally, I do not propose that coins should be issued containing less fine gold or less fine silver than now. I recommend that our gold coins should be made slightly heavier and of a better type, also that our silver coins should be made considerably heavier, so as to prevent fraudulent imitations in good silver. I have already submitted to the Chancellor of the Exchequer my views as to the folly of using such soft metal for our currency, which will not bear rough contact with harder metals without great sacrifice, also as to the superior Mint Regulations in Germany, the United States, and in the countries forming the Latin Union. I have fresh evidence proving that almost all our silver coins are imitated in good metal, even over the standard, with a profit to the forger of about 70 per cent. I have here an account from the Bank of England relating to £100 of English silver paid in last month, which states that three half-crowns and one florin are returned, "because they were not issued by the Mint." I had each of those coins assayed with

the following results. The quality of each was 927, 919, 918, and 923 fine, as against our standard of 925, showing that in one instance the forged coin was two *millièmes* better than our standard, and the others almost as good. I have calculated the values, which are as follows. George III. half-crowns, date 1818, which should weigh 9 dwts., 2·18 grs., actual weight 8 dwts., 14 grs., value 1*s.* 6·45*d.*; George IV. half-crowns, 1834, actual weight 7 dwts., 18 grs., value 1*s.* 4·66*d.*; Victoria florin, date 1872, should weigh 7 dwts., 6·5 grs., actual weight 7 dwts., 8 grs., actual value 1*s.* 3·76*d.* In the last instance the weight, quality, and value, are greater than the genuine coin, the profit to the forger being about 50 per cent. If that was a fair sample of silver in circulation, the finding of 9*s.* 6*d.* in £100 would indicate that among the £20,000,000 of silver currency there is about £95,000 of silver imitations in the hands of the public. I do not wish to discuss bi-metallism at present, as the Report of the Royal Commission has only just been issued, but the Government must recognize that they must either have an International Bi-metallic Convention, or spend millions sterling in restoring our silver currency. With regard to the wear of silver coins, those which have proved to be the most desirable in the world are the old Spanish dollar and the five franc piece, both of which are 9-10ths fine; they have stood the test of wear far better than any others. Until recently, Spanish dollars circulated over a vast area, including North and South America in the West; China, Japan, and many other countries in the East; consequently they have been constantly subjected to extra wear through packing and jolting, which are important factors in the durability of coins. Yet, after circulating all over the world for about a century, the average loss of weight of Spanish dollars is under 1 per cent, while that of five franc pieces is still less. On the other hand, the loss in weight through wear is vastly greater in our silver currency of 925 fine. For instance, £100 worth of our silver currency should weigh, when issued from the Mint, nearly 364 ozs., the intrinsic value of which, at the present time, is about £65. The following weights are from the Bank of England. Average weight of £100 in half-crowns in circulation is 350½ ozs., deficient nearly 4 per cent. Average weight of £100 in florins, which are all coined during the present Reign, is 353½ ozs., showing a deficiency of 3 per cent. Average weight of £100 in shillings 349 ozs., deficiency 4 per cent. I have had two or three trials made of the weight of half-crowns and florins of certain years—for example; £100 in half-crowns coined 1840-5, weight 347½ ozs., deficiency 4½ per cent; £100 in half-crowns coined 1874-8, 357½ ozs., loss 1¾ per cent. Lastly, £100 in florins coined 1870-5 355 ozs., loss 2½ per cent. You can see by these figures that the wear of our silver coins is far greater than the old Spanish dollar or five franc piece, which coins are 9-10ths fine, even if you allow for the difference in the size of the coins, the larger being more durable. The question of the durability of our coins is of great importance, seeing that we shall have to expend nearly £1,000,000 sterling in rehabilitating our gold currency, and that we lost in 1886 in withdrawing £185,116 of worn silver, £22,623, or over 12 per cent, and in 1887 we lost no less than £44,119 in withdrawing, £353,831, or about 13 per cent. I am certain of this—that the wear of our coins, made of comparatively soft metal, 916 and 925 fine, is far more rapid than if they were made of the more durable and almost universal quality of 900 fine. Finally, I must again call the attention of the Government to the advisability of allowing the Mint to coin for the public British trade dollars for circulation in the East. It appears to me most absurd that our traders with China and other Eastern countries should frequently have to pay a premium, reaching this year 2½ per cent, for Mexican dollars to circulate in our own Colonies. Surely we ought not to depend on Mexico or any foreign country for the currency of several of our Possessions? If we have to pay any premium it ought to be paid to the Mint by those who should be permitted to bring silver to be coined into trade dollars. I trouble the Committee with these details, because a Currency Bill is promised, and even my short experience in this House shows the difficulty of amending a Government Bill. Should the Government not accept my recommendations, I would ask them to appoint a Select Committee to obtain the evidence of experts, which would

certainly confirm my statements, and result in placing our currency on a safe and permanent basis.

MR. W. A. M'ARTHUR (Cornwall, Mid, St. Austell) asked for an explanation of the item of £400 for brokerage, in connection with the purchase of silver. The price of silver, he maintained, was pretty well known to all business men; and he doubted whether the Mint obtained any advantage by paying this sum for brokerage. At any rate, if a commission had to be paid on the purchase of silver, he did not think it should be as high a one as one-eighth per cent.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he hoped the hon. Member who had first spoken (Mr. Montagu) would not expect him to follow him into all the details of his speech, as to how they had best make their coins; but he thought the Committee were very much indebted to the hon. Member for the clear and interesting statement he had put before them, and would promise the hon. Member that the whole matter with which he had dealt should be brought very seriously before the proper authorities. The question of a decimal coinage was not one with which it was his (Mr. Jackson's) province to deal; and he regretted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not present. The question of light gold was one that he knew his right hon. Friend had under consideration; and though the right hon. Gentleman might not have been in a position to make a statement that night, he (Mr. Jackson) could inform the Committee that the matter was receiving the right hon. Gentleman's closest attention. With regard to what had fallen from the hon. Member who had just spoken, the subject had been fully discussed last year with the Master of the Mint, and the Government had come to the conclusion that the present system was really the best which they could adopt. The amount expended on brokerage was a varying one. The amount for 1886-7 was £188, and £400 had of recent years been the maximum amount expended. He knew that there might be a sort of prejudice against paying brokerage in cases like this; but he put it to the Committee whether it was possible for anyone connected with the Mint, who might have during the year to make probably no more than three purchases of silver, to keep absolutely in touch with the market so as to know to a fraction what the price of silver would be. They knew that the price of silver varied from time to time. Sometimes there was a serious fluctuation in the morning and evening of the same day. Whether one-eighth per cent was too large a commission to pay he did not know; but certainly it did not seem to him that the total amount expended was a very extravagant one; and it must be remembered that the Indian banks, which bought much more largely than Her Majesty's Government bought for the Mint, adopted the same system of paying brokerage. He was by no means certain that the very fact of a Government representative, known as such, going into the market on a particular day to buy silver for the purposes of the Government would not in itself cause a serious effect upon the market, and upon the price to be paid; and his own impression was that it was better to employ an independent broker, who was in daily touch with the market, and who knew what the closing quotations for silver were, than to employ a Government agent, known as such, to buy for them. He hoped he had convinced the hon. Member that for the present system there were, at any rate, some sound reasons to be urged, and that the question was one which had been carefully considered by the Government.

MR. MONTAGU said, he could confirm what the Secretary to the Treasury had said with regard to the payment of brokerage. He did not think one-eighth per cent was too high a rate to pay; and he certainly was of opinion that if silver had to be bought the better plan was to buy it from the broker. He thought, however, it would be as well to invite tenders, as the Indian Council did for the bills which they issued in such large quantities every week.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) £5,071, to complete the sum for the National Debt Office.

(6.) £23,305, to complete the sum for the Patent Office, &c.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, he should like to draw the attention of the Secretary to the Treasury to the fact that the Controller of the Patent Office, when he had to decide any cases of dispute when patents were taken out, had no place to sit or hold his Court in. The

matter had been brought before the Committee on former occasions, but nothing yet had been done. The official to whom he referred sat in an official capacity, but was absolutely at times obliged to go out and hire a room in one of the houses in Chancery Lane, or wherever he could, in which to hear cases. He (Mr. Molloy) trusted the Government would take measures to provide the Controller with a Court Room. Another point to which he desired to draw attention was the fact that the three descriptions of patents which had been taken out of late years were largely in arrear. At present it was a most difficult thing for those who had to search patents to find any index which would give a clue to the whereabouts of that for which they were looking. The result was that the library and the offices were crowded with examiners, and a state of confusion prevailed. The difficulty was caused on this ground—that there were not a sufficient number of persons employed in the Office to make these investigations, and to prepare abridgments; but the estimated receipts of the Patent Office for the present year were £145,000, and the total expenditure amounted to over £50,000—say £55,000, including furniture and supplies which did not come under this Estimate; and there was, therefore, a large balance out of which any additional expenditure which might have to be incurred would be paid. It was desirable that the abridgments should be made up to date, and part of this balance would enable that to be done. He would suggest that a portion of the balance should be placed to the credit of the Patent Office, in order that the abridgments might be brought up to date. He was sorry he could not move an increase of the Vote for this purpose, but he trusted that the Government would take action in the direction he suggested.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he was very glad the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Molloy) had raised a question about arrears and abridgments, because it was a question he (Mr. Jackson) had for some years taken a particular interest in. In the course of his duty he had had to have an interview with those who were responsible for this Department, and had been obliged to go thoroughly into the whole question. He might say that he entirely sympathized with the view expressed by the hon. and learned Member opposite (Mr. Molloy)—namely, that the abridgments ought to be brought up to date at the earliest possible moment. It would be a great convenience to the Government if this were done. What had happened was this. Last year, he thought he was right in saying—for he was only speaking from memory—the amount put in the Estimates for the work of preparing abridgments was £1,500. With the view of preparing an index and of making up arrears, however, he (Mr. Jackson) had put £4,000 in the Estimates this year; and his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General would, he thought, bear him out in the statement that really the first important step was to get up an index. He had seen this week a rough copy of the index, and he was promised that the finished work should be ready by the end of this calendar year. He was told that when this index was complete it would greatly facilitate the work of getting up abridgments. The thing was being done by piecework. It was important that it should be done carefully and well, and there was only a limited supply of men competent to do it efficiently. He had discussed the matter with the officials of the Patent Office, and had told them that the Government would be prepared to supply a reasonable sum of money next year and the year after, in the hope that the abridgments would be brought up to date in a reasonable period of time. He hoped he had satisfied the hon. and learned Member that the question was one on which they were at one, and that the Treasury were determined to do everything they could to get the abridgments made up. As to a room for the Controller of the Patent Office to hear patent disputes in, he (Mr. Jackson) was told that there had been some alteration in the system, and that latterly there had been no difficulty in this regard.

MR. MOLLOY said, he begged to thank the hon. Gentleman for his statement as to the abridgments, and assured him that all persons interested in patents would be grateful to him for his exertions. Even if it were found necessary to place a further sum on the Estimates for the carrying on of this work, it was to be hoped that the Government would not shrink from the expen-

diture. As to a room for the use of the Controller, he (Mr. Molloy) was not aware that they had definitely fixed upon one yet. He knew the Controller had been sitting more regularly in one place; but it certainly seemed to him ridiculous for what was practically a Court to have no place appointed for its sittings.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, there had been a difficulty in the matter of finding a place for the Controller a few years ago; but latterly, when the Courts had been occupied, he had sat in a Chamber convenient for the purpose situated in the Law Courts building. He (Sir Richard Webster) had a great deal to do with this matter; and if he found that inconvenience was being occasioned to the parties interested in patents, to the patent agents, or members of the Legal Profession, he would exert himself to see arrangements made whereby a room for the hearing of patent disputes could be permanently secured, so that these cases might always be heard in the same place.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, they appeared to be deriving a considerable sum in the shape of fees from patents, and it seemed to him that the accommodation made for the whole of the Patent Office—whether they took into consideration the officials' rooms, the libraries, or other offices—was not worthy of a great country like ours. Looking at the amount of fees received every year through the advance of mechanical skill and enterprize, he thought that a small sum should be set aside annually out of those fees for the purpose of improving the accommodation in the Office, so as to enable the Patent Office of this country to compete in some measure with that of the United States. It was owing to the prominence and importance attached to patents in the United States that the Americans were so far ahead of us in all sorts of mechanical invention. Besides, the high fees charged for patents in this country stood in the way of skilful working men and artizans bringing forward inventions. He held that the fact of the Patent Office being away in a corner in Chancery Lane, and being of such an insignificant description, and, in addition, the red tape system in use —although he was aware that of late years a great improvement had taken place in this respect—discouraged the spirit of invention amongst our artizans and working classes. He wished to see a wider view taken of this subject of patents, and greater encouragement given for the purpose of sharpening up the wits of our working men.

MR. JACKSON said, that no doubt there was a great deal in what the hon. Member said. He (Mr. Jackson) had had the advantage of going through, in all its branches, the Patent Office at Washington, and was pretty well acquainted with the whole of the American patent system. The hon. Member (Mr. Conybeare) said that the Americans were a much more inventive people than we were, and he (Mr. Jackson) believed that the hon. Member was right. It must be remembered, however, that in America there were a much larger number of patents taken out for small details than there were in this country; and, in regard to fees, it must be borne in mind that the preliminary fees which were paid merely to secure the three years' protection were lighter here than in America. As to the higher fees charged at later stages, he considered these a great advantage, as they helped to kill a great many useless inventions.

MR. MOLLOY asked whether the hon. Gentleman could say when the Regulations governing the Patent Agents' Association would be issued under the Bill of last year?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, the scheme in question was contained in the measure which was in charge of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) asked whether anything had been done to provide a Museum of National Inventions worthy of the country?

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) desired to call attention to the fact that in Germany and other countries every encouragement was given to inventors who wished to bring their inventions to public notice, whilst in this country inventors met with nothing but what he might call the cold shoulder, which, no doubt, led to many valuable inventions being lost. He would suggest that some Department should be established for the purpose of testing the worth of inventions.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal E.) asked who was responsible for the administration of the details of this Office? Certain fees had to be paid which were gathered by means of stamps. Some of these stamps, after having been used, had in certain instances been treated as uncancelled, the money paid for them the second time, however, not being refunded. Certain irregularities—to use no stronger word—had occurred in this way, and it had been decided that some steps should be taken, as between the Treasury and the Inland Revenue, to guard against the possibility of such frauds in the future by dishonest officials in the matter of spoilt stamps. He wished to know whether any such steps had been taken in the matter, and, if so, what they were; and whether the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury was assured that they were of such a character as would protect the Treasury against fraud?

MR. JACKSON said, this subject had come before the Public Accounts Committee.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: It came before Lord Henniker's Committee.

MR. JACKSON said, that was so. He had made at the time a Memorandum, with the consent of the Patent Office, calling attention to the question, and requesting that some system should be adopted whereby the recurrence of such irregularities would be prevented. The system which had previously prevailed had certainly been a loose one; but he was assured that satisfactory alterations had been made.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he did not wish to press any unfair question, but should like to know what steps had been taken to prevent the recurrence of fraud, and whether the hon. Gentleman thought they were sufficient to prevent any such irregularities in the future?

MR. JACKSON said, he was afraid he could not give the details as to what particular check had been imposed; but, knowing the interest the hon. Member took in the matter, he (Mr. Jackson) would ascertain them and communicate them to him.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) said, he would remind the Secretary to the Treasury that he had not replied to the question put by the hon. Member for North Islington (Mr. Bartley).

MR. JACKSON said, he could not say that any conclusion had yet been arrived at, the matter being rather mixed up with the large question as to what they were to do at South Kensington. The provision of a new Patent Museum would entail a large outlay, and a great deal of money was already being expended on public buildings in connection with the General Post Office, the Post Office Savings Bank, and the Admiralty. His view was that in the matter of making progress with public buildings it was better to proceed gradually than to undertake immense schemes at once. The matter referred to, however, had not been lost sight of. He quite admitted that better provision in the shape of a Patent Museum was necessary.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked for an explanation as to why the Registrar of Designs and Trade Marks, whose salary was stated in the Estimates at £800 a-year, was in receipt of £1,000 a-year? They were told in a note in the Votes that this extra £200 was "personal to the present holder;" but he considered the Committee entitled to some better explanation than that.

MR. JACKSON replied, that £800 was the maximum salary of the post; but the present occupant of the Office was transferred there when the reorganization took place, he having previously been in receipt of £1,000 a-year. When the present holder vacated the post the salary would be £800 per annum.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) asked whether the Trade Marks Act recently passed had worked successfully?

MR. JACKSON said, he supposed the hon. Member referred to the Merchandize Marks Act. He should be out of Order in referring to that measure in any detail; but he might say, generally, that the Act had worked very successfully.

Vote *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £2,690, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of

Her Majesty's Paymaster General in London and Dublin."

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he understood that none of the Irish Votes were to be taken to-night.

MR. JACKSON said, he would postpone the Vote if the hon. Member really wished it to be postponed; but he did not think there was anything controversial in it.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) said, that in the Vote there was another instance of a post retained when really there were no duties attaching to it.

It being Twelve of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES BILL.

(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Baron Henry de Worms.*)

[BILL 321.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.) said, when he introduced the Bill he promised that it should not be proceeded with until a sufficient interval had been allowed for the numerous alterations in the law in regard to weights and measures upon points of detail to be properly canvassed in the country. Numerous representations in reference to the Bill had been made to him by various trades, and notably by the baking trade. He expected to receive an important deputation on that subject to-morrow. In now asking the House to give the Bill a second reading, he proposed that the Committee stage should be deferred for a fortnight; and meantime he would place on the Paper those Amendments which, in deference to representations made to him, he would be prepared to move in Committee, so that hon. Members might see the shape in which the Government desired the Bill should become law. He would merely add that he could only expect to pass the Bill this Session if it met with general approval, and would not attempt to pass it against any real or strong opposition.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) said, it might affect the attitude of some Members towards the Bill to know if the right hon. Baronet would in any way be likely to meet the views of the deputation he was about to receive?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH thought it very probable he might be able to do so.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he should like to have an understanding whether there was any intention on the part of the Government to give their assistance, and to allow any Bills introduced by private Members to be proceeded with during the Autumn Sitting? The answer might affect the disposition of hon. Members towards Government Bills.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, this was a question that should be addressed to his right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury; but his own impression was that it was understood only Government Business would be taken.

DR. TANNER objecting to the Question being put,

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 7th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 20 to 24.

Resolutions [November 6] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILL — *Withdrawn* — Registration of Assurances (Ireland) * [369].

QUESTIONS.

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EAST AFRICA—THE SLAVE TRADE.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) said, that as he did not see the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in his place he would put the Question of which he had given Notice to the First Lord of

the Treasury—namely, Whether an official intimation has been conveyed to the Universities' Mission that, in view of active operations to be begun by Her Majesty's Government against the Slave Traders on the Zanzibar Coast, it is desirable that all Europeans should be at once withdrawn from stations on the mainland; and, whether it is intended to undertake such operations upon the mainland of East Africa, or whether it is merely intended to continue or extend the usual operations against the Slave Trade by sea; and, if the latter course is intended, what addition it is proposed to make to the number of vessels of Her Majesty's Fleet now engaged in the suppression of the maritime slave traffic?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I should have preferred, under the circumstances, that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs should have answered this Question; but I can assure my hon. Friend that there is no intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government to undertake any operations on land in East Africa, and that the operations which are contemplated only have regard to the suppression of the Slave Trade and the prevention of the introduction of munitions of war into that part of Africa.

DR. CLARK (Caithness): Does the right hon. Gentleman intend to do anything to support our Consuls on Lake Nyassa, where they are being attacked by the Arab Slave Traders, and to protect the British merchants who have been driven out by these traders?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The hon. Gentleman must be aware that support of the character which he indicates would involve the undertaking of important operations on land in East Africa; and I have already intimated that Her Majesty's Government will not undertake any operations on land in East Africa, as they would involve considerations of a very important and serious nature.

DR. CLARK: I refer not to the land but to the lake—to the inland seas, through navigable rivers.

MR. W. H. SMITH: Does the hon. Gentleman seriously mean to suggest that operations are possible in that direction without the assistance of an army, which must operate on the land?

[No answer.]

PERPETUAL PENSIONS—THE TREASURY MINUTE.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he would give Notice of the day which he would fix for the discussion of the Resolution in regard to the Treasury Minute on this subject, as a number of Members were anxious to be present at the debate?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, that he would certainly give the hon. Member ample Notice; and, in all probability, an arrangement would be made with the hon. Gentleman before public Notice was given.

ORDER OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £9,690, to complete the sum for the Paymaster General's Office.

(2.) £3,033, to complete the sum for the Public Works Loan Commission.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he desired to know, in relation to the item of £1,500 for a solicitor, whether, with this considerable salary, the solicitor was allowed to carry on private practice? Did that gentleman devote the whole of his time and attention to the work of the Department, or was he, as the Chief Law Officers of the Government were, allowed to carry on as much practice in addition as he chose? If this were the case, then it was a bad principle, and ought to be challenged on all occasions. £1,500 a-year seemed to him sufficient to secure all the attention of a solicitor. Another item under Sub-head D seemed to demand notice: £800 for clerks' salaries. It seemed to him that this expenditure on solicitors' clerks was wholly unnecessary. Also, he wished to know whether the counsel who received the fees under Sub-head E were Law Officers of the Crown or were independent counsel?

MR. C. T. D. ACLAND (Cornwall, Launceston) asked, whether any loans

had been granted at the reduced rate sanctioned?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he was not aware that any loans had actually been granted under the reduced rate of interest. True, the Government had sanctioned a reduced rate of interest where adequate security was given; but he was not able to say distinctly whether any such loans had been actually granted. As hon. Members were aware, these loans would not come directly under his Department; they were arranged and disposed of by the Public Works Loans Commissioners, a Body constituted by Parliament, and occupying an independent position. Exception had been taken to the item for the solicitor's salary; but he reminded the Committee of the importance of the duties of that official. The solicitor had to advise the Commissioners as to the security offered on the various applications for loans. The amount of loans was large, and the work involved the exercise of considerable knowledge and very great care. He (Mr. Jackson) believed he could refer to the work hitherto done by the Commissioners as commanding the confidence of the House and the public. The amounts set down from time to time as fees for counsel's opinion were really small. The amounts actually expended in 1887 were £69 10*s.* 7*d.*; in 1886, £63 7*s.* 6*d.*; in 1885, £79 13*s.* 6*d.*; and he would point out that these amounts covered consultations, not only in the cases of making loans, but in regard to very difficult cases where proceedings had to be taken for the recovery of principal and interest.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked, whether the counsel mentioned were independent counsel or the Law Officers of the Crown; and if the latter, were these cases exceptions to the ordinary rule?

MR. JACKSON said, he understood they were independent counsel.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he wished to point out that when the Attorney General and the Solicitor General were paid high salaries for doing the work of the nation, it was not desirable that payments should also be made to independent counsel. Scattered over numerous Votes occurred these small items for work which the Law Officers were paid to do.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £7,634, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Public Record Office."

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) said, in connection with this Vote he desired to impress upon the Department the desirability of cheapening the publications of the Record Office. The number of people interested in these publications was increasing yearly, and if the price were reduced there would no doubt be a much larger sale, though of course it could never be expected that the sale would be equal to that of a fashionable three volume novel. Some two Sessions since he asked a Question as to reducing the price of certain publications—Records regarding Wales, and the reply he received was that there was not enough sale of the book to warrant the issue at a cheaper rate, but he still held to the opinion that the principle obtained in this matter, as in regard to many other ventures, that cheapening the price would lead to a larger and remunerative sale. Would it not also be possible to modify the rule made some months ago which prevented searchers in the Record Office from using any ink? No such rule had been found necessary in the British Museum and elsewhere, and it entailed an immense amount of labour on men who first had to make their copy at the Office in pencil and then copy that again in ink. But the chief point to which he wished to call attention was that more attention should be paid by the Record Office to Records relating to public matters in connection with Wales before and since the Union. Many of these, especially the Records of the Council of Wales and the Marches, and of Henry VIII.'s Commission on Welsh Laws, were of the utmost importance, and were not in the Record Office, but were scattered over the country. Could not steps be taken to secure these National Records for the nation? Many had relation to most important matters in connection with

the industrial and social life of Wales. Upon the publication of MSS. and Records in relation to England, Scotland, and Ireland much money had been spent, to the great advantage of historical students, and no money had been better spent, but his complaint was that in regard to the great mass of Welsh MSS. there was no kind of calendar prepared. Two books were published by the Office in 1838 and 1841, *The Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales* and *The Record of Carnarvon*, and they had been of immense value. Very earnestly he desired, on behalf of Welsh scholars and those who took an interest in the history and social life of ancient Wales, to impress on the Government the desirability of appointing a Welsh scholar or Welsh scholars to make a calendar of Welsh MSS., as had been done for England. The State having undertaken the custody of these Records, it was no less the duty of the State to do this for the Welsh as well as other Records. Of ripe scholarship for the purpose there was no lack among Welshmen, but you keep the Records, and do not endow a Welsh University, or a Welsh Historical Society, nor establish in Wales a National Council which would have power enough to take the initiative. As it was, private scholars from Oxford and elsewhere had, at immense cost, published Welsh MSS., such as in the case of England, Scotland, and Ireland had been published at public expense. He hoped the justice of the Welsh claim would be recognized.

MR. ELTON (Somerset, Wellington) said, he desired information on another point connected with the administration of the Office and with English history. Of course, hon. Members were aware there was a new Deputy Keeper of Public Records, and this was somewhat re-assuring in regard to the selections made for publication. The deepest dissatisfaction existed as to the selections made in recent volumes, and, taking the four last volumes, more useless material for the history of the country he had not seen. It was quite true two of them were connected with the history of the Orkneys and Shetland, but then they were written in Icelandic, and published without notes and translation. He believed that many years ago a translation was ordered, and, for aught he knew, paid for, and the great names of Sir George Dasent and Mr. Vigfusson were mentioned, but on examination of these volumes he did not find that Sir George Dasent had contributed anything more than the identification of a particular town. This was a most unsatisfactory state of things. He would like to know if these Icelandic publications were to be continued; and also whether editors were engaged upon any Records illustrative of English history? Another volume recently published was *The Chronicle of Robert of Brunne*. This had but a faint connection with English history, and, besides, it had been printed before. The only interesting part of the volume was the preface, but this also had already been published, so that the whole appeared to be but a hash up of an old book. He noticed that on the list of publications this *Chronicle of Robert of Brunne* was described by the editor as a work of fiction, and as a contribution, not to English history, but to the history of English. Of course, this was a plain confession that the authorities thought they had done wrong in printing a work of fiction, and that it was a contribution to philology and not of history. In any case it was a waste of money. He hoped to have an assurance that the new broom in the Office would sweep away these causes of dissatisfaction. With much said in reference to Welsh Records he agreed, but he hoped also that if the Department broke away from the English language they would not forget Irish as well as Welsh.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said, the Irish Members had a particular interest in the Record Office. He remembered hearing of some historians who were rather surprised, when they came to investigate the documents of the Record Office, to find that the Papers relating to the history of Ireland were absolutely more complete than those relating to the administration of England. Of course Ireland, having this government, had to be governed much more by correspondence and much less by personal interviews than England, and consequently the documents concerning the administration of Ireland were in a more complete state than those touching the administration of England. That being the case, it rather astonished him to find there was no Vote providing for the publication of the Irish docu-

ments. He supposed that Ireland was to pay about £2,000 of this Vote, and as far as he could see there was nothing in the Vote respecting the publication of documents in connection with the history of Ireland; all he noticed in the Vote concerning Ireland was the sum of £300 for Irish manuscripts. Again, when a mission was sent to a foreign country it was generally with reference to English history. For instance, he noticed in the Vote a charge of £500 for "Transcripts from Rome." The Government did not seem to consider the case of Ireland at all. However, what he was particularly anxious to know from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) was, who had the appointment of the men who were sent upon foreign missions, and who were the gentlemen sent upon these missions? Of course, they all knew that when a man was sent to a foreign country, and allowed to select his own documents free from any control, he could colour his brief in almost any way he liked. This was not his (Colonel Nolan's) own idea; the idea was founded upon a circumstance that happened four or five years ago. A Roman Catholic was appointed to the British Museum, and objection was taken to him on the ground that he might colour history. Accordingly he sent in his resignation, and the Ministry had to accept it. Therefore it was that he wanted to know who the gentlemen were who were sent on these foreign missions, and whether they would have power to colour history? He also desired to obtain some explanation as to how these documents were catalogued. In the British Museum there were catalogues of State Papers wnich had been occasionally published by the Record Office, but in looking over the catalogues he did not know how much responsibility for them was assumed by the British Museum and how much by the Record Office. Did the British Museum simply publish the catalogues as they received them from the Record Office, or were the catalogues made up by the British Museum?

Mr. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) said, he rose to bear testimony to the admirable manner in which the Record Office was conducted, but he would like some information in regard to the item of £500 for "Transcripts from Rome." With regard to the remarks of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Galway (Colonel Nolan), he suggested that if the able officers of the Department gave hon. Members a fuller account of the work done every year, or the work intended to be done, it would save the Committee a great deal of trouble, and he was sure it would be extremely interesting.

Mr. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) said, he was very glad indeed to hear the hon. and learned Member for the Wellington Division of Somersetshire (Mr. Elton) suggest that whatever funds might be set aside for the purposes of the Record Office, the Irish language would not be forgotten. The Irish language was a very interesting language historically, and there were many documents throwing light upon the history of these countries written in the Irish language. He believed it was a fact that many foreigners, Germans in particular, devoted themselves to the study of the Irish language, in order to examine the documents written in that language.

The CHAIRMAN: There is nothing relating to the study of the Irish language in this Vote. The Vote entirely refers to the documents illustrative of English history.

Mr. J. O'CONNOR said, he was coming to that point. He maintained that there were learned professors on the Continent of Europe who had devoted themselves to the study of the Irish language in order to decipher the manuscripts in the Irish language which existed on the Continent of Europe appertaining to English history, and it was the duty of the Government of England to provide for the transcription of these manuscripts. The hon. and gallant Member for North Galway (Colonel Nolan) was perfectly right in drawing attention to this fact, and in asking the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury what steps he was prepared to take, or what steps had been taken, in regard to the valuable Irish manuscripts which existed at the present moment. Irishmen had a great interest in this matter, not only in regard to the preservation of the Irish language, but also in regard to the illustration of the history of Ireland as it referred to English history. He thought it would be worth the while of

the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to investigate the subject, and to go to Ireland and discover who the persons in that country were who were capable of transcribing these valuable manuscripts. There were many men in Ireland who possessed not only a thorough knowledge of the Irish language, but an historical knowledge of the language. There were many men, not only in Ireland but on the Continent, who were capable not only of investigating such manuscripts, but of finding out where the manuscripts were. He thought that such men ought to be encouraged to pursue their studies, not only for the sake of the present generation, but for the sake of history itself. All that was wanted were the facts, and the facts of history were contained in these manuscripts. The facts of history were crystallized in these manuscripts, and they were most interesting not only to the Irish people, but to the student of history all over the world. After the lapse of centuries people were not likely to get angry about anything which might be divulged by these manuscripts; the transcription of the manuscripts was looked upon simply from an historical point of view. He agreed with his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Nolan) that the Committee should receive some information as to the men engaged in deciphering these manuscripts, and not only that, but that they should have some assurance from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury that proper men would be so engaged. There was no use in appointing learned men from English Universities to perform this work. There were men in Ireland who were specially qualified to do it—men who had the very instinct of the historical knowledge necessary in order to investigate these documents. He could not help thinking that it would be a matter that would give satisfaction to the learned men, not only of this country, but of all nations, if the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would devote a sum of money to the purpose of providing the best men possible to investigate this very interesting subject. He sincerely trusted the Secretary to the Treasury would heed the remarks of his hon. and gallant Friend, which formed no captious criticism. He (Mr. J. O'Connor) and his hon. Friends had national and historical interest in the subject, and he trusted the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jackson) would give them some satisfactory answer, that he would assure them that the best men would be sought out, and that they would be sent abroad to elucidate matters of history by investigating interesting records which existed in the archives of the Continent.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, that anyone who read the Parliamentary Papers, issued from time to time, must acknowledge the pleasure which was afforded by the perusal of the manuscripts which were given out by the Record Office. He had gone to the trouble of trying to get the whole series of historical documents, but he found that so great was the demand that it was practically impossible to get a certain number of volumes. This in itself showed that the work was extremely valuable, and that if the affairs of the Record Office were properly carried out, a real benefit would be conferred not merely on the people of to-day but on the people of the future. He could not help smiling when he looked at this Vote. At the present moment the management of the affairs of the Empire were practically in the hands of the noble Marquess the Leader of the Government and his distinguished nephew, the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour). This distinguished family was practically the arbiter of the affairs of England, and it appeared they desired to be the arbiters of the affairs of America also. It was very extraordinary that the principal documents, for the transcription of which the Committee were now asked to vote this money, appertained to the Cecil family. By a note at the foot of the page they saw that two of the senior clerks, who had already besides their salary £52 a-year and an official residence, received £50 a-year out of the Vote for Temporary Commissions for making a calendar of Cecil manuscripts at Hatfield out of office hours, and that two others were paid £50 for special duties. The entire sum of money to be passed to this account was £4,275, being an increase of £15 upon last year. When hon. Members noticed an increase they always tried to find out what was the reason of the increase. In respect to this matter they found that the increase was caused

by the attempt to glorify the immortal and glorious Cecil family. From another note it would appear that there were two junior clerks also receiving £50 a-year out of the same Vote for calendaring the Cecil manuscripts at Hatfield. So the Committee were asked to vote the sum of £200 to still further immortalize the noble Marquess at the head of Her Majesty's Government. When they were asked to vote money in connection with matters of comparatively recent historical date, he admitted they were asked to do real service. Anything which could throw light on the state of affairs which existed at the time of the Union, aye, and before the Union, the time before Ireland was annexed, or partly annexed to England, must of itself be of peculiar interest to hon. Members on all sides of the House and to the people of both countries at a time like the present. Hence it was that he expressed the hope that the suggestions which had been thrown out by hon. Members might receive that degree of attention at the hands of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury which they deserved. They had heard a great deal during the past two or three years about the transcription of the Brehon Laws; but he could not help thinking that if more money was passed in connection with such transcription the work would be much more satisfactorily carried out. He had occasion recently to see the celebrated clergyman, Dr. Danell, of Macroom, who was now at Mitchelstown. Dr. Danell, associated with Dr. Healy, had spent a great deal of time in investigating these documents; but these gentlemen found that there was not enough money at their disposal. What he wished to convey was that when there was so much money being passed for the calendaring of the Cecil manuscripts, it would be well that more money should be devoted to the transcription of these ancient documents, which really formed a foundation upon which legislation might be based.

Mr. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) said, he desired to have some information with respect to the documents in Sweden and Denmark bearing upon Scotch history. It was most unfortunate that when this Vote was presented to the House no information was given at all upon this point. There was a reference to transcription from Rome, and to the investigation of documents in the archives of so and so and so and so; but as to documents relating to the history of Scotland not the slightest information was given to the House, either as to the nature of the work undertaken, as to the men doing the work, or as to the value of the work for which Parliament was asked to pay. He also desired to know whether any part of the proposed expenditure was for the purpose of securing a translation of the Icelandic Code? There were no documents which were more valuable in the history of law than the Icelandic Code. That was a Code perfectly unique, and free from an infusion of Christian or Canon Law. Under the circumstances, he hoped that before they went to a Division or passed the Vote the Committee would receive some information on the subject.

Mr. CONYBEARE said, he desired to add his testimony to that given by the hon. Member for North Aberdeen (Mr. Hunter) with respect to the Icelandic Code, as he had had the pleasure of studying that Code, now a good many years ago, and of fully appreciating the value of it from an historical and legal point of view. He also desired to know what limitation was placed upon the investigation of the documents in the Record Office? He understood that they were practically debarred from the investigation of documents in the Record Office relating to dates ulterior to the Union between England and Ireland. If there were any limitation he should be glad to know what it was. It appeared to him to be of the utmost importance that people should have access to all documents, whether of modern or ancient date.

Mr. JACKSON said, that with reference to what fell from the hon. Member for Merionethshire (Mr. T. E. Ellis), he thought that the question of cheapening the sale of the publications of the Record Office was one which might be fairly considered. The sale was not large, and they could not hope to get very much revenue from it, but he would, however, bring the subject before the attention of the Department. The hon. Member referred to the fact that some prohibition had been placed on the use of ink by searchers. He (Mr. Jackson) understood that some mischief was done, and that it was fully necessary in the

interests of the Department and the work generally that such a prohibition should be imposed. He was sure the hon. Gentleman would be the last person to interfere with the administrators of an Office if, after consideration, they came to the conclusion it was in the interests of the Department that a mischief like that should be avoided. The hon. Gentleman wished, very naturally, that a larger attention should be paid to the Records and to the history of Wales. Let him point out to the Committee that it was also difficult to him to meet the wishes of every part of the country and of every individual Member at the same time. The Government had but a limited sum at their disposal. Of course it might be said that the Vote could be enlarged, but he was bound to say that he had always deemed it his duty as far as he could to keep down expenditure. He believed that the Department was most anxious to give what he might call equitable treatment to every part of the country, and he would take care that the question raised by the hon. Gentleman was brought before the attention of the Department. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for the Wellington Division of Somerset (Mr. Elton) drew attention to the question of the Icelandic Code, and asked what progress had been made with that portion of the work which was entrusted to Sir George Dasent. Some time ago, in consequence of a question in the House upon the subject, he (Mr. Jackson) pressed upon Sir George Dasent the necessity of completing his portion of the work at the earliest possible date, and Sir George Dasent promised him that no time should be lost. It was only right to say that owing to the death of the senior Commissioner of the Civil Service more work had for a time been thrown on Sir George Dasent, and that he had not had so much time at his disposal for this work as perhaps he had anticipated. The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Galway (Colonel Nolan) raised the question as to whether sufficient attention was paid to the Irish manuscripts? The hon. and gallant Gentleman was apparently under the impression that the only amount provided in the Estimates for Irish manuscripts was £300. That was not quite the fact, because the £300 which appeared under Sub-head C for the purpose of the publication of Irish manuscripts was a sum which was placed on the Estimates after discussion in the House when the Estimate was last before the House. The hon. Member for Mayo pointed out that a Mr. Gilbert, a very well-known Irish antiquarian, was very competent to perform the work in connection with the register of the Abbey of St. Thomas of Canterbury in Dublin, and that the work would be to the public generally a work of great interest and importance. He (Mr. Jackson) undertook to consider the question, and to see in what way the hon. Gentleman's request could be met. In pursuance of that request he placed £300 on the Estimate for the purpose of carrying out the work. In addition to that there was an amount of £280 on the Stationery Office Vote for the work in connection with the Brehon Laws, and there was a provision of £481 for Celtic manuscripts and Annals of Ulster, making a total of £1,061 specially devoted to Irish manuscripts. He thought that under such circumstances hon. Gentlemen would be satisfied that Ireland had not been neglected. He was asked what were the names of the men sent on the missions to Rome and other places? There was an Annual Report published, and in that Report would be found the names of those gentlemen. Mr. W. H. Grist was the gentleman sent to Rome, Mr. Rawdon Brown to Venice, and Messrs. Bliss and Macray to Sweden. As to the catalogue of the British Museum, he understood that that catalogue only dealt with books and works in the British Museum itself; the printing was done by the Stationery Office. When the catalogue was complete it was sent to the Stationery Office, and the printing was done there. The hon. Member for South Tipperary (Mr. J. O'Connor) had raised a somewhat large question. He had said that there were somewhere on the Continent of Europe, largely in Germany, men who had devoted themselves to the study of the Irish language. He (Mr. Jackson) was afraid he could not promise to send a roving commission to the Continent for the purpose of finding out those gentlemen. His experience was that they had more applications for the work than they could supply. The hon. Member for North Aberdeen (Mr.

Hunter) asked what was the nature of the work, the names of those engaged in it, and the value of it? He had already given the names of those employed. As to the value of the work, he was afraid he could not give him any more information; indeed, his (Mr. Jackson's) opinion on the subject could not be as good as the opinion of the hon. Gentleman himself. He could not be aware of the details of the Office, which was an independent Office. All he could do was to bring before the Commissioners—which he would take care to do—the opinions which had been expressed in the House. The hon. Member for the Camborne Division of Cornwall (Mr. Conybeare) asked the date up to which searches were allowed and extracts permitted to be made. He believed that, roughly speaking, the limitation extended to about 100 years back. He did not know that that date was actually fixed, but it was somewhere about that period.

MR. CONYBEARE asked the hon. Gentleman if he had any objection to put it before the consideration of the officials of the Record Office whether the limitation could not be shortened, say to 50 years?

MR. JACKSON said, he had no objection to do that, but he thought they must leave some discretion to those who had knowledge of the documents and of all the circumstances.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, that in the Record Office, as well as he could remember, there were three special series—namely, that dealing with home affairs, that dealing with domestic affairs, and that dealing with foreign affairs. There was also a fourth series, which, he thought, was called the Roman Calendar. The limit of a 100 years was an absolute fiction. The Committee would hardly believe that in the publication of these documents, which dealt essentially with the true history of our country, the date at which the publication had arrived was about the middle of the 16th century. The domestic series, he believed, came up to about 1560. Ayone who had devoted any attention to history knew that the documents which were being translated or published of that period were documents which were forged to a very large extent. At that period of history it was the custom of statesmen not to record actual documents, but to invent documents for the purpose of being recorded. It was utterly ridiculous that the Records of a great country like this should be so far in arrear as he had stated. But, while we were in arrear, Germany and France had brought the publication of their Records up to the end of the first Napoleonic period. It was very difficult for the historian in this country to get permission to examine the more recent documents; but, at the same time, we granted permission to foreign historians to come over here and examine our documents. A celebrated German historian had actually had access to the documents up to the end of the first Napoleonic period, and had published his interpretation of their value, whereas our own historians could not do that. He (Mr. Molloy) could not understand on what ground this policy was built up. They were told that the documents were under the control of the Master of the Rolls; but, as a matter of fact, they were under the control of the Government, and the only reason he could find for the present extraordinary state of things was that the matter had never been ventilated in Parliament. In his opinion the country was entitled to ask that these historical documents, which were of such grave interest and importance to us, should be published. That there were still living descendants of the people affected he did not think was an excuse for the people being kept in the dark which the House of Commons would be willing to accept. The whole system of the Record Office was a system of idiotic secrecy which permeated the whole of our diplomatic history. There was now an endeavour to keep back from the public information to which they were entitled. He maintained that if the Records were carried up to anything like a reasonable date—he meant a reasonable date from a common sense point of view, not our own date—the view they had all been compelled to take of history would be absolutely changed, and the confusion surrounding our history at present would cease. What objection could there be to the records up to the first Napoleonic period being published; how could such publication affect anybody? He was confident there were Despatches and State Papers in the Record Office which would entirely alter the present view of that

period. But, suppose it did, was it not better they should know the truth than that they should go on publishing fiction and wasting the time of those who engaged in historical research?

MR. HENNIKER HEATON said, there appeared to be some misapprehension as to the facts relating to the Record Office. As he had been engaged, more or less, for the last five years in inspecting documents, he might explain what the system was. First of all, an order was to be got to go to the Office, and when a person went there he selected the documents he wanted to see. When the documents had been copied by the person employed by the Searcher, they were submitted to the Home Office, or other Office concerned, and then, if there was anything found in the copy affecting any living person, the copy was not allowed to be taken away. He had taken copies from documents in the Record Office, reaching up to the year 1830, and no objection had ever been taken to his doing so. When, on a certain occasion, however, a friend of his had his attention drawn to the fact that the publication of one document would be injurious to persons living, it was omitted. He thought that anyone might copy any document up to 1830, so long as the publication was not objectionable to anyone. Of course, the publication of some documents would create such an annoyance in the country that the Office would be very soon closed. In his opinion, the present system was a good one; for he assured hon. Members no objection was raised to the publication of documents which were not calculated to injure public morality or private character.

MR. CONYBEARE said, that they had now got the cat out of the bag, for it appeared that the only reason why this restriction was put upon the publication of Records was the fear of injuring the susceptibilities of persons now living. It was obvious there could be nothing affecting the safety of the country in publishing documents so far back as the first quarter of this century, say to 1825, or down to the first Napoleonic era. But when the hon. Member for Canterbury (Mr. Henniker Heaton) talked about public morality being affected, it was quite evident he was drawing upon his imagination. Were the Statesmen of old men of such immoral character that the hon. Gentleman was afraid of their proceedings being brought to light? He (Mr. Conybeare) submitted that, in dealing with the National and Imperial affairs of this country, the private susceptibilities of individuals were not to be set up against the interest of the whole country. At the present moment, they were dealing with the question of the relation between England and Ireland, and if they were to settle that great question on anything like a satisfactory basis, they must know intimately and accurately the historical proceedings connected with the union which took place between the two countries at the end of the last century. To say that they were to be debarred from studying that important part of the National history because, forsooth, Lord Castlereagh—of course he did not mean the present Lord—was a scoundrel or a fool, or because other individuals were rogues or thieves, was the most monstrous thing he had ever heard of. He protested in the strongest possible manner against the private susceptibilities of individual families being set up against the National interest. He trusted that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would give the Committee some assurance that he would bring the views which had been expressed in the course of this discussion before the Keeper of the Records and the Master of the Rolls, so that this absurd idea might be got rid of before the Vote came on for discussion next year. It was most desirable that such absurd Regulations should be done away with. If not, he should certainly feel it his duty to take the sense of the Committee upon the matter.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, that one incident which had occurred in the course of the discussion had given him some concern. He had listened attentively to what he had considered to be the very quiet, temperate, and, throughout, not at all Party speech made by the hon. Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy). The hon. and learned Member made an appeal for information to the only Cabinet Minister who was at the time upon the Treasury Bench—the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary—with reference to a suggestion which might fairly be made by the Government to the Master

of the Rolls, or whoever happened to be the proper official for dealing with these records, in regard to the way in which they were dealt with in future. Instead of a soft answer being given—and they were told that "a soft answer turneth away wrath"—the Home Secretary treated the matter with entire contempt, and left the House. He (Mr. Bradlaugh) had no wish to embitter the discussion, but he felt it his duty to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £250, in order that the right hon. Gentleman might come back and at least give a civil answer to the question which had been addressed to him.

Motion made, and Question proposed.

"That a reduced sum, not exceeding £7,384, be granted for the said service.—(*Mr. Bradlaugh.*)

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) thought that, in the absence of his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary, he ought to say, on his behalf, that certainly no discourtesy was intended to the hon. and learned Member for King's County; but his right hon. Friend was not the proper person to give an explanation of the Vote.

MR. BRADLAUGH said he had listened to the words of his hon. and learned friend. His hon. and learned Friend said that, as it was possible the Secretary to the Treasury was not authorized to promise, he would address his question to the only Minister who was at the time upon the Treasury Bench.

MR. JACKSON said, he did not think his right hon. Friend understood that appeal had been made to him, or that any answer was expected from him. At any rate he (Mr. Jackson) was in a position to say that his right hon. Friend had no intention of being discourteous to the hon. and learned Member for King's County. The simple fact was that his right hon. Friend was quite unable, seeing that his own Department was not concerned, in the absence of other persons, to give an answer to the question of the hon. and learned Member.

MR. MOLLOY remarked that as he had been referred to in the matter, he wished to say that he had most distinctly made an appeal to the Home Secretary, who happened to be the only Minister seated on the Treasury Bench. He did not ask the right hon. Gentleman to make any binding declaration, or to give any decided answer, because he knew that it was not a matter of Governmental policy. All he asked was, that the right hon. Gentleman would cause a representation to be made to the proper persons that the time had come when the practice to which he had referred might, with advantage, be abandoned. The right hon. Gentleman made no reply. He did not know that his walking out of the House was of the smallest consequence; but he had made an appeal to the right hon. Gentleman, and the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had fairly stated the facts of the case. He agreed with the hon. Member for Northampton that the least the right hon. Gentleman could have done was to have risen in his place and stated whether he could or could not comply with the request made to him; instead of doing so, the right hon. Gentleman quietly sauntered out of the House as if the matter were one that was only fit to be treated with contempt.

MR. JACKSON would give the hon. and learned Member an assurance that no discourtesy had been intended, and that the matter should be brought to the attention of the Government. From the information which had been supplied to him, it would appear that the limited date of 100 years had been enforced in order that State documents might not be published which would be injurious to the interests or affect the character or conduct of living persons. Documents relating to much later periods than 100 years had been published or extracts made from them, and there was every desire on the part of the authorities to afford all the information it was in their power to give. The hon. and learned Member (Mr. Molloy) appeared to be labouring under a misapprehension when he stated that foreigners had been allowed to do that which Englishmen had not been allowed to do. He had no knowledge of any privileges or advantages having been given to foreigners, and he believed that the statement was incorrect. He believed there was no fixed period in the permissions given to inspect the records, and he was confirmed in that respect by the hon. Member for Canterbury. He hoped that the hon. Member for Northampton would be satisfied with the assurances he had

given, and would not press his Motion to a Division.

MR. MOLLOY said, the Secretary to the Treasury had done all in his power to give information to the Committee, and in the observations he (Mr. Molloy) had made, he desired to cast no reflection upon the hon. Gentleman. What he had said in regard to foreign historians was, that they had been allowed to make extracts, and that they were enabled in Germany and in other countries to publish records down to a recent date, which was not the case in this country. With the extracts made from State documents belonging to this country foreigners had been able to give the history of a particular period, while the same advantage was denied to Englishmen, because the State documents were not furnished within a period of 100 years of the time to which they related. He was satisfied with the explanation which had been given by the Secretary to the Treasury, and at some future time he would draw the attention of the House to the matter.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) said, the question which had been raised was one of the greatest possible importance—namely, that the public documents preserved in the Record Office were kept secret for a period of 100 years. The hon. Member for Canterbury (Mr. Henniker Heaton) had said that in some cases documents, as late as 30 years ago, had been allowed to be made the subject of inspection, and extracts permitted to be taken from some of them. What was the reason why the whole of the State Papers were not accessible? The allegation was that their publication might offend the susceptibilities of persons who were now living. He could understand the force of that remark if it were confined to the case of persons whose documents were preserved in the Record Office during their lifetime, and for this reason, that by the English law there was no limitation of time that would prevent a prosecution for crime, and if, therefore, any documents were published that would criminate any person during their lifetime, that would be a very good reason why they should not be published, so that the persons who had been guilty of criminal practices might not be brought within the precincts of the Old Bailey. But beyond that he denied that there was any justification for keeping these documents back, even if persons had done something which they and their relatives did not wish to hear about. He was afraid that the refusal to produce these Public Records only gave force to a doctrine which was a most pernicious one—that a man was to be held responsible for the acts of his ancestors. He could understand, to a limited extent, the contrary doctrine. He thought that the misconduct of a child might reflect upon the parent as to the mode of instruction and the care and attention given to the child in his earlier years; but beyond that, no blame was to be attached to a parent for the conduct of a child. To suppose that a person was to be held responsible for the acts of his grandfather or his grand-uncle was altogether too ridiculous to deserve consideration. He did not believe, therefore, that the Public Records should be withheld on account of any susceptibilities a man might feel in regard to the acts of his ancestors. It was quite enough for a man to bear the responsibility of his own actions. It was equally absurd to suppose that any man could derive either glory or discredit from anything done by other persons at the beginning of the century. The origin of the rule was perfectly intelligible. It was an old rule, which belonged to a time when England existed under an oligarchy or an aristocratical Government. Everyone knew that a Government by an oligarchy was a Government by fraud, and there was a natural desire that the frauds committed under it should not be exposed for 100 years, or until such time as the persons implicated had ceased to take any interest in public affairs, so that the exposure of fraud and wrong could do no possible harm. As long as harm might be done by the exposure of frauds, it was considered desirable that the frauds themselves should be kept secret. For his own part he should not care, in the least, for the publication of documents that were purely of a personal character and of no public importance, and if this were merely a question of the non-publication of documents which had not the slightest bearing upon the general interests of the public, he should have no wish to press the matter upon the attention of the Government. But, as he understood the rule adopted in the Record Office, it was altogether wrong,

and ought to be put right. The rule was that documents which were really of public interest should not be allowed to be published, because something might be contained in them which might be disagreeable to the descendants of persons who had figured in bygone generations. He hoped the Committee would allow him to point out the serious consequences that might follow from persisting in adhering to this mischievous and absurd rule. The period of 100 years covered the whole of the transactions relating to the legislative Union between England and Ireland, and if they were to rely upon the information of persons who had seen the documents in the Record Office relating to that period, he believed that if those documents were now published they would show that the methods employed in bringing about the Union were so flagitious, and that the whole history was such a record of rascality that, if fully disclosed, they would put an end to all the arguments of the Unionist party. The documents would bring to light such a system of fraud and corruption as the people of the present day had no idea of. These documents, however, were withheld from the public on the pretence that they contained allegations which would wound the susceptibilities of some of the descendants of Castlereagh and others. Every one of these documents ought to be in the hands of hon. Members. They were public documents, and in these days it was mere silly nonsense to talk about the fear of wounding the susceptibilities of the descendants of anybody when the withholding of these State Papers simply interfered injuriously with the public interests.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, that after the explanation which had been given by the Secretary to the Treasury, it would be ungraceful if he were to persist in the Motion for the reduction of the Vote. Nevertheless, he still held the opinion he had expressed. With the leave of the Committee he would withdraw the Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. J. NOLAN (Louth, N.) said, he was of opinion that it was important to consider the bearing of this question upon Ireland. Everyone would admit that very great changes had taken place since the attention of Her Majesty's Government was directed to the question of the Irish Records. He had no objection to make to the statement which had been made by the Secretary to the Treasury. Neither he nor any other Irish Representative could possibly object to any statement made by the hon. Gentleman, who was always courteous and always conciliatory. At the same time he thought the hon. Gentleman could scarcely expect the Irish Representatives to be perfectly satisfied with his assumption that out of a Vote of £21,634 for the Record Office, only £1,000 should go to Ireland. He quite agreed with the statement made by his hon. Friend the Member for Tipperary (Mr. J. O'Connor) that there were in Ireland at the present time several gentlemen whose services might with very great advantage be employed in the inspection of documents relating to Irish history. He had no desire to enter into a discussion of the question of Home Rule, but he certainly did hold that, when a country had a history, it was only right and proper that the people of that country should be made acquainted with it. He would express a hope that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would be prepared to accept any offers of assistance that might be made on this point in the sense expressed by his hon. Friend the Member for South Tipperary.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £18,567, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Registrar General of Births, &c. in England."

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he regretted that it was necessary for him to trouble the Committee upon this question. Only yesterday the Committee made a Grant in Aid to the English Registrar of £10,000, and now the Committee were asked to vote a further sum of £20,930 for the fees and expenses of Superintendent Registrars. He maintained that this was a local and not an Imperial charge, and pointed out that all the cost of registration in Scotland was defrayed by local rates. He objected to the Scotch taxpayers being compelled to pay their own rates, and being called upon further to pay a

portion of the English taxation for the same purpose. Looking at the two offices of Registrars General in England and Scotland, he found that while that of Scotland cost £9,700, that in England cost £47,000. Sub-head B of the present Vote gave the expenses of the Registrar and Superintendents, and one of the items was a very curious one. Fees to the amount of £55 were paid for certificates granted to medical men and dentists. In Scotland no such fees were charged, and he did not see why in this country they should be called upon to spend money foolishly in this manner. He felt that it would be necessary to take a Division upon the Vote, or otherwise the present system of charges might become perpetual. The £10,000 grant of yesterday was not to recur, but this Vote would appear again. He thought that England and Scotland should be placed on the same footing, and that the expense of registration should be defrayed by the local parishes, or by the Town Councils, and not provided for by two or three Votes of the House of Commons. He would, therefore, propose to strike out the proportion, although he did not know exactly how much it was that appeared in the Vote under Sub-head C. It ought not to be an Imperial charge at all, but ought to be a local charge.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will the hon. Member for Caithness name some definite sum?

DR. CLARK: I will move to strike off £5,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That Item C, Fees and Expenses of Superintendent Registrars, &c. be reduced by £5,000."—(*Dr. Clark.*)

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) wished to draw the attention of the Committee to the fact that they were now assembled in the month of November, and the Report of the Registrar of Births, Marriages and Deaths for England and Ireland for the year 1887 had not yet been published. Indeed, it was not due until December. He attached great value to the statistics which were given in regard to births, marriages and deaths. It was a matter of great importance that every country should collect them, and collect them accurately, but he failed to see what advantage was derived from deferring the presentation of the Report until the month of December. He regarded the early publication of statistcs of this nature as of the highest importance, and he thought that this Government should adopt some measure to expedite the work and to over-ride the tendency in the Registrar's Office to keep all the men in the Office uniformly employed over every month in the year. The result of the present system was that it was impossible to obtain a copy of the Report for 1887 even in the month of November, 1888. Of course, statistics 11 or 12 months old were never so valuable or so useful, or excited so much attention, as if they were published within four or five months. But although they had not received the Report of the Registrar General, he should like to call the attention of the Committee to the abstract of that Report which had been presented. A general abstract of the Report of Births, Marriages, and Deaths was published in advance of the Report itself, and this had already been issued. It was very short, consisting merely of four pages; but he must say that he thought it was a most useful document, and that it was of advantage to have it published in advance of the General Report. There was a note appended to it which stated that the figures might not be quite correct; but, nevertheless, it was most desirable that it should be given, especially when it was impossible to obtain the General Report itself until the month of December. Three different uses were made of the Registrar General's returns. In the first place, they were of importance from a medical point of view, and no doubt some hon. Members on that side of the House would deal with the Report from the medical point of view. There were also the Parliamentary and statistical and the military point of view. So far as the statistician was concerned, he was afraid the Report would be found to contain important omissions. The number of births, marriages, and deaths was given; but to understand the fluctuations in the population, and the reason why it increased in one country, such as England, and not in another, such as Ireland, it was absolutely necessary that the emigration returns should be published with the Report of the Registrar General. He thought it was desirable that the Registrar General should pub-

lish an Abstract of the Emigration Returns, so that it might be included, in future, in the abstract of the Returns of Births, Marriages, and Deaths. The abstract of the Registrar General's Report was, as far as he was aware, the only Paper they had at the present moment. It was the forerunner of the General Report of the Registrar General, and it afforded the only means by which an estimate could be formed of the increase of population. He would point out to the Minister in charge of the Vote—he presumed that it was the Secretary to the Treasury, for the hon. Member discharged a sort of omnibus duty, and might be looked upon as the head man of all work, being responsible for nearly everything connected with the Civil Service Estimates—he would point out to the hon. Gentleman that the abstract before the Committee was totally useless unless it gave an Abstract of the Emigration Returns. The Emigration Returns ought to be carefully collated with those of births, marriages, and deaths, and put in the same abstract. He would suggest that a couple of columns should be added to the document. Some of the information now supplied was certainly unnecessary. He found under the head of marriages that the number of marriages which took place within the year was given, and the next column went on to give a Return of the number of persons married. All he found was that the number of persons married was precisely double the number of marriages; for instanae, in one case 198 marriages were given, and in the next column the number of persons married was given as 396. If instead of inserting that unnecessary column the Registrar General would substitute the number of persons emigrating, the Paper would be made a most valuable one, and would afford hon. Members the means of estimating the increase of population in England, and the corresponding decrease which he was sorry to say had taken place in Ireland. He had made these remarks from a statistical point of view, but he thought there was an omission in the general policy of the Office. He had always considered, and his opinion was confirmed by that of a General Officer connected with the War Department, who sat above the Gangway on that (the Opposition) side of the House, that at some time or other it would be necessary to divide England into military districts corresponding with the population. In that event, he had no doubt that the Registrar General's districts would be selected, and, therefore, he was of opinion that the people should be more familiarised and made acquainted with the Registrar General's districts, so that it might be readily known what they were. Personally he had not the faintest idea of what the boundaries of the Registrar General's district were in the place in which he lived, or how they corresponded with the Poor Law Unions. He believed, however, that they did correspond with them to a certain extent. Nor did he know how they corresponded with the baronies or voting districts. He would submit that more pains should be taken to make the public know what the Registrar General's districts were, so that the people might be made familiar with them. He alluded to this matter not simply from an every day point of view, but because he believed that some day or other the people of this country would have to employ some sort of Militia in the Military Service, and, as the Registrar General's districts would be most convenient for the purpose, they would in that event be invaluable.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, that before the Secretary to the Treasury replied he should like to emphasize what the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) had stated, that it was exceedingly inconvenient not to have the Registrar General's Report published before the end of the year. It was quite clear that when hon. Members were called upon to discuss these questions on Reports that were twelve months old, very little good could result. There was one particular item of which he wished to have an explanation, and it would be found at page 162. "£20 for allowances to the purveyor of luncheons." What were the luncheons for?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, the item referred to by the hon. Member for the Camborne Division of Cornwall (Mr. Conybeare) was a charge for providing luncheons to certain Ministers under exceptional circumstances, when they were detained in their office by a pressure of business.

MR. CONYBEARE asked if the provision was made for every Office?

MR. JACKSON said he believed so, and he thought it was a very desirable provision, seeing that it afforded facilities for more rapid progress of important business. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway had raised a Question as to whether the Reports of the Registrar General of Births, Marriages and deaths would not be very much improved if additional columns were added showing the rate at which emigration was going on. This could not be done without increasing the cost of the Returns and entering into further departmental communications. He might point out that the Registrar General, in dealing with the question of births, marriages and deaths, had no control over nor did he take any account of the statistics relating to Emigration or any other Department. The Emigration Returns were under another Department altogether—the Board of Trade—but all the figures would be found set out in the Statistical Abstract.

COLONEL NOLAN: On what page?

MR. JACKSON said, that the figures which the hon. and gallant Member proposed to add to the Registrar General's Report of his own work, and which related to the work of another and an entirely distinct Department, could hardly be mixed up with the statistics of the Department for which that officer was solely responsible. If the suggestion of the hon. and gallant Member were carried out, the Registrar General would be required to give the figures of two officers, over which he had no control, and which were entirely distinct.

COLONEL NOLAN said, the point he had raised was a practical one. The Abstract consisted of four pages only, but it was useless for medical purposes. The Registrar General's Returns were required by medical men to whom it would be inconvenient to refer to the Statistical Abstract for figures which could be so easily embodied in the Return already used; all that would be necessary would be to add one page or one column more, and he did not suppose that the cost of printing would be more than a few pounds. It must be remembered that when the Government issued an important paper giving an Abstract of the Registrar General's Reports, everybody who wanted to build up any theory or establish any fact or rule in reference to the increase or decrease of population would go to that paper. He, therefore, submitted that the request he had made was not an unreasonable one.

MR. JACKSON hoped the hon. and gallant Gentleman would not consider the remarks he had made unreasonable. He had already intimated that there was likely to be a difficulty on account of the figures asked for being supplied by another Department. He would look into the matter and see if anything could be done in regard to it.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) remarked that the Secretary to the Treasury had disclosed a terrible picture of the sweating system in high public offices when he stated that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and other Ministers had to eat their lunch in the midst of their work, like an ordinary sweating tailor in the Metropolis. His hon. Friend the Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) had moved the reduction of the Vote in respect of sundry items which were charged in England upon Imperial taxation, whereas in Scotland they were charged upon the local rates. That, he apprehended, was the practical point now before the Committee. He had not looked into the subject personally, but he thought the details given by his hon. Friend fully illustrated the unfairness of the principle upon which all these Grants in Aid were made. No doubt it might be difficult to allocate which country was to receive a larger share than another, but he thought it right to enter a protest against the system upon which the allocation at present took place.

MR. JACKSON said, his answer to the remarks of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) was that he had no power to make any variation in these charges. He was not intimately acquainted with the way in which the charges were borne; and all he had to point out was that they were charges imposed by Statute, and defrayed according to the provisions of the Statute. The hon. Gentleman had again returned to the charge, that in the distribution of the Grants in Aid Scotland did not receive its fair share. That was not so, and the hon. Member was labouring under a misapprehension.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) said, he hoped he might be allowed to explain how the matter stood. If they took the gross sum given to the Registrar General's Office in Scotland, and the gross sum given to the Registrar General in England, he did not think there would be found much to complain of. In Scotland £5,948, or about £6,000, was received, while in England the sum amounted to about £48,000, so that practically England got about eight times more than Scotland, or little more than the fair proportion Scotland bore towards England. It must, however, be taken into consideration that the expense of living in London was considerably greater than it was in Edinburgh. There was another reason for the discrepancy which appeared in the apportionment, and it was this. In England the registration fees were not paid by the local rates, as in Scotland; and it was necessary, therefore, in England to maintain superintendents to supervise the staff, which necessitated an expenditure that amounted to £14,000 a-year. There was no corresponding expenditure of that kind in Scotland; and, therefore, if Scotland did not receive any analagous sum, it was because no similar work was done, and consequently the expenditure was not required.

DR. CLARK said, that the fees received by the Superintendent Registrars were paid into the Imperial Exchequer; but there was no corresponding office or payment in Scotland. Reference had been made to the item of £55 paid in the shape of fees for medical certificates; but that item also did not apply to Scotland. Nor did the sum which was granted by the Committee yesterday. He had certainly been somewhat astonished at the observations which had fallen from the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Caldwell). If they did not pay men per head as much in Scotland as in England, it must be remembered that Scotland was a far poorer country, and they were acting, consequently, more unfairly towards Scotland in imposing exceptional burdens upon a country less able to bear them. The difference in the cost of living in London and Edinburgh was certainly not so great as to justify the discrepancy in the payments; and he would remind the Committee that it was by Act of Parliament the English had all these unfair advantages. As they could not repeal the Act which imposed the injustice upon Scotland, the only thing they could do was to take a Division upon the Vote by way of protest. Of course, when the Division Bell was rung, hon. Members would come in from the Lobby to support the Government who knew no more about the question than the Man in the Moon.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he should like to have some explanation of the item of £55, representing the expense of registrars' certificates of the death of medical men. He found that a similar sum was taken last year, and he wanted to know whether the Committee were to understand, as would appear from the entry, that exactly the same number of medical men died this year as last, or that the number of certificates of the death of medical men tallied for the two years. The entry certainly appeared to him to be somewhat incomprehensible, and he hoped the hon. Gentleman was able to afford some explanation of it.

MR. JACKSON said, the only explanation he could give was to point out that the amount given in the Vote was only an estimate of the amount that would probably come into the expenditure of the year. It did not follow that the expenditure was to be £55 during the year. It was only a provision to meet an estimated expenditure.

DR. TANNER: It is only a sum estimated approximately?

MR. JACKSON: Yes.

DR. CLARK said, that fees were paid for sending a copy of the Registrar's Certificates to medical men, but as there was a General Medical Council he was of opinion that that General Medical Council ought to defray any expense of this kind. The Council drew many thousands of pounds in the course of the year from the Medical Profession. They spent it among themselves, but what they did with the large sums of money they received he really did not know. Charges of this kind ought to come out of the fees paid to the Medical Council, and ought not to be paid by Parliament. Every medical student whose name was placed on the Registrar was required to pay a fee when he became a duly qualified medical man. He thought the Medical Council could not spend much

more than one-half of the revenue they received, and yet the public were called upon to pay charges of this kind. The Government were bringing in a Bill to compel medical men to give a certificat of death free to the Officer of Health, and also a certificate when any person fell ill, and yet the Registrars of Deaths were to be paid fees of this kind. He thought the fees ought to be defrayed by the persons in charge of the Registries, and should not come out of Imperial taxation.

MR. CALDWELL said, his contention was that something should be done to lower the expenditure generally.

DR. CLARK remarked that there was no time to do that now.

DR. TANNER said, that one fact after another tended to throw light on the very imperfect way in which these Estimates were prepared. Complaints on this score were made last year, and an undertaking was then given that all the Estimates submitted to the House would in future be prepared with greater care and accuracy. Instead, however, of greater accuracy having been secured, he was afraid that the Estimates underwent a process of "cooking" for the delectation of the Members of that House. He hoped that the hon. Gentleman who was responsible for this Vote would see that in future the Estimates were more carefully prepared, and submitted in a way that would render them intelligible. The knowledge and ability possessed by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would, he hoped, enable the hon. Gentleman to bring out of chaos something which the Committee of Supply could understand, and something that would tend to the promotion of economy by enabling hon. Members to cut down all unnecessary expenditure.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 44; Noes 123: Majority 79.—(Div. List, No. 279.)

Original Question put, and *agree d to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £185,977, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Stationery, Printing, and Paper, Binding, and Printed Books for the several Departments of Government in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and some Dependencies, and for the two Houses of Parliament, and for the Salaries and Expenses of the Establishment of the Stationery Office, and the cost of Stationery Office Publications, and of the Gazette Offices; and for sundry Miscellaneous Services, including a Grant in Aid of the publication of Parliamentary Debates."

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, he begged to propose a reduction of the Vote by £500. He did not know that he should press the Motion, but he had put down his Notice mainly for the purpose of attracting attention to the Stationery Department, and of eliciting some sort of explanation from Her Majesty's Government with regard to the enormous expenditure on several of the items. He alluded especially to printing paper and binding for the two Houses of Parliament. He found that these items amounted to £65,000. This was £5,000 less than last year, and to that extent was satisfactory, but still the figure was an enormous one. Everyone in the House knew what a vast number of perfectly useless Blue Books and Papers he was inundated with, and hon. Members might well imagine that they would be blocked up in their own houses if they were compelled to receive all these publications. He would suggest to the Government whether it would not be desirable to send round a list to every Member each morning of the special Papers the authorities thought it desirable that Members of the House should have at once, and also a list of the Papers which were at the disposal of Members if they wished to have them, and then for each Member to communicate with the Department, stating that he required this or that Paper or document. As it was, an unnecessarily large number of Blue Books and Papers were printed. The printing and paper cost money, and he maintained that a large part of the expenditure was utterly thrown away. He believed there might be a saving effected in the way he suggested of at least £2,500 per annum. He wished also to draw the attention of the Government to the present excessive price of Acts of Parliament, and also of Blue Books. He happened to have some practical knowledge of this subject, and that was one reason why he called the attention of the Committee to it. The major part of the cost of printing a book lay in the type setting, and no doubt if only a few

copies were printed it rendered the production expensive, but after a certain number were printed the cost of producing duplicates was merely the cost of the ink and the paper and machinery. The cost of some Papers which left the Stationery Office, so far as the material of which it was composed was concerned, would not be more than 1*d.*, whereas 9*d.* or 10*d.* was charged for it. His point was that there were many of these documents which it would be very useful to circulate throughout the country, and which would be largely bought if the prices charged were reasonable, and he would suggest, therefore, that after the number of copies required by the authorities were printed, other copies should be offered to public libraries and the public at popular prices. He thought, indeed, there ought to be some means of sending to the large public libraries of the country any important documents they required which were printed at the public expense. This was not done at the present moment, and there was great complaint on the part of the public libraries in regard to it. If these Papers were not sent to the libraries they might, at any rate, allow these institutions to purchase them at the actual cost of producing extra copies, and not at the original cost of producing them. He trusted that whoever was in charge of this Vote would give the Committee full explanation of it, bearing in mind the points to which he had adverted. He begged to move the reduction of which he had given Notice.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the sum of £185,477 be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) said, he quite agreed with the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) in thinking that the time had come when some change should be made in the system of distributing Papers in this and the other House of Parliament. He (Mr. Bartley) had had some considerable experience in regard to printing, and he felt sure that if the Government were in accord with the whole House something would be done to very much reduce the expenditure. He found that each Member received something like 2 cwt. of books every year, and to go through these, supposing a man allowed himself one-and-a-half minutes to read a page and devoted six hours a-day to the perusal of the Papers, it would occupy him 250 days every year. No doubt Members of the House should have access to every conceivable document which was published in relation to the government of the country; but he thought it would be quite compatible with this to reduce the present Vote even further than was suggested by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Labouchere). He ventured to think that considerable saving might be effected in the way in which the Votes and Proceedings of the House were printed. Hon. Members received every morning almost a volume of printed matter, much of which was, no doubt, important, but a great deal of it was practically the same thing printed over and over again. For instance, Her Majesty's Gracious Speech at the commencement of the Session was printed and sent to hon. Members no less than 20 times. He thought this was altogether unnecessary, and that wherever it was desirable to repeat the Queen's Speech, a note should be inserted stating where the Speech had first appeared. He was informed that whenever repeated documents, such as the Queen's Speech, were sent out, the cost of printing them was charged for afresh—that was to say, that in the case to which he referred the country had to pay 20 times over for the setting up of the Queen's Speech. If this were so, the expenditure was a most unreasonable one. He thought that a great saving might be effected if greater control over the production of certain Papers was conferred upon the Stationery Office. Many of the books published were very costly, containing very elaborate maps and plans, and no sort of check over the production of these was exercised by the Stationery Office. For example, he held in his hand a Blue Book called the "Glasgow Boundary Commission," and in this he found an enormous and elaborate plan of Glasgow, giving every street, and covering about 20 square feet. The cost of this plan must have been very great indeed. The Stationery Office had no power to revise the book and prevent the production of the plan. It seemed to him that instead of inserting a plan of this kind in every copy of the book, a reference might have been

inserted in the volume stating where the plan could be seen. A considerable reduction might be made in the Vote by the effective editing of such Papers as this, which were Papers printed by command of Her Majesty. There was another section of Papers—namely, those printed by command of the two Houses of Parliament, which caused still greater expenditure, there being no supervision over them by the Stationery Office. The books were printed practically as the Departments thought proper. Some of them were printed better than others. There was no system observed as to type; some were in larger type than others; and they were not even cut to the same size. No doubt there was a very large field for the reduction of the expenditure here, and the bringing about of this reduction should be entrusted to the Stationery Office. Foreign Office correspondence might be very greatly reduced by leaving out repetitions and unnecessary matters, which not only increased the expense, but also the trouble of reading the correspondence. Then the books published in connection with the House of Lords were printed in a costly way, the print running right across each page instead of being in double columns, as was the case with books published by the House of Commons. If the Commons' system were adopted by the Lords, a saving of at least 10 per cent might be effected. He believed that there was at the present time a Printing Committee, but that body never met and never exercised any control over the printing or the editing of the Books and Papers published through the Stationery Office. It had been suggested that this Committee should be made a Standing Committee, and that all Papers of any importance should go through the Committee exercising supervision over the editing, the type, and other costly items. With regard to the number of copies of Parliamentary Papers which were printed, he thought that there also a very large saving might be effected. Papers were issued in what were called the large number and short number. If every Member of Parliament received a copy, about 1,600 or 1,700 were printed; but if the short number was issued instead, only about 600 copies were printed, and he was informed that if all public documents were printed in the short number it would reduce the cost of printing by some £8,000 a-year. He did not mean to say that there were not many publications which should be sent to every single Member, as there were some matters in which everybody was interested; but there could be no doubt whatever that the present system of circulating public documents and having them printed in the long form, instead of the short form, was a most unsatisfactory arrangement. As an instance, the Glasgow Boundary Report had been sent to every Member of both Houses, whereas the Science and Art Department Report dealing with technical education was not sent to anyone unless they asked for it. He agreed with the suggestion that a list of printed Papers should be sent round to Members, who should be requested to mark upon it such documents as they wished to have sent to them. There would always be copies of all Papers in the Library and in the Vote Office, so that Members could look at them before ordering them. The remarks he was making were by no means antagonistic to the Treasury Bench. He was sure the Treasury were anxious to see these expenses reduced, and though he had put down a Notice of Motion to reduce the Vote by £5,000, he did not propose to press the Amendment if he were successful in eliciting some satisfactory statement from the Government on this matter.

MR. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars, &c.) wished to draw attention to the fact that these subjects were considered by a Committee in 1873-4, and that many economies were introduced after that time. He was not sure whether any Committee had considered the matter since.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: The subject was considered by another Committee in 1883.

MR. PROVAND said, that many of the recommendations of the Committee of 1873-4 had been carried out, and it seemed to him that more of their recommendations which were not carried out at the time ought to be adopted now. The hon. Member for Stockport (Mr. Jennings) last year drew attention to a great many points which he was sorry had not been attended to by the Government. The Secretary to the Treasury on that occasion had said that he would consider certain proposals made to him, but it seemed that the Government had

done nothing, and had no intention of moving in the matter. The Estimates this year seemed to be less than those of last year by some £10,000. He could not understand the reduction of that amount, for it seemed to him that, if the work of the office was arranged and settled on a sound basis, it should be done every year at approximately the same cost, and that the Estimates should only vary by the slight normal increase due to the annual increase of business. The estimates had varied from year to year, being on one occasion as much as £15,000 under-estimated, and the fact that the Government could not make any reasonably correct estimate of what they would require to expend for stationery in the year showed the necessity of some control being placed over that business to which it was not subjected at present. He had no desire to cast any reflection upon the Controller, or anyone in the Stationery Office. Parliament itself was to blame for the waste and extravagance, and until they made up their minds to do what they could to check it, it would go on increasing, notwithstanding anything the Controller might do or say. He should be thankful to see the suggestion for the more limited distribution of Reports, Papers, and Documents carried out; but the first thing to do, as it seemed to him, was to separate Reports from Evidence. He would undertake to say that not one Member out of 20 ever looked through the immense volumes of Evidence with which he was presented. No doubt a Member, at some future time, might desire to see the Evidence which had been taken on a certain subject; but if he did, he could always refer to it in the Library of the House. He (Mr. Provand) considered that Reports should be sent out as at present, but that Evidence should not be sent unless specially asked for, and it must be remembered that the Reports only occupied some 20th or 30th of the whole of a volume. He thought economy might also be effected in printing less than at present. He could not understand why something like 1,200 or 1,300 copies of the proceedings of the Glasgow Boundary Commission should be printed and distributed for nothing when there were probably not more than 12 or 13 Members who desired to have the book. Anyone who desired to have a copy of it might have applied for a copy on receiving a Circular stating that it was in the Vote Office, and could be obtained on application. Another thing which had not been noticed by any previous speaker was this—the necessity for the effective editing of these Papers. Careful editing would prevent the introduction of repetitions; but he doubted whether they could go further than that. He trusted they would now receive from the Government some assurance that the Committee which was suggested last year would be appointed to undertake the control over all this business, and to prevent a very reckless expenditure each year.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Wigton) said, he was glad that the subject which had been brought before the Committee had recommended itself to the attention of so many Members, because he thought it was one which should now be dealt with in a satisfactory and practical manner. It was one which had attracted the attention of the Government for some time, and with regard to which they considered some of the suggestions made by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) and hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway were worthy of the approval of the Committee. It rested with the Committee to deal with the matter. It was not a thing in which the Government, or any Department of the Government, could proceed without the approbation and concurrence of the House. In the first place, he should like to say that the result of the attention which had been paid to the matter in late years was already evident. The expenditure of the Stationery Office—the money asked for this year—was nearly £11,000 less than the sum asked for last year, £15,000 less than the amount asked for in 1886-7, and £16,000 less than the amount asked for in 1885-6. This, he thought, was owing in a great measure to the increasing control of the Stationery Department. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Provand) had referred to the Committee of 1873-4, but he (Sir Herbert Maxwell) would direct the hon. Member's attention to the Report of the Committee which sat in 1883. Amongst other paragraphs in that Report was this—

"We have shown that where the authority of the Stationery Office has been recognized money has been saved."

So that it seemed to him that what they had to do was to secure the actual control of the Stationery Office in these matters. Then, with reference to the full and the short delivery of Papers, the difference between the two amounted to no less than £8,000 a-year. Where they found most difficulty in controlling both the style of Papers and the matter when printed was in regard to those Papers which were ordered by this House or by the House of Lords. Papers printed by command of Her Majesty went direct to the Stationery Office, and were, in many cases, re-edited there and re-cast, precautions being taken to insure economy of printing, but no such precautions were taken in the case of Papers ordered to be printed by the House. Such Papers went direct from the Table of the House to the printers, and nobody saw them until they came back in proof. There was a Printing Committee of this House. There had been a Select Committee on printing for many years, but he believed it was a long time since that Committee had met, and it had certainly no practical control over printing. What happened was this—Papers were ordered to be printed, and it was entirely within the discretion of the Librarian of the House whether they were put upon the full or the short delivery, there being no control over their bulk or the style of the matter they contained. If it was the pleasure of the House that a Select Committee of Members prepared to devote their attention practically to this subject should be appointed, such a proposal was, no doubt, well worthy of consideration. They would act in some measure, no doubt, as an Editing Committee, calling the attention of Heads of Departments to what might be considered extraneous and redundant matter, and would be able to consult with them as to what matter should be struck out and should not be repeated over and over again. As to the price at which Blue Books were sold, no doubt, as the hon. Member for Northampton said, they might be circulated at a much smaller price, and that point also was well worthy of consideration. But the hon. Member had also suggested that there should be a free delivery of these books to libraries and public institutions throughout the country.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Or that they should be circulated at a much lower cost than at present. I proposed that as an alternative.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, that the experience of the Government with regard to supplying public institutions with Papers was not altogether satisfactory. The Patent Office had supplied many institutions with Papers gratuitously, and in many instances the gift had not been appreciated. As to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Glasgow, whilst the hon. Member disclaimed all intention of unfavourably criticizing the control of the Department, he did say that the fact of the reduction of the Stationery Office Vote, for which the Government thought they might actually claim some credit, was a sign that the work was not well done. He would ask the hon. Member to consider this—that printing was, to a considerable extent, carried out by contract. For a large number of years that had been the case, but as the contracts fell in it was possible to reduce the amounts and to practise economy, and in this way great savings had been effected. In conclusion, he could only assure the Committee that the course which had been indicated was one which met with the approval of the Treasury, and which they would be happy to carry out.

MR. STANSFELD (Halifax) said, he thought they had had a debate of unusual interest upon these matters. They were accustomed to hearing Estimates criticized and found fault with, but they were not always accustomed to find remedies suggested and methods of reducing an unnecessary or undue expenditure. But they had had those methods suggested to-day, and not only had they been suggested, but they had been suggested by hon. Gentlemen known as experts. These suggestions had been received by the Government in a manner which left nothing to be desired by the hon. Gentleman who had represented the Government on this occasion. He (Mr. Stansfeld) thought there could be none of them—certainly none of them who sat in the House as long as he had—who could fail not only to feel an interest in this subject, but a certain pricking of conscience with regard to it. The hon. Member for North

Islington (Mr. Barclay) had said that hon. Members received about 2 cwt. of printed matter in the course of each Session. Well, not only was it absolutely impossible for them to digest that quantity of printed matter, but they could not even read a tithe of it. The very sight of such bulk discouraged anyone from reading any portion of it. A young Member, no doubt, would begin by reading everything, but he soon got blocked up with Papers, and even before the end of his first Session decided upon making a clearance; and, as Session after Session passed by, he grew more ruthless in his clearance, finding it necessary to protect himself from being overwhelmed physically, as well as morally and mentally, by mountains of Papers. His (Mr. Stansfeld's) experience was that a Member of Parliament at the beginning of each Session discarded more and more Papers, but at the end of each Session found that he had not discarded enough, and had to make a great clearance; and then such Member said to himself—"There is a great deal of waste here, and there must be something wrong in the system which puts the public to the expense of producing all this printed matter." It appeared to him (Mr. Stansfeld) to be more and more demonstrated that they ought to attempt to make some selection of the Papers to be distributed. The hon. Gentleman representing the Government said very truly that the Treasury in this measure could not act alone, but that what they did must have the concurrence of the House. Well, he (Mr. Stansfeld) thought that the suggestion that a Committee should be appointed of experts or business men was a very useful one. Such a Committee should have some relations with the Controller, and should exercise supervision over the issue of costly documents. He could endorse the statement of the hon. Member opposite, that the Printing Committee did not act. He (Mr. Stansfeld) was a Member of that Committee; therefore, he might make this authoritative statement. Perhaps he ought to take some blame to himself in the matter; but he was not responsible for being placed on the Committee, and he took it as it came, or rather as it did not come, because, so far as his knowledge went, it was merely a formal Committee to be called together in case of difficulties arising, which difficulties had never yet arisen. Instead of having such Committees as this, they ought to have one appointed consisting of men who would give their time to the supervision of the printing and the issue of public Papers. The hon. Member opposite (Sir Herbert Maxwell) had said that the savings which had been effected under this Vote had been effected through the exercise of the control of the Stationery Office. Well, he (Mr. Stansfeld) thought it advisable that the relations between the House, the Government, and the Controller should not be such as to diminish the sense of the responsibility of the Controller. He thought there should be a Committee of the House of Commons, simply giving assistance to the Controller. He did not see why the Committee should not go and visit the Controller, and discuss these matters in his own room in a business way. Let such a Committee go to the Controller and ask him how he thought they could reduce this extraordinary expenditure, and if they were satisfied with his suggestions let them adopt them, and they would be enabled to bring about the economies, and would get the credit of them. That would be a satisfactory mode of proceeding. He (Mr. Stansfeld) would not enter into what he might call the details of the question, as he had not that expert knowledge which would enable him to do so; but he would venture to make one remark upon the statement of the hon. Member for Northampton, who had opened the discussion on the subject to-day. The hon. Member, in the first place, had said that there was an excessive issue of Papers, and on that, presumably, they were all agreed. The question was, how were they to reduce that excessive issue so as to satisfy Members of the House? Then the hon. Member had said that Papers and documents were published, and sold at an excessive price. The hon. Member had proposed two alternatives—either that these Papers should be circulated amongst the public libraries, not at the price of setting up, but at the price of printing, and of the paper, or that there should be a considerable free distribution. He (Mr. Stansfeld), however, agreed in this matter with the view taken by the Representative of the Government, when he entirely protested, from his own experience,

against gratuitous distribution. He (Mr. Stansfeld), from his own experience, knew that gratuitous distribution of Parliamentary Papers and Blue Books never came to much good. The free distribution of Parliamentary Papers and Blue Books would certainly not be an economical proceeding, because everyone would expect the distribution, although very few would turn it to useful account, and it would entail large additional expenditure on the Government. He (Mr. Stansfeld) entirely approved of the other alternative, which met with the approval of the Representative of the Government, and that alternative he hoped to see adopted.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) wished to remind the Committee of what he had said last year when this matter was under discussion. He thought the Committee would be making a serious mistake unless it proceeded with great caution in this matter. Before any step was actually taken, he thought the whole question should be submitted to a Select Committee. He thought the Committee which was in existence ought to be superseded by a real Committee, which would decide as to what Papers should be circulated and what should not. With regard to the immense mass of Papers circulated each year, he supposed they had received no less than 2,000 separate Papers, containing about 61,000 pages of printed matter, last year, and that the number of pages issued this year would approximate to the same amount. A great deal of these Papers consisted of Reports of Committees and Commissions, and in many cases there were double issues, the Reports being first circulated and then repeated with the evidence. A great deal of money might be saved by evading this needless repetition. He would draw particular attention, however, to this—that the House of Commons was gradually losing hold over the printing, the control being centred in the Stationery Office, without there being in that Office anyone really capable of giving an intelligent opinion with regard to the matters with which the Department had to deal. In this Department, as in other Departments, there should be a capable practical man at the head of affairs before any great change took place in regard to the Office itself. They were gradually drifting into a state of things far worse than that which prevailed at present. He did not know whether anyone had taken heed of what had occurred recently in connection with the Stationery Office. During the present Session a Committee had sat to consider such matters connected with this Office. The Report of that Committee had been circulated in the House, and that Report had left the question of the publication of the Debates of the House untouched as it were for the present. But since that Committee had reported, an advertisement had appeared in the public papers practically initiating the first step with regard to the publication of the Debates of Parliament without regard to the opinion of the House. With whose authority, he should like to ask, had this step been taken? Was the Stationery Office going to constitute itself a great printing establishment—a great editorial establishment, printing and editing the Debates of Parliament without the sanction and without the authority of Parliament? Had the Printing Committee sat and delegated that power to the Stationery Office? If not, who had authorized the Stationery Department to issue an advertisement of the kind to which he referred inviting tenders for the printing of the Debates of the House? He should like the Secretary to the Treasury to give the House some information with regard to the issue of this advertisement, and with respect to the tenders which had been sent in, and also as to the arrangement which was to be made for the future. It was perfectly well understood that the responsibility with regard to the publication of Acts of Parliament remained with the Crown. A Proclamation appeared to have been issued constituting the Stationery Office the agent of the Crown with regard to this matter, and he presumed that that was perfectly right and agreeable to the Forms of the House; but he remembered that last Session a kind of notice was issued to the Press restricting, or attempting to restrict, their right of reproducing Reports and Returns, and so on, issued by the House. Well, he wished to know to what extent the Stationery Office, having all the rights and privileges and prerogatives with regard to the printing establishment, would be able to come down on any newspaper or firm

for issuing Acts of Parliament when they were not issued as cheaply as they might be by the Stationery Office itself? He thought that before they went any further in this matter the whole question of the relationship of the Stationery Office to the House should be inquired into by a Committee, and on the Report of that Committee should be proposed some regulations with regard to these publications. He agreed that a great saving might be effected by putting a stop to unnecessary duplication of Parliamentary Papers. He felt, however, that no reduction could be properly made, and the printing establishment could not be properly conducted, until they had, in connection with the Office, a man of practical experience connected with the printing trade. With regard to the editorial work which had been referred to by several speakers, he desired to know: Would the Committee have to undertake the responsibility of omitting passages from evidence, or would they not? Would the Committee be able to cut out whole pages of evidence given before a Parliamentary Committee? If so, he did not know exactly where they would stand. If evidence were published at all, it should be published exactly as it was given.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, he made no proposal for curtailing evidence, but simply as to limiting the number of copies printed and the number of editions.

MR. HOWELL said, that what he wanted to know was to what extent the Committee was to do editorial work—how far its supervision was to go? There was one point to which it could be carried to a much greater length than it was at present. What he meant was that there should be departmental supervision over some of those elaborate Returns which were issued year by year. Some Returns were practically reproduced in the same way year by year. It seemed to him that many thousands a year might be saved by the exercise of proper control over this part of the Stationery Office business. He felt, however, very strongly with regard to this matter that nothing practical could be done until they had someone at the Stationery Office thoroughly acquainted with the details of the business of printing and publishing.

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne said, he merely wished to make one remark which he had been waiting for a long time to hear made by someone else, and which he was astonished none of the fervid economists on one side of the House or on the other had made—and he did not know upon which side the most enthusiastic economist was now to be found—as to how economy could be effectually secured under this Vote. The way to secure economy seemed to him to be plain and simple, and it was this—let every Member of Parliament who desired to have a Blue Book or any Parliamentary Paper beyond the ordinary Votes and Proceedings go to the Vote Office and buy it in the ordinary way. ["Oh, oh!"] Why not? The country would then see that hon. Members were sincerely anxious to bring about economy so far as the finances of the State were concerned. He had always noticed, with regard to matters of economy, that everyone was carried away with enthusiasm for it in the abstract, but that no one liked it when it was sought to effect it at its own expense. He (Mr. Addison) was confident that if the plan he suggested were adopted the publication of Blue Books would fall off enormously. People did not read Blue Books because they got them for nothing, and if hon. Members would only act on the simple commercial principles he advocated and buy what they wanted they would read what they bought, would very much improve their information, and would largely improve the cause of economy in this matter which they all professed to have so much at heart.

MR. A. H. DYKE ACLAND (York, W.R., Rotherham) thought that somebody in the Stationery Office should supervise the editing of the Royal Commission Reports. Everyone who had studied the way these Reports were furnished would know that the Secretary to a Royal Commission prepared them just as he liked.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): Does the hon. Member refer to Reports or to Evidence?

MR. A. H. DYKE ACLAND: Both to Reports and Evidence. One or two practical suggestions might be drawn up in the Stationery Office, or a set of rules might be prepared which should be adhered

to by all Commissions. Many of the Reports were inadequate and had bad indices, and went forth to the public without proper headings to the pages and without proper references, and were simply masses of material piled together in a loose manner. They were often published directly after the Commission finished its work, and without time having been allowed for the preparation of a satisfactory index, and all this he considered to be due to the absence of an overlooking authority. None of the Secretaries appointed upon Royal Commissions could have experience in these matters, and he, therefore, thought that these Reports should be drawn up upon general rules. Hon. Members said they did not care to read a great deal of the evidence that was published in Blue Books, and no doubt that was the case; but they were all struck by abstracts of evidence when they were furnished in an able manner, but these were very often supplied months after the Sittings of Commissions. He would suggest that none of these volumes of evidence should be circulated without being accompanied by abstracts to enable Members to find at once in the evidence anything they wanted. It would not require a man to have any special knowledge of printing work to draw up such a set of rules as he proposed. There was a Report issued on the Sweating System which was published at 11*s.*, and he thought that if this had been printed in the form in which many other Blue Books were printed it might have been circulated at the cost of 5*s.* or 6*s.* at the most. The book was twice as big as it need be, with the print sprawling along the paper, as was the case with all Blue Books published by the House of Lords. This was a matter of great interest to working men, and hon. Members would see the necessity of keeping down the price of publications of this kind as much as possible. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) said he did not approve of gratuitous publications, but in the United States they did, and with very good results. In the United States they knew that a great deal of the matter they circulated would not be required; but they said—"In a great democratic country like this, every citizen who wants information should have easy access to it." If in this country we took the pains to make our public papers as small, as simple, as attractive, and as cheap as they did in the United States, a great deal of good would be done. He was confident it would be most advantageous to the State and to the community at large if steps were taken to spread our public Papers more widely, whether gratuitously or not; and any expenditure incurred in this way in educating the masses of the people would be an expenditure for which the State would be repaid in the long run. Whatever they did in that respect, at any rate, let them make those publications which they did make turn out decent and respectable.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN (Oldham) said, he was old-fashioned enough to wish to say a word or two in defence of the present system of circulating all manner of Blue Books amongst Members of Parliament. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stansfeld) had described accurately the experience of most hon. Members with regard to the Blue Books. There was an immense mass of rubbish amongst the Blue Books; but still it was often beneath a mass of rubbish that they found a treasure. No doubt most of them put aside a great many of those Books, and never even thought of opening them. But, at the same time, they made their own selection of the Books they wanted to read; and if they did not read them during the Session, perhaps they might enjoy the opportunity of doing so during the Recess. In taking that course, they exercised their right of private judgment. Apparently, it was proposed that every Member of the House was to surrender his right of private judgment to a Select Committee.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, that that was not proposed. The proposal was to substitute for the present system of automatic delivery a system under which Members should, by marking a printed list, show what Papers they would like to be sent to them.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN said, he maintained that a Member could not tell beforehand exactly what Papers he wished to read. It was only after the Papers were circulated and looked into that one could discover whether they

were worth reading or not. Who was to make the selection? Every Member of Parliament ought to make the selection for himself. The fullest information ought to be laid before Members as to the proceedings of Committees and Royal Commissions. There should be no editing beyond seeing that the matter contained in the Blue Books was arranged on the best and simplest plan. The hon. Member (Mr. A. H. D. Acland) made some excellent suggestions about a better plan of arranging the contents of the Blue Books. It would be a very useful thing indeed if Royal Commissions or Committees were charged with the making of an abstract in their Report of the evidence upon which they reported. There was a very good example of the value of this in the Blue Book published yesterday by the Royal Commission on Currency. But he rose principally for the purpose of protesting against any measure that might limit the circulation of these Books. He was in favour of having them circulated as widely as possible through the country, because the larger the circulation of such publications, the better it would be for the enlightenment of the country.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Oldham (Mr. J. M. Maclean) proposed that the country should expend £8,000 per annum in order that a vast amount of rubbish should be sent to him in the hope that he might extract some jewels from it. The hon. Gentleman did not appear to understand what was proposed. It was suggested that a list should be sent to the hon. Gentleman and other Members of the Papers that were open to them to obtain, and that they should mark on the list those they required. The hon. Gentleman asked who was to make the selection. The hon. Gentleman himself was to make the selection.

MR. J. M. MACLEAN said, what he stated was that it was impossible for a Member of Parliament to know what Blue Books he would like to read until the Books had been circulated and he had looked into them.

MR. LABOUCHERE understood the hon. Gentleman was to read a Blue Book in order to find out whether he cared to read it. [MR. J. M. MACLEAN: Look into it.] Well, to look into it. The Blue Books and Papers would be in the Library of the House, and the hon. Gentleman could look into them there, and then mark the list showing which of them he required to be sent to him. At the present moment there was a Select Committee which did nothing; it was proposed they should have a Select Committee which should do something. He did not object to that, provided he was not a Member of the Committee. The hon. Member for Bethnal Green (Mr. Howell) proposed that nothing should be done until a Committee looked into the whole question of stationery. He (Mr. Labouchere) objected to that. A good deal might be done at present. To tell the truth, he did not see the good of a Committee, nor did he perceive what a Committee would do. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. M. Maclean) seemed to think there was no practical man at the head of the Stationery Office. He (Mr. Labouchere) had met Mr. Pigott, the head of the Stationery Office, and he had found him a very practical and sensible man. Mr. Pigott had unquestionably made a considerable number of economies, and if he had a Committee to work with him he might effect all the economy necessary without waiting to have a general Committee of the House of Commons to decide the whole question of the Stationery Office, which he was bound to say was fairly well managed at the present time. With respect to the price of Papers, he quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) that it would be infinitely better that the cost price should be charged instead of there being a free distribution. He did not gather from the Government whether they consented to that plan or not. The paper he held in his hand—the Civil Service Estimates—was marked 1*s.* 4*d.*, and it was said to be under 12 ozs. in weight. Taking paper at 3*d.* a-pound, the paper would not be worth 3*d.* Taking the machinery and the ink at 1*d.*, 4*d.* would amply repay the Government for a copy of the Civil Service Estimates; 1*s.* was clear profit. He suggested that the price should be reduced to 4*d.* It would be found that many free libraries were ready to pay the actual cost of these publications. Again, the Papers of the Patent Offices in America and other countries were very fully appreciated, and there was

great complaint on the part of a number of free libraries that the exchange of Papers between our Patent Office and the Patent Offices of America and other countries was not conducted on fair terms towards us—that we did not get enough from the Americans for what we gave. But, be that as it might, proper arrangements might be made for supplying the American Papers to the free libraries in the great commercial towns. He hoped that not only would there be an immediate reduction in the vast number of Papers issued, but that there would also be some reduction in the price at which they were obtainable by the public.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he was inclined to agree with a great deal that had fallen from the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. J. M. Maclean). There was no doubt a great deal of waste in connection with these Papers. What hon. Members desired was that they should have some control over their own printing, and that they should not be at the mercy of a Department. Whenever any question arose on this subject, a Minister got up and said that he was not responsible for the printer, and when asked who was, the reply was that he did not know. Why should the Librarian not be in communication with the Committee? He understood that the Government proposed to have a Special Committee appointed in connection with this matter, but he hoped that the work of the Committee would not be limited to the question as to what publications should be circulated, because they wanted the Committee to look into the whole matter of the printing of the House, to see whether some arrangement could not be made by which the House could have effective control over its printing.

MR. H. J. WILSON (York, W.R., Holmfirth) said, that the Report of the Commission on Education was very bulky; there were three large books containing evidence in the shape of 59,000 questions and answers, three volumes of Returns and Statistics, and one volume of the Report proper. In addition to this enormous mass of information which had been issued to hon. Members, there was an index and a digest which they had not received, and which they could only obtain on application. This digest, he need hardly say, would be very valuable to those who had not time to go into the seven volumes mentioned, while the index was important to those who desired to study the whole case with care. He could not understand why they had not been issued.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds N.) said, he hoped he might appeal to hon. Members to bring this discussion to a close. He thought every Member of the Committee must have come to the conclusion that the discussion, as stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld), had been most useful and interesting; certainly it was the most interesting which had taken place on the Estimates, if he might venture to say so, for some time, and he was very glad that the Committee had taken the course which it had done that day. He thought he was justified in drawing the conclusion that the Committee was of opinion in the first place that a very considerable saving might be effected in regard to the publications circulated without any serious disturbance of the interests of Business, and he would certainly endeavour to put the matter into some practical shape to meet what he believed to be the general feeling of the Committee. The hon. Member for Wigton (Sir Herbert Maxwell) had taken a great interest in this question, and had most thoroughly and fully considered it. He (Mr. Jackson) had no hesitation in saying that, with a little assistance from the Committee, it might be possible to save £10,000 or £15,000 a-year in the Stationery Office. The hon. Member for Rotherham (Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland) had made a valuable suggestion and some criticisms, to which he (Mr. Jackson) would reply, that the Stationery Office should not be charged with responsibility in this matter, because the duty of the Office was simply to carry out the instructions of the Royal Commission, which was independent even of the Treasury. He believed that the Committee would see that, if a Royal Commission was appointed, it must rest with the Chairman and the Members of the Commission to decide in what way they would present the evidence on which they founded their Report. He thought, however, the hon. Gentleman had made a valuable suggestion, if it were practicable. He entirely agreed with what he had said as to the

value of the index and digest of these Reports of Royal Commissions and Committees of Inquiry. It had hitherto been the practice to make arrangements with the secretary by whom or under whose supervision they were prepared; and he was not sure that it would be practicable for the Stationery Office to discharge these duties for all the various Royal Commissions sitting in different places and dealing with different questions. His own impression was that, to do the work in a useful and complete manner, it must be done by someone who had been present during the proceedings and watched them very carefully; but he would certainly make inquiry about the matter, because the proposal of the hon. Member would meet a distinct want in this respect—that the Reports were issued without index or analysis, which rendered them less useful than they would otherwise be; and, further, it would be a great improvement, in his opinion, if they could get some uniform system upon which this work could be done. He would make inquiry with a view to seeing if it were possible to give effect to the suggestion of the hon. Member.

MR. A. H. DYKE ACLAND said, he would suggest that perhaps it would be possible to draw up a set of simple Rules for the guidance of Secretaries of Royal Commissions and Committees of Inquiry in preparing these indices and digests.

MR. JACKSON said, this might be possible, and he would give the suggestion his careful consideration. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had referred to the question of the price charged for these Papers. When the charge was first made, now a long time ago, the principle was that the charge would cover the cost of printing, &c. At that time the cost of producing Parliamentary Papers was much higher than at present. In the first place, there had been a reduction in the price of printing contracts, and also in the price of paper; and, therefore, he thought, as the hon. Member had said, that the time had now arrived when, under the circumstances, some change might be made in the price of the Papers issued. That point should receive consideration. He believed he had met most of the points raised by hon. Members, and that the discussion which had taken place would be most useful to the Government; and, as far as he was concerned, he should be glad to give effect to the suggestions made at the earliest possible moment.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) said, that an immediate saving might be effected, perhaps larger than the hon. Member for Northampton contemplated, without introducing any new system whatever, by the simple expedient of using smaller type in printing Parliamentary Papers. There was no necessity for printing evidence, which was only partially referred to, in larger type than was considered necessary, for instance, in the printing of *The Times* newspaper. There was a great danger of concealing facts from the knowledge of Parliament by too great an economy in printing, as had been shown by the Committee over which the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) so ably presided, in connection with the Army Estimates. It appeared that a grant of £25,000 or £30,000 was made to an inventor, for warlike purposes, and the charge had been met out of the savings on a previous Estimate. This required a Treasury Minute, which occupied four lines; it was laid upon the Table of the House, and then went into the Library of the House, but when the matter came to be inquired into, it was found that this Treasury Minute had never been printed. The consequence was that the Treasury Minute was entirely concealed from the knowledge of all the Members of the House, except those who might have noticed that it had been laid on the Table, and who hunted it up in the Library. Hon. Members would observe that there was a great deficiency of details given in the Estimate; they would find on the Paper sub-heads, the details given in which did not cover more than £50,000 of the £500,000 embraced in the Estimate. If they were to have effective criticism of this Department, there must be the same detail shown as in other cases, and he would like to know why such detail was not given? There were some figures given relating to 1884-5, 1885-6, and 1886-7; but, with regard to the year 1888-9, no figures were given. He would now refer to the management of *The London Gazette*. He had asked the Chairman of Committees—

who then held the position of Secretary to the Treasury—why it was that advertisements in *The Gazette* must be inserted through an agent in London, and that payment for them was not taken in money, but in *Gazette* stamps; and he had inquired whether the effect was not to add a guinea, in the shape of his solicitor's fee, to the cost of publishing statutory advertisements, and whether such advertisements could not be received at the office of *The Gazette* in the ordinary business way. The hon. Gentleman had replied with very great dexterity, but in a way which, since he had been liberated from the trammels of Office, he believed would not have satisfied himself and which, certainly had not satisfied him (Dr. Cameron). The answer of the hon. Gentleman was that the regulation was not a new one, which of course had nothing to do with the question; he said that a solicitor was not necessary, and that the ordinary advertising agent's fee would be less, and that with regard to the comparison with *The Edinburgh Gazette*, in connection with which this practice did not exist, the hon. Gentleman said the latter was so small that it was not to be compared with *The London Gazette*. The answer supplied by the Treasury was eminently unsatisfactory. He observed that the amount of stamps was about £19,000 a-year, and he asked why this obligation should be laid upon the public, which did not exist in Scotland in the case of *The Edinburgh Gazette*. It was not an economical arrangement, and he was certain that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, who appeared to have his mind in such an open condition for the reception of reforms, would see that it was in the interest of the Government to make these business transactions as easy as possible for the public. There were no complaints whatever with regard to *The Edinburgh Gazette*, whereas he had received many with reference to the impediments thrown in the way of publicity in *The London Gazette*. It was quite right that prepayment should be made, though persons should be allowed to make it as they chose, either in money or in stamps, but to keep up the system of *The London Gazette* stamps simply to prevent money being taken was an antiquated practice, and ought to be abolished.

MR. JACKSON said, that there were a great many Departments to be provided for, and if a separate Estimate were made for each they must provide a maximum which would be likely to meet the requirement in each case, the consequence of which would be that a margin would have to be taken in each case, and this would lead to an enormous increase of the Estimate. He thought, therefore, the hon. Member for the College Division of Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) would see that, so far as details were concerned, the Treasury had gone as far as they could conveniently go. With regard to *The London Gazette*, the hon. Gentleman had asked why it was that money was not allowed to be taken and the payment must be made in stamps. He (Mr. Jackson) had been under the impression that in recent years the opinion of the House of Commons and the tendency in all Departments had been distinctly in the direction of substituting stamps for money. That practice had certainly led to the removal of many difficulties which had formerly existed. But he might be allowed to say that there was a great difference between *The London Gazette* and *The Gazettes* of Edinburgh and Dublin. In Edinburgh and Dublin the printing and publication of *The Gazette* was let by contract. The printer and publisher in Dublin received the small sum of about £100 for clerical assistance in revising and looking through advertisements, and at the end of the year he accounted for the money received. In Edinburgh *The Gazette* was printed in a similar way by contract, and an allowance was made to the printer and publisher, he believed, of £200 a-year for clerical assistance. In London the arrangement had been that the printer paid so much a-year for the sole right of selling *The Gazette*, and, of course, he received a profit on the sale. There had been a gentleman for many years connected with *The Gazette* at a salary of £800, and this gentleman, he was informed, was about to retire, in which case the Government had decided not to fill up the vacancy. He had suggested to his Chiefs that they should take this opportunity of looking into the question whether the present arrangement was the best for carrying out the work, and the question which the hon. Member for Glasgow had raised would be one of

those to be inquired into. He, therefore, hoped that the hon. Gentleman would be satisfied with this explanation.

DR. CAMERON said, that the answer to the hon. Gentleman was satisfactory so far as it went, except on the point of stamps. It was all very well to require stamps instead of money when stamps could be obtained anywhere; but *The London Gazette* stamps could not be obtained so easily, and he thought that Postal Orders, which could be got at any post office, ought to be received. His complaint was that country advertisers had to get an agent in London to go down to the office and buy *Gazette* stamps, simply that this absurd routine, which did not prevail anywhere else, should be maintained.

MR. JACKSON said, he quite agreed that facilities should be given for obtaining these stamps. Of course, special stamps were in use in order to see the exact amount received; but it would no doubt be possible to obtain that result by keeping an account of other stamps which might be used.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked, on what authority the recommendation had been made that tenders should be invited for the reporting, printing, and publication of the Parliamentary Debates? It was not recommended, he thought, in the Report of the Committee which investigated the subject this Session. He wanted to know whether there was any authority for this, and whether it involved the undertaking by the Stationery Office of the production of the Report of the Debates in that House in the same way as in America?

MR. JACKSON said, he had already answered the question of the hon. Member to some extent. The hon. Member seemed to think that it was not recommended by the Committee that tenders should be invited. The position was this: Notice had been given to Mr. Hansard expiring at the end of this Session, and therefore arrangements would have to be made to provide for the reporting and printing of the Debates and Parliamentary Proceedings before the commencement of next Session. They had run it as closely, perhaps, as they were justified in running it; but the Treasury was charged with the responsibility of making that provision and following the recommendations of the Committee. He thought he was justified in saying that the Committee did recommend the invitation to tenders, because they approved the form of tender adopted. Tenders had been called for; no decision had been come to, and the Committee would therefore excuse him if he reserved further remarks on the subject until the question had been decided.

MR. HOWELL said, he objected to the Stationery Department undertaking the publication of the Reports and Debates in the way proposed, which might have the effect of depriving the House of control over its own Reports.

MR. JACKSON said, the hon. Member was under an entire misapprehension. The publication would in future, as hitherto, be carried on by a contractor, and it was specified that the work was to be done on similar conditions and in like manner as heretofore.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, as he understood that the question of *Hansard* would form the subject of future discussion, he should say nothing on the subject. He pointed out that the proceeds of the sale of waste paper was stated in the Estimate at £10,000, and he wished to draw attention to the statement in the Report of the Controller that this sale would be more remunerative "if the Papers were not torn." He did not see that the dealers would be likely to divulge any secrets there might be in the Papers, and the precaution being, therefore, useless, he hoped the hon. Gentleman would see his way to dispense with the practice.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) said, that an enormous quantity of waste paper referred to in the Estimate came from the Post Office. He complained that the large sum resulting was not sent to the Post Office, as it should be. A large quantity of Papers were sent from the Post Office every week to the Stationery Office, which were there destroyed, and the proceeds credited to the Stationery Office. He maintained that this was unjust to the Post Office, and should be discontinued. He would be glad to know whether tenders for the waste paper were called for, and, if so, the name of the contractor?

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, he wished to call attention to items on

page 166, of which the most meagre information was given. There was a charge for the Treasury, including Parliamentary Counsel and Solicitor, for Printing, £1,673, and for paper £1,294. In this case the cost of printing exceeded that of paper; but in the next item, which included *The Police Gazette*, the printing was charged as £546, and the paper as £1,504; and it would be seen that in one case the paper cost one-third of the printing, and in the other that the printing cost one-third of the paper. He would like to know how these differences were accounted for? Again, he did not find any account of the cost of printing the Customs Bills of Entry. [MR. JACKSON: The work is done by contract under the Stationery Office.] Up to two years ago the work was published by some Customs officials as a private venture, and their profit at the time it was taken over by the Government was £10,000 a-year. But no account of the paper had been laid on the Table of the House, and hon. Members had been unable to ascertain what the profits of the Government were with respect to it. It seemed to him that the profit made must be now considerably larger, owing to the increase of trade; and he thought there ought to be something more than a mere reference to the publication in the Estimate. There was an item of £11,000 in the Extra Receipts, but they were not told whether these were gross receipts, and, as he had said, the account of profit had never been presented to Parliament since the paper had been taken over by Government.

MR. JACKSON said, he thought it must be obvious to the Committee that a proportion could not possibly be established between the cost of paper and printing which would apply to each Department. In the first place, he pointed out that one of the columns referred to included, besides paper, other stationery materials of various kinds. With regard to the want of uniformity to which the hon. and learned Member referred, he might refer to *The Patent Office Journal*, where there was a large difference between the charge for paper and printing. This was due to the fact that the journal was illustrated, which, of course, added greatly to the cost. In these matters the Stationery Department was responsible, and within the instructions supplied to the Department they worked as cheaply as possible, the work being paid for only according to the scheduled prices. With regard to the Customs Bills of Entry, the amount credited was the amount actually paid into the Exchequer, and obviously represented the total receipts; but the profit which the hon. and learned Gentleman referred to as being £10,000 two years ago was certainly not so much now.

MR. MOLLOY said, he had asked what was the amount of profit, and where that profit was shown? These were two perfectly distinct questions.

MR. JACKSON said, he thought he had made it clear to the hon. and learned Gentleman that the total receipts were £11,000, and that this amount had been paid into the Exchequer. Under Sub-head B the printing and paper for the Customs Bills of Entry was entered as £4,000.

MR. MOLLOY said, the hon. Gentleman was not particularly acquainted with this matter, and he would not, therefore, press him upon it further. Plainly, the profit he referred to was not the profit on the paper, and he would ask the hon. Gentleman to look into the matter, because when the paper was taken over by the Government the profit was £10,000 a-year. No account was given of this, which he said ought to appear in the Stationery Estimate. The profit ought to be larger now than in 1884, when it was seized by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The question was, what did it amount to now, and where did it go to?

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he had to refer to the large items in the Vote for Printing and Paper for Public Departments—namely, "Printing £179,000, and Paper for ditto £120,000." Taking the price of the paper at 2*d.* a lb., over 7,000,000 lbs. of it must be used by the Public Departments, mainly in corresponding with one another. The Committee would observe how enormous was this amount of paper, and he thought the Treasury ought to exercise some control over the quantity supplied. He had been brought up in a Public Department, and knew there was a perfect mania in them for using paper—they would use four sheets if it were only to write a couple of words. He did not quite understand whether the paper was used in the offices, and whether the printing was for public documents. The

charge, however, for the latter was enormous, and that for the paper preposterous, when the present price of the article was considered. He would like to know what price was paid for the paper? Everyone knew that it was exceedingly good, and that when one wrote to a Public Department the reply was upon paper as thick as parchment. He admitted that there was a very slight reduction this year, and hoped the hon. Gentleman, whom he would do the justice of saying that, politics apart, he was by no means a bad Secretary to the Treasury, would bring pressure to bear on the Public Departments, in order that the item for paper might in future be very considerably reduced.

MR. JACKSON said, the hon. Member had, he thought, fallen into an error, because he so much emphasized the cost of printing for Public Offices. But the two items did not hang together. In the charge for paper was included writing paper, paper of which books were made and paper for binding, as well as for the various accounts; and it was the total estimated sums for all the Public Departments. He believed that the average price of the writing paper was 7*d.* a lb.; some kinds of it, of course, being better than others. On the whole, he thought they had gone as far in the direction of cheapening the cost as they could, and trusted the hon. Gentleman would pardon him for finding himself unable to promise to make a further change at present.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he had seen the book from which the hon. Gentleman had read in the hands of many Secretaries to the Treasury, who were always ready to accept it. He was not prepared to do that because he had found that it contained errors. He asked whether the paper was that used for writing purposes, or whether the item included that used for binding. The hon. Gentleman said it must be used for printing also, because there was an item for binding; but he would point out that in Public Offices they bound up the despatches. If the hon. Gentleman would turn to Sub-head J he would see that a charge for "Printing paper and binding for the Houses of Parliament"—that was to say, for the printing and binding of the documents submitted to them, and it was therefore impossible that this charge could include paper both for printing and writing. The hon. Gentleman was startled at the amount, and said it included all the Papers submitted to the Houses of Parliament. But it did not do so, and therefore there was full reason why the hon. Gentleman should compel the Public Departments to carry out economy in this matter, because he had himself been obliged to throw in an item of £40,000 which had nothing to do with the item in question.

MR. JACKSON said, that Sub-head J was limited to items which had nothing whatever to do with the Public Departments in the sense in which he had used the term; but he would point out that Sub-head I. distinctly stated that it was for paper for the Public Departments. He had said that this included all the paper for all the Public Departments, including paper for books, and to that statement he adhered.

It being half-an-hour after Five of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 8th November, 1888.

MINUTES.] — NEW MEMBER SWORN — Moir Tod Stormonth Darling, esquire, *for* the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES: CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Votes 24 to 27.

Resolutions [November 7] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Select Committee* — Waltham Abbey Gunpowder Factory * [273], *nominated.*

Withdrawn—High Courts in India * [339]; Housing of the Working Classes * [97].

QUESTIONS.

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UPPER BURMAH—PAY AND ALLOWANCES OF POSTAL CLERKS.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Under Secretary of State for

India, Whether the ordinary pay and allowances of postal clerks in Upper Burmah were, until recently, 40 rupees per month, and free rations; whether the free rations of postal clerks have been recently suppressed; whether half of the ordinary salary of a postal clerk is retained by the Government until it amounts to 800 rupees, kept as security against individual dishonesty, so that a postal clerk on a nominal salary of 40 rupees per month for 40 months actually only receives 20 rupees per month; whether other, and what, deductions are also made from the salaries of postal clerks for a guarantee fund against dishonesty, as well of themselves as of other *employés*; whether he is aware that the suppression of the free rations has reduced some of these postal clerks to a condition of great misery; and, whether he will state the salary of the Deputy Postmaster General, and if it is correct that, in addition to his salary, the Deputy Postmaster General receives an allowance for rations, or on what other account, of 200 rupees per month?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The first five Questions relate to details of local administration, respecting which the Secretary of State is not in possession of any official information. The salary appropriated to the office of Deputy Postmaster General in Burmah at the present time is 1,000 rupees, rising to 1,400 rupees *per mensem*. The question whether a special allowance is to be made to the present holder of the office to raise his salary to an amount approximating to what he was receiving as first Assistant to the Postmaster General of India—namely, 1,280 rupees *per mensem*—is now under consideration.

EGYPT—AFFAIRS AT SUAKIN.

SIR HENRY TYLER (Great Yarmouth) asked the Secretary of State for War, What, according to the latest Reports received, is the condition of affairs at Suakin; what is the supposed number in men and guns of the besieging force, and for what length of time their attack has been proceeding; and, what steps Her Majesty's Government are taking for the security of Suakin and the dispersion of the besiegers?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): According to the latest Reports received, the state of affairs at Suakin was as follows. A dervish force of 1,500 men, with a few horsemen and six guns, has, since the 18th of September, been investing the town. Unsuccessful night attacks were made on the Water Forts on the 26th of September and 30th of October. General Grenfell has proceeded to Suakin with four guns; he probably arrived there last Monday. The responsibility for the defence of Suakin rests, not with the British, but with the Egyptian Government, who have sent reinforcements to that place.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—RETURN OF PROCEEDINGS.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, When the Return of Proceedings under "The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885," ordered 16th July, will be distributed?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University), in reply, said, that the hon. Gentleman was under some misapprehension. No Return was ordered on the 16th of July; but the hon. Gentleman was then informed that if he would move for a Return similar to one which had been ordered by the House of Lords, it would be granted. No Motion for such a Return was put down, and consequently it was not ordered.

COAL MINES, &c. REGULATION ACT, 1887—THE WEIGHING CLAUSE.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the case mentioned by him on May 10, as throwing doubt on the application of Clause 12 of "The Coal Mines, &c. Regulation Act, 1887," has yet been decided; and, whether he now holds that this Weighing Clause is universally and unconditionally operative, except as specified in the Act of 1887?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, that this case had not yet been decided. Questions had arisen with the solicitors engaged as to the terms of the draft case. Pending the decision, he was precluded from giving an opinion.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked whether this case had not been under consideration for nine months?

MR. MATTHEWS agreed that it was a long time for a case to be pending; but it was not the fault of the Treasury.

AFRICA—THE SLAVE TRADE.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can yet put the House in possession of a summary of the information regarding the actual position of the African Slave Trade, which the Foreign Office has obtained from its various Consuls and other British authorities, whether as regards Africa in general or Eastern Africa in particular? The hon. Gentleman also asked whether the statement that a communication had been received from the French Government denying that they had given a right to search for slaves was authentic?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): As I stated, in reply to the hon. Member on the 9th of August, all the information on the subject of the Slave Trade which is possessed by the Foreign Office is presented in an Annual Report; but a Blue Book, with recent particulars, is in preparation, and is expected to be presented shortly. With regard to the supplementary Question of the hon. Member, I will only say that I laid on the Table last night Papers showing the position of Her Majesty's Government on the coast of Zanzibar with reference to the proceedings in connection with putting down the Slave Trade; and these will be in the hands of Members, I believe, in a day or two.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL gave Notice that, on the African Vote, he would call attention to the want of sufficient information in the possession of Members on this subject.

THE INDIAN POLICE—APPOINTMENT OF EUROPEANS—THE HON. A. HAY.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true, as stated in the public journals, that the Hon. A. Hay, recently an officer in the Scots Guards, has joined the Burmah Police Force as a Superintendent of Police; whether that officer now belongs to the Indian Staff Corps, or to any of the Regular Services; if he has been appointed to the Burmah Police, who appointed him; and whether he has passed in the Native language, and his fitness for the post has been tested by examination, or otherwise?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): 1. Yes. 2. No. 3. The Governor General of India. 4. The Secretary of State is not aware what examinations Mr. Hay has passed. An examination in the Native language has to be undergone before a right to permanent employment in the police is attained.

ARMY—THE COMMITTEE ON HIGH EXPLOSIVES.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD (Marylebone, E.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Committee on High Explosives, promised in June last, has finished its labours; whether the effect of the high explosive on bursting is as alarmingly destructive as has been stated; and, have shells loaded with high explosives been actually tried against targets representing the unarmoured portions of ships of the *Admiral* Class; and, if not, as there is much controversy as to the number of battle-ships necessary for the country's defence, whether he will assure the House that practical experiments shall be made for thoroughly testing the effects of shells filled with high explosives on the unarmoured ends of those battle-ships of which our Fleet is mainly composed?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): In addition to the results already obtained, further experiments will be necessary, and are being arranged.

ARMY AND NAVY—THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD (Marylebone, E.) asked the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale, Whether it is likely that the Commission on the System of Administration of the Army and Navy will report this Sitting; and, if not, whether he can state the probable date of report?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON (Lancashire, Rossendale): I am not quite certain whether it would be generally convenient that a Question as to the progress of inquiries by Royal Commissions should be addressed to

Members of those Commissions because they happen to have a seat in this House; and it might, perhaps, be more convenient as a general rule that they be addressed to some Member of the Government. As, in the present case, there is very little information to be given to the noble and gallant Lord on the subject, perhaps there would be no objection to my answering the Question. The Royal Commission sat several times before the Recess, and a large amount of information in documentary shape, embodying the opinions of a large number of gentlemen of great experience, has been obtained upon the subject. The Commission will meet again early next week, and I hope the Commissioners will be able to devote themselves very constantly during the remainder of the Session to the subject of inquiry. It is extremely improbable, however, that the Commission will be able to report before the end of the present year. At present it is impossible for me to indicate the probable date of the conclusion of our inquiry.

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE — THE CHIEF COMMISSIONER—ARTICLE IN "MURRAY'S MAGAZINE."

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to an article by the Chief Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, published in *Murray's Magazine* of this month, in which the Commissioner discusses the management and discipline of the police under his control, and makes disparaging remarks upon Members of the late Government; and, whether it is in accordance with the usage and discipline of the Civil Service that a salaried official should be permitted to publicly discuss matters relating to his Department, and disparage the conduct of ex-Ministers of the Crown; and, if not, whether he has seen fit to take any action in the matter?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): My attention has been called to the article in question. I am assured by the Commissioner that his statements are made without reference to Party; and he points out that one of the passages referred to by the hon. Member applies, on the face of it, to successive Governments, and not to any one Government in particular. With regard to the usages of the Civil Service as to the public discussion by salaried officials of matters which touch upon politics, I cannot do better than refer the hon. Member to an answer given by the First Lord of the Treasury in this House on the 15th of March of this year, where he will find the subject fully dealt with. In 1879 the then Home Secretary issued a Rule by which officers attached to the Department were precluded from publishing works relating to the Department without permission, and a copy was sent to the then Commissioner of Police. The present Commissioner, however, informs me that he was not aware of the existence of this Rule. I have accordingly drawn his attention to it, and have requested him to comply with it in future.

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE ROYAL NIGER COMPANY — LEVYING OF DUTIES.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to the heavy export duties imposed by the Royal Niger Company on produce shipped from the Brass River and other effluents of the Niger; whether it is true that since August 3, 1888, palm kernels have been charged 2*s.* per cwt., and whether the impost was only 2*d.* in 1886; whether it has been alleged by traders that the new duty amounts to 25 or 30 per cent on the net value of the goods as landed in Liverpool, after deducting cost of freight, insurance, and other charges, and whether there is any reason to regard this estimate as excessive; whether the Company also demands a payment of £100 a-year from Native traders for licence to trade where they and their fathers had been accustomed to trade freely; what was the total amount of duties levied on the Brass River between August, 1887, and August, 1888, and on what was the money expended; and whether the Secretary of State will use the powers conferred on him by Articles 13 and 14 of the Company's Charter, to prevent restraint of trade and interference with Native rights?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The Niger Company do not levy duties on goods imported by sea into the Brass River or any other outlet of the Niger, nor upon goods exported from them. The duty on palm kernels from the main Niger has been raised from 2*d.* to 2*s.* It has been alleged that this duty amounts to 25 per cent on the net value; but the Company say that it does not exceed 19 or 20 per cent—that is, £2 a-ton on a selling value of from £10 to £10 10*s.*; and they say that, considering the lowness of the cost price as compared with that in other districts, this duty is not excessive. The question, however, is being carefully examined. The Company do not demand a licence duty from Native traders of £100. The price has, at the suggestion of Her Majesty's Government, been fixed at £50 for one station, and £10 for each additional station. The licence is not paid by local Native traders, but by foreigners only. The Secretary of State will certainly exercise powers, should the necessity arise, to prevent restraint of trade and interference with Native rights.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY — BAYONETTING OF PATRICK AHERN.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that Patrick Ahern, who was killed in the town of Midleton by a bayonet wound inflicted by a policeman on the evening of Thursday, 1st November, swore in his dying deposition that he was not aware of any disturbance taking place until he was stabbed by the policeman; whether his attention has been called to the report that Ahern, after being stabbed, was pushed along the street, thrown down, and beaten by the police; that District Inspector Creaghe ordered the police to charge the people with fixed bayonets, notwithstanding the reiterated protest of the Rev. Father O'Donoghue that there was no justification of such conduct, as the disturbance was over; and that District Inspector Creaghe refused to allow Mr. E. Hallinan, J.P., and Mr. J. P. Leahy, solicitor for the next of kin, to inspect the weapons of the police for the purpose of identification of Ahern's assailant; and, whether Mr. Creaghe and the policemen engaged in the assault will be suspended pending an inquiry into their conduct?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, it would be manifestly improper to discuss in that House the circumstances of the case alluded to, pending the termination of the Coroner's inquest. His reply to the last paragraph of the Question was in the negative.

CRIMINAL LAW — COMMITTAL OF CHILDREN TO GAOL—NORTHALLERTON GAOL.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the statement made by Mr. John Hutton, J.P., at the Michaelmas Quarter Sessions for the North Riding of Yorkshire, that 40 boys and girls of 16 years of age and under were committed to Northallerton Gaol last year; that in one case a boy of 13 years of age was imprisoned for one month for being out poaching with his father; and in another case two boys, aged nine and seven years respectively, were sent to gaol for seven days for damaging growing turnips; and that 17 of the 40 cases were sent by one magistrate alone; what is the name of this magistrate, and for what Petty Sessional Division does he usually act; whether the Governor of Northallerton Gaol immediately reported to the Home Office, in accordance with his duty, each case of committal of a child under 14 years of age; and, what steps, if any, the Government propose to take in order to check the practice of sending to prison children of tender years?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): No, Sir; my attention has not been called to the statement in question; but I am informed by the Governor of the prison that in the year 1887 26 boys and two girls under the age of 16 years were committed to Northallerton Gaol. There were four cases of boys under 14, three of them being those quoted in the Question. Eleven of these cases were sent by the Stipendiary Magistrate of Middlesbrough (Mr. C. J. Coleman). All the four cases of children under 14 were immediately reported by the Governor of the prison and duly considered in the Home Office. Three of them were im-

prisoned in default of payment of a fine; the fourth was detained in the custody of the gaoler till the rising of the Court, when he was whipped. The Reformatory and Industrial Schools Bill now before the House of Lords contains provisions which will, I hope, reduce the number of young children sent to gaol.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—J. M. JOHNSON, M. J. CARROLL, AND H. COOPER.

MR. NOLAN (Louth, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, whether his attention has been called to the case of J. M. Johnson, M. J. Carroll, and Henry Cooper, who on the 1st of August last were tried in the town of Dundalk, in the County of Louth, Ireland, on a charge of using "violence and intimidation" to Mr. Emerson on the 20th of June last; whether the report of the trial is correct in stating that the offence consisted of "booing" Mr. Emerson, and that Mr. Emerson swore at the trial that the "booing" only lasted a few minutes, and that he was not frightened by it; and, whether Mr. J. M. Johnson was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment, which he is now undergoing, while Messrs. Carroll and Cooper were released on their own recognizances; and, if so, how does he account for the distinction made in dealing with persons charged with the same offence at the same time and in the same place. At the same time he wished to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department a Question of which he had given Notice—namely, What had been done in the case of the men who had hooted and pelted the ex-Prime Minister at Dover last December?

MR. SPEAKER: The latter Question was struck off the Paper by my direction.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said: I am informed that the three defendants named were charged with intimidation, and it was proved in the case of Johnson, who was the ringleader, that the intimidation consisted not only in "booing," but in inciting a hostile and excited crowd against the gentleman, who was a stranger to the place. Mr. Emerson did state that he was not frightened; but the clerk who accompanied him swore he himself was much frightened, and apprehended an attack upon Mr. Emerson. Johnson, when summoned in July for the offence, absconded, and the cases had to be adjourned. At the adjourned hearing Carroll and Cooper having pleaded "guilty," and it being proved that they did not interfere until urged on by Johnson, they were dealt with under the First Offenders Act, and discharged on their recognizances to come up for judgment when called upon. Johnson was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment, which was confirmed on appeal by the County Court Judge.

MR. NOLAN asked if the right hon. Gentleman had read the evidence given at the trial, seeing that his answer was not at all borne out by that evidence?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR asked that Notice should be given of any further Questions on the matter.

MR. NOLAN said, he should put a further Question at the earliest opportunity.

SWITZERLAND—THE SALVATION ARMY (MISS STERLING).

BARON DIMSDALE (Herts, Hitchin) (for Sir ROBERT FOWLER) (London) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of the Government has been called to the case of Miss Sterling, an officer of the Salvation Army, who has been sentenced to 100 days' imprisonment for conducting a children's service; and, whether the Secretary of State will make representations to the Swiss Government on the subject?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires is doing all that he can properly do in the circumstances of her case, and Miss Sterling's relations appear to be satisfied of this. We are informed that it is not the case that she received sentence of imprisonment for holding a children's service, but for holding public meetings, and for other acts, in violation of the law of the Canton.

AUSTRALASIA—CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any Correspondence has passed between the Foreign Office and the Chinese Govern-

ment on the question of Chinese immigration to Australia; if so, whether he is in a position to lay such Correspondence upon the Table?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Such Correspondence has been published by the Colonial Office in a Blue Book headed *Australasia*. I do not think that the later Correspondence is sufficiently advanced to render a further publication desirable.

INDIA OFFICE — COMPETITION FOR INDIAN STAMPED PAPERS, &c.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the competition for stamped papers, post cards, wrappers and envelopes, to be supplied to the Indian Government, has been decided; whether the figures in the tenders bear out Mr. Purcell's figures, given as estimates in his evidence before the Select Committee on the Revenue Departments in April last; and, who is the successful competitor?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) referred the hon. Gentleman to the Under Secretary of State for India.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — THE VOLUNTEERS—LENGTH OF SERVICE.

COLONEL EYRE (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that the average length of service of the Volunteers is only three years; and, whether he would object to lay upon the Table a Return showing which corps were below this average?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): The average length of service of the whole Volunteer Force on November 1, 1887, was four years and nine months; and, looking to the fact that the great majority of Volunteer corps enrol their men under agreement for a certain period (in no case less that three years), it is extremely unlikely that any corps would be found in which the average service of the members is so low as three years.

POST OFFICE (SCOTLAND)—THE NORTH MAIL.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Postmaster General, If he would state why it is that the down London Day Mail, combined with the Scotch Night Mail for the Counties of Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland, Caithness, and Orkney, &c., is allowed to lie at Inverness two-and-a-half hours every morning, instead of being sent on at once on arrival of the train from Perth at 6.30 a.m.?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University), in reply), said, the Highland Railway Company had, since the 1st of October last, accelerated for the purposes of their own traffic the train in question for the first portion of its journey—that is, from Perth to Inverness, where it now arrives at half-past 6 instead of 8 o'clock as previously. The Company have not as yet seen fit to carry the acceleration beyond Inverness.

SUGAR BOUNTIES CONVENTION—ADHESION OF BELGIUM.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Belgium has given her adhesion to the Sugar Convention unreservedly; and, if not, what is her position with respect to it?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.) (who replied) said: The assent of Belgium was given subject to the course taken by other Powers, and to the results of the Special Commission. The particulars were published in *The Gazette* of September 4, page 5,007.

TRADE AND MANUFACTURE—THE SALT SYNDICATE.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether Her Majesty's Government have considered and taken the advice of their Law Officers on the question whether combinations of capitalists to establish monopolies, and raise the price of salt and other articles by means of rings or trusts, are offences against the Law of Conspiracy, or against the laws making penal proceedings in restraint of trade in salt or other articles of consumption; and, if so, whether measures will be taken to protect the public against the salt and other rings now being formed?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): The Government have no information before

them which would justify them in taking the course which the hon. Member's Question suggests.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: I beg to give notice that I shall take the earliest opportunity of calling attention to the subject.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): Is the right hon. Gentleman not aware that there is a decided case in the Law Reports of conviction for combination to raise the price of salt?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: That might be. What I said was that we had no information before us which would justify us in referring the case to the Law Officers of the Crown for their consideration. Every particular case will be dealt with according to its merits.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that one of the prominent promoters of this Association wrote to *The Times*, stating that the purpose was to get a more remunerative price for salt?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: That may be.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—THE KENMARE TENANTRY—COLONEL TURNER.

MR. ROWNTREE (Scarborough) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been directed to a letter purporting to be written by Colonel Turner to Mr. Solomon Scannell on behalf of the Kenmare tenantry, dated October 30, 1888, promising that the case of the tenantry should be put "before the proper people," and containing a further promise in the following words:—

"If they (the tenantry) abstained from taking any part whatever in a fraudulent conspiracy called the Plan of Campaign; . . . . . And if, further, they ceased to have any dealings with agitators who, for their own selfish ends, are endeavouring to push unfortunate tenants to their ruin, I would do all in my power to get their case fairly put forward;"

and, whether such a letter was written by Colonel Turner as alleged, and if so, whether the Government intend to take any steps with regard to Colonel Turner's action in the matter?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR (Manchester, E.)): I understand that the correspondence between Colonel Turner and Mr. Scannell has been published in the newspapers. The Government does not intend to take any steps with regard to Colonel Turner's action in the matter.

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—RAIDS ON THE SULYMAH DISTRICT.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether his attention has been called to the following passage in a letter, dated from Manchester, and signed James F. Hutton, which appeared in *The Times*, of the 5th instant:—

"Four weeks back, at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce in this city, an English merchant, speaking in the presence of the Governor of Sierra Leone, relative to the action last year of a piratical chief at Sherbro, said, 'He swept down and took 900 captives out of British territory, 700 women and children and 200 men, all British subjects. Not a finger has been lifted to rescue these people from captivity, and the majority of them are in captivity to this day.' This statement was not contradicted at the time. It was published next day, but still remains unnoticed;"

and, if he would inform the House whether there is any, and, if so, what, foundation for the statement referred to?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): My attention has been called to the letter. It is to be presumed that the speaker referred to the raid made on the Sulymah District in April of last year, the details of which are given at length in No. 80 of Blue Book C. 5,236. There is no information in the Colonial Office showing that 900 British subjects, or any similar number, were carried off by the raiders; but some were, no doubt, carried away. It was decided that there was no such prospect of effectually punishing the raiders and preventing further attacks as would justify a prolonged and very costly expedition to a long distance into the interior; but the Governor has been instructed to consider how a defensive force may best be organized; and, in the meantime, all practicable temporary measures have been taken.

INDIA—THREATENED FAMINE.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether any information has been received at the India Office regarding a threatened famine in Goojerat, Kankan, Kattyawar, and elsewhere; and, whether it is true, as stated, that

"great scarcity, bordering on famine," already prevails in Orissa; that the Government has been memorialised from Aska to open relief works and provide military protection; and that the collector of Vizagapatam has telegraphed for troops?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): In reply to a telegram from the Secretary of State, the Government of India reported, on the 30th of October, that in Goojerat (which, for the present purpose, includes Kattyawar) the situation was unsatisfactory, but nowhere critical. Distress in Khurda and Orissa had diminished, and position improved owing to heavy rain, but the paddy crop was not yet out of danger. Condition in Ganjam (North-East Madras) was critical, and distress might come later; but price of staple food had fallen. No information has been received of any scarcity in Kankan. Since that date telegrams have been received from the Government of India, dated 3rd, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th of November, reporting heavy rainfalls in North-East Madras and Orissa, which still continue. Reports have been received by post showing that, owing to a failure of crops in the Khurda sub-division of Orissa, a relief system was organized early in August last, and 76 relief works were opened, gratuitous relief being also given to about 1,000 people daily who were unable to work. The Secretary of State has no information as to a Memorial from Aska, nor as to any necessity for military intervention.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) ACT—RELIEF OF LOCAL TAXATION.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, What is the estimated total of the sums which will be handed over to the Local Authorities in England in connection with the new Local Government Act, either directly from the Exchequer or in the form of a diversion of the product of certain taxes, and when will the first payments be made to the Local Authorities; and, what is the total of the sum which will be handed over to the Local Authorities in Ireland, and when will the first payment be made.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): The hon. Member does not state whether his Question refers to the provisional arrangement for the present year only, or to future years also. For the present year there will be handed over to Local Authorities in England 80 per cent. of one-third of the proceeds of the Probate Duty, amounting, if the Budget Estimate of that duty be realized, to £1,136,000. Payments into the local taxation account of the share of the Probate Duty just mentioned have commenced within the last few weeks. Up to the end of last week £150,000 has been paid out of the Exchequer to that account. The sum to be handed over in aid of local taxation in Ireland is 9 per cent of one-third of the Probate Duty. On the basis of the original Estimate it would amount for the present year to £127,800. A Bill will shortly be introduced to empower the Government to pay over this sum to Ireland, and the corresponding sum to Scotland, as it has been already empowered to do in the case of England by the Local Government Bill. In future years the amount to be paid to Local Authorities, whether in England, Ireland, or Scotland, will be increased by 50 per cent, as one-half, instead of one-third, of the Probate Duty will then be available for the relief of local taxation. In England and Wales a further sum of between £2,900,000 and £3,000,000, representing the produce of certain licences specified in the Local Government Bill, will be handed over to the Local Authorities. But, on the other hand, Grants in Aid, which in the year 1887-8 amounted to £2,870,000, will be withdrawn.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked, when the Bill would be introduced?

MR. GOSCHEN said, he hoped it would be introduced in a very few days.

LAW AND JUSTICE—HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE (CHANCERY DIVISION)—WRITTEN AFFIRMATIONS.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether he is aware that, on October 30, in a case pending in the Chancery Division, Practice Master Jenkins refused to receive a written affirmation from a person without religious belief, such person

being a Trustee needing to verify a payment into Court, on the ground that the Evidence Amendment Acts, 1869 and 1870, only apply to oral evidence; and, whether Practice Master Jenkins was legally justified in such refusal?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I have looked into the matter since the Question of the hon. Member appeared upon the Paper, and my present impression is that the practice as laid down by Master Jenkins is right, and, if so, some amendment of the law may be desirable; but I think there is a means of obviating the difficulty without the necessity of further legislation.

PUBLIC BUSINESS—HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES BILL.

LORD HENRY BRUCE (Wilts, Chippenham) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government are prepared, during this present Session of Parliament, to afford facilities for discussing the Bill to further amend the law relating to the dwellings of the working classes, and the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Acts, 1875 to 1885?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I regret it is not in the power of Her Majesty's Government to afford facilities this Session for the discussion of the Bill amending the law in regard to the improvement of artizans' and labourers' dwellings.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked, whether the Government, during the Recess, would consider the propriety of bringing in a Bill to consolidate and amend the numerous Acts referring to this subject?

MR. W. H. SMITH requested Notice of the Question.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTABLISHMENTS—THE ROYAL COMMISSION—SECOND REPORT.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is intended to give effect, at an early date, to the recommendations contained in the Second Report of the Royal Commission on Civil Service Establishments?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Report of the Royal Commission to which my hon. Friend calls attention was only distributed on the 28th of September last. It consists of no less than 127 paragraphs, many of them containing recommendations of the greatest importance. These recommendations will, of course, receive the most careful consideration of Her Majesty's Government; but, inasmuch as they affect both the Public Business of the country and the interests of large classes of public servants, I am sure that my hon. Friend will agree that proper time must be given for consideration.

MR. HANBURY (Preston): Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether the Government have considered the First Report, issued nearly a year ago?

MR. W. H. SMITH: We shall take the two together.

SUGAR BOUNTIES—THE SPECIAL COMMISSION (EXPENSES).

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the time when the Special Commission on the Sugar Bounties is to meet, the Government intend, during the present Session, to propose any Vote for the expenses of the Commission?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It will not be necessary to propose any Vote for the expenses of the Special Commission on the Sugar Bounties.

MR. PICTON: Will any money be expended before a Vote of this House is taken?

MR. W. H. SMITH: What money?

MR. PICTON: For the expenses of the Commission.

MR. W. H. SMITH: There are practically no expenses.

In reply to Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton),

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that any small expenses incurred were paid out of the Vote for Special Commissions, or out of the ordinary Vote for the Foreign Office.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): Do the Government not intend to stand by their pledge, and give the House an opportunity of discussing the whole question?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The Government are in the habit of standing by their pledges.

MR. CONYBEARE: Does the right hon. Gentleman intend to give the House any opportunity this Session of discussing this question at all?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Not this Session.

MR. CONYBEARE: When is it proposed that the Convention shall be ratified?

MR. W. H. SMITH: That will not be during the present Session.

SUPPLY—THE EDUCATION ESTIMATES.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he would postpone the Education Estimates until next week. Friday was an inconvenient day; and in consequence of the issue of the Report of the Royal Commission they were, he thought, entitled to two nights for discussing the Estimates. It would be a good plan to take two consecutive nights; and, therefore, he asked that the Estimates might be taken next week.

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, that he was always anxious to meet the views of any hon. Gentleman who took an interest in this question; but public Notice was given on Tuesday last that the Education Estimates would be taken on Friday, and it would be exceedingly unfair to hon. Members who were under the impression that this arrangement would be carried out to make any alteration. He ventured to express the hope that the debate would not extend over two nights; because the Government would not be able to enter into a discussion of the Report of the Royal Commission. Sufficient time had not elapsed to justify them in doing so, and they strongly deprecated any debate upon a question with which they were at present unable to deal.

MR. C. T. D. ACLAND (Cornwall, Launceston) asked the First Lord of the Treasury to reconsider his statement.

MR. W. H. SMITH regretted that he was obliged to adhere to the order which he had announced. If on Tuesday last, or even yesterday, an appeal had been made to him, it would have been considered. He desired to consult the general convenience of the House, and it would be most unfair to alter now the arrangements made on Tuesday last.

EXCISE DUTIES (LOCAL PURPOSES) BILL—THE WHEEL AND VAN TAXES.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.): I beg to ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Government intend to persevere in their Wheel Tax proposals; and, if so, when the second reading of the Bill will be moved?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): I understand the natural impatience of the hon. Member with regard to this matter; but I am not in a position to name a day when the Bill will be proceeded with. I will consult with my right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith), and name the earliest possible day.

MR. CAUSTON said it was not his own impatience, but the public outside were most anxious for information.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE NAVY ESTIMATES.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, When the Navy Estimates would be taken?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, that he was not yet in a position to fix a day.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £185,977, to complete the sum for Stationery and Printing.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he hoped that in reference to the last paragraph in the Vote—namely, the advances in aid of the publication of the Parliamentary Debates, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would kindly tell the Committee what the Government intended to do. The sum put down in the Vote was £6,100. He believed that the Treasury had given notice to Mr. Hansard that his contract

would expire at the end of the year. Was it to be understood that another sum of £6,100 was intended to be advanced next year? He took it that they were to have a new system of reporting the Debates introduced, and he wished to know whether the Treasury intended to adopt the Report of the majority or of the minority Member of the Joint Committee which sat to consider the question? Were they taking an Estimate for a report similar to the one which was supplied at present, so far as the cost was concerned; was it to be a full or a condensed report, and had any arrangement been made to prevent the same kind of imperfect Reports from being given in the future as had been given in the past. The reports hitherto had been simply disgraceful. He knew something personally of condensed reports; but, in the case of the reports of the Parliamentary debates, the condensation has generally consisted of taking some lines out of one paragraph and adding them to something else in another paragraph, which was a very different thing from condensation. What he wanted to get at now was the position of the Government, and whether they intended to enter into a contract on the basis of an advance of £5,000 a-year, which would ensure the preparation of full and accurate reports.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he should be very glad, in answer to the question of the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark), to state the position in which the matter stood, although he thought he had yesterday practically gone into the matter in answer to a question that was put to him when the Vote first came on for discussion. He wished, in the first instance, to correct a misapprehension the hon. Member appeared to be labouring under, which might mislead the Committee. The money which the Committee were asked to vote now was not for next year, but for the current financial year. The sum about to be voted was wanted for the payment of the work done this year. In reference to the future, it would be within the knowledge of the Committee that a Joint Select Committee of both Houses was appointed to consider the whole question of reporting and publishing of the Debates and Proceedings of Parliament. That Committee went most carefully, thoroughly, and exhaustively into the whole question. A great many witnesses were examined, and the Committee obtained, he thought, all the information necessary to enable them to come to a sound decision. They had made a Report. One Member of the Committee did, in some way, dissent from the views of the majority, but there was only one dissentient; and, since the presentation of the Report, the Government had decided upon giving effect to the recommendations contained in it. In pursuance of those recommendations they had asked for tenders in accordance with the specifications put before the Committee; and, under those specifications, the preparation and publication of the reports of the proceedings and debates in Parliament would in future be carried on, in the same way and on the same lines as heretofore. He said in the same way and on the same lines as regarded the work being done by the contractor, and the Government having no official responsibility for it. The report would not in any shape be an official report. Tenders had been asked for and tenders had been received. No decision had yet been come to, and he was not at present in a position to tell the Committee what the decision of the Government upon these tenders would be. He believed, however, that the arrangement that would be made would be found satisfactory. They had made provision that in future the reports, while following the lines hitherto observed, should be much more full than they had been in the past, and care had been taken to provide—he believed that the Members of the Committee would confirm him in this—that Members who had hitherto been considered not to require or not to deserve a long report, should be proportionately reported. Of course this provision would probably tend to enlarge the extent of the volumes. He should like to take this opportunity of expressing his own opinion—and he believed it was the opinion of the Committee generally—that if the new arrangement should be to terminate their connection with Mr. Hansard, his opinion was that the work

done in the past had been of great service to the House and to the public. As far as he was concerned, he should part with Mr. Hansard with very great regret. Of course it was not always possible to continue an old and long standing arrangement, much as some hon. Members might wish to do so, for the times had changed. At the same time, he might say, on behalf of the Treasury, that they had always received from Mr. Hansard, as far as it was in his power, the greatest courtesy and assistance upon any question that may have arisen. Mr. Hansard was so well known and had so long occupied an honourable position in connection with the debates and proceedings of Parliament that he was justified in saying that in the past he had conferred a great benefit upon the public. The Vote now before the Committee was to defray the cost of the work that was being done in the present Session, and the new arrangement would come into force next year.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) said, he thought it would be for the convenience of the Committee if the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would state the number of tenders sent in under the new arrangement. He would not presume to ask the names of those who had sent in tenders.

MR. JACKSON said, he had no personal objection to state the number of tenders, but the hon. Member would see that if he was to proceed with the negotiations it would be better to withhold the information he possessed for the present.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) said, he wished to call attention to a subject which had been referred to yesterday, namely, an item of £10,000 for receipts from the sale of waste paper. Hundreds of thousands of newspapers and illustrated magazines were posted annually for the Colonies, India, and all parts of the Kingdom and the Continent, but owing to insufficiency of stamps and other causes were not delivered. These newspapers and magazines were carted off and sold as waste paper, and the proceeds, which amounted to several thousands of pounds, were handed over to the Stationery Office. It would be a sensible and just thing to credit this amount to the Post Office, instead of placing it every year under the head of the Stationery Office. He should be glad if his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury would tell the Committee who the contractor for this waste paper was.

MR. JACKSON said, that these questions were asked yesterday, and he must apologize to his hon. Friend if he had omitted to answer them. If he understood his hon. Friend rightly, he asked that some reconsideration should be given to the question of dealing with waste paper in connection with the Public Offices. He must point out that the waste paper was not confined to Blue Books and Parliamentary Papers, but included all the waste paper of every Department. It had been found desirable that it should be dealt with from one centre and by one Department. Accordingly, the waste paper was now drawn to the Stationery Office and dealt with by that Department. In regard to some portion of it, it was thought desirable that, in the interests of the State, it should be torn up and destroyed. As was suggested by his hon. Friend, it was quite open for consideration whether the present system of disposing of it was the best that could be adopted. It was certainly doubtful whether it could be the most economical or the best course to send waste paper from the Post Office in Glasgow to London. It would be better, probably, to dispose of it in Glasgow. That was a suggestion well worth considering, and he would consider it with the view of ascertaining whether any alteration of the present system was desirable.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked, whether the House would be afforded any opportunity of discussing the proposed new Parliamentary reports? Would the present Vote be applicable to payments under the new Vote, and would it apply to reports of the debates of both Houses?

MR. JACKSON said, the course he proposed to take in regard to the new Reports was, that when the Government had arrived at a decision, a copy of the contract should be laid upon the Table for the information of the House. Of course the charge would continue to be borne by the Stationery Office.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire) said, he thought it would be satisfactory for the Committee to know whether the new contract would be made with printers or with reporters. For his own part, he

thought it would be more prudent to deal with reporters, to whom the House would be principally indebted for good work. The reporters would have the important part of the work rather than the printers, who were more concerned with the mechanical part of the work. He did not think that the reporters should be made altogether subsidiary to the printers and printing. There should be a competent staff of reporters, educated to the work. Such a system would be much better than to leave the matter in the hands of a printer, with whom the quality of the reporting might be a minor consideration.

DR. CLARK said, that another important point was to require the contractor to employ his own reporters, and not to continue the present floating system of taking the reports from whatever source they could be obtained. A few years ago he was told by Mr. Cornelius Buck, the publisher of *Hansard's Debates*, that the size of the reports depended upon the number of copies sold, and that if more Members took copies they would have bigger reports. What he wanted to get at was what the nature of the future reports was to be—whether they were to have reporters who would report both before and after 12 o'clock at night, and whether the reports prepared would be irrespective of the number of copies sold.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, he could assure hon. Members that all these questions had been fully and exhaustively gone into by the Joint Committee. He quite agreed and believed that all the Members of the House would desire to endorse what the Secretary to the Treasury had said in regard to the services Mr. Hansard had rendered to the House and the public. A similar feeling prevailed among the Members of the Committee. The impression was that the Report of the Debates might be made more complete and more ample than they had been; and it had, therefore, been thought best to put the work up to public tender in order to arrive at the natural profit which was to be derived from it. The hon. Member for Forfarshire asked the Government to place the work in the hands of a reporter. Various estimates of cost had been put before the Committee, and it was on that ground that they had thought it advisable to submit the matter to public tender. It was almost unavoidable that the tenders should be sent in by printers—he did not think it possible to take them from the actual reporters. There must be some middle man, whether he was a reporter or a printer, who would have to be responsible for the reports. He believed that the reports, although they would not be verbatim, would be much more complete than they were at present. If it were not wrong to compare the reporters to "swine," he might say that sometimes hon. Members "cast their pearls before swine." It was considered desirable that there should be a fair report of what every Member said, whether he happened to talk sense or nonsense; and, if he remembered rightly, the Committee had laid down that a minimum proportion—he thought three-fourths—of what a Member said should be reported. [An hon. MEMBER: One-third.] Every hon. Member would thus have a report of what he said equal in length to three-fourths of his utterances. Whether anybody would read it when it was reported, he really did not know. He had been a Member of the Committee himself, and, for his own part, he thought the reports should be a great deal shorter than that. He might tell the House that, as a matter of fact, the British public did not take a great amount of interest in what went on in that House. There was a time when important debates took place, of which it was desirable that a complete record should be kept, and the daily newspapers printed extra copies in order to meet the demand of the public. Nothing of the sort occurred now, and no newspaper printed extra copies on account of the Parliamentary debates, because there was no demand for them. As a matter of fact, the newspaper reports were reduced to a minimum. A newspaper was a business undertaking, and the business of newspapers was to give to the public what the public wanted. He could assure the Committee that, with rare exceptions, there was no such bad "copy" for newspapers as an ordinary report of what went on in that House. He thought the new system recommended by the Joint Committee would work well; but he hoped the Government would not consider themselves bound to accept the lowest tender.

On the contrary, it was desirable that they should look into the matter thoroughly, and secure a satisfactory and highly efficient Report. He might add that the Report of the Committee was unanimous, with the exception of one Member; and if the system recommended by the Committee were tried, he was satisfied that it would meet the views of the House.

MR. GILL (Louth, S.) (who was almost inaudible) was understood to ask for information in reference to the publication of the Brehon Laws. He wished to know if the Government were prepared to accept the suggestion that the work should not be published until it was completed, which would not be for three years to come. A suggestion was made last year that each volume should be published as soon as it was completed, and personally he was of opinion that that would be the best course to adopt. If that were done the House would have an opportunity of judging whether the translation was carried out in a satisfactory manner or not. If no judgment was to be taken until the whole work was completed, it would then be impossible to amend any defect which it might contain. He saw no reason whatever why the Reports of the Brehon Commission should not be given to the public as each volume was completed. There could be no advantage in keeping the work in manuscript, instead of having it set up in type, and placed in the hands of the public volume by volume. He believed that great progress had been made with the translation, and if the Government were not prepared to publish the work as far as it had gone, he hoped that some good reason would be given in justification for the delay. The translation was undertaken by Dr. O'Donovan and Dr. O'Curry, two of the greatest Celtic scholars who had ever lived, and trusted that the work itself would not be subjected on that account to alterations at the hands of the present editors. The text was of the utmost value in its original form, and should be left as it was. He thought that no one had a right to tamper with the text of the manuscripts prepared by two such eminent scholars, although the editor would have a perfect right, in foot-notes, to make corrections. It would be a great mistake, and a most imprudent step, to tamper with the text. He had no wish in making these observations to say a word that would reflect upon the learned professor who was discharging the editorial work. He found, after inquiries in Dublin, that, on the whole, the work, being in Professor Atkinson's hands, was in the hands of the best available man, and he was glad to take this opportunity of withdrawing the strictures which he felt bound to make with regard to Professor Atkinson when this matter was last before the House. He recognized that the Glossary to the Brehonic literature which Professor Atkinson was engaged in making would be a work of the utmost value to students of this subject. His chief object in mentioning the matter was to secure, if possible, that each volume should be published in the ordinary course as soon as it was ready, and should not be withheld from the public for three years, which was the period mentioned for the completion of the work.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) said, there was one point in connection with this Vote that he wished to mention, and that was the insufficient number of the copies of Parliamentary Papers placed in the Library and available for the use of the House. For instance, he had endeavoured to obtain a copy of the Report of the Joint Committee on Parliamentary Reporting, but it was not on the shelf of the Library, and when he asked for another copy he was told that there was never more than one copy supplied. It appeared to him that it was an improper limitation of the number of copies available that there should be only one on the shelf of the Library, and he heard that there was some objection to bring in even that one copy. He knew that the space available was limited, but there were vacant spaces on the shelves in the Lobbies, and he certainly thought that some of the Parliamentary Papers might be placed there, so that hon. Members should not be confined to a single copy.

MR. JACKSON said, he knew that great interest was taken in the subject of the Brehon Laws, and he would take care that the observations of the hon. Member (Mr. Gill) were brought before the Commission. He understood the point of the hon. Member to be that when one volume was ready it should be published without waiting for the

completion of the work. So far as the Treasury were concerned, of course they could have no objection. All they had to guard against was that they did not pay for the work beforehand. The rule was to pay for it as it was done. So far, therefore, as the Treasury were concerned, it would make no difference whether the work were published volume by volume or when completed.

MR. GILL said, the hon. Gentleman had not quite comprehended the point of his remarks. At present they were asked to vote a sum of £200 towards the preparation of the work, which they could only know was done when they saw it published, and it had been announced that it would take three years to complete. Why should they be asked for £200 a-year for work which might have been done, but which they had no means of knowing had been done.

MR. JACKSON said, he would make inquiries with a view of ascertaining whether the wish of the hon. Member could not be complied with, and each volume published as it was completed. With reference to the point raised by the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton), he would point out that the Librarian of the House was the proper person to consult. The copies of Reports that were placed in the Library was not a matter under the control of the Government; but was rather within the cognizance of the Authorities of the House. If it were possible to comply with the wish of the hon. Member, he had no doubt it would be done.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he wished to refer to a question which was raised upon this Vote yesterday—namely, the supply of Blue Books. He was afraid that Her Majesty's Government had displayed a disposition to restrict the supply of Blue Books, and he agreed with the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. J. M. Maclean) that it would be a great mistake to attempt to effect any petty saving in that respect. He had that evening, and upon other occasions, put questions to the Government in reference to the Slave Trade in Africa. It was a subject which excited great interest, not only in Africa and this country, but throughout the world. He was told by the Government that special Papers had been issued, and on going to the Library he found that a Paper, No. 1, 1888, giving a certain amount of information had been issued during the Recess. It was one of the Papers which had not been circulated among Members; but which Members could obtain on application. During the Recess, he was naturally absent from London, attending to the interests of his constituents, and he was, therefore, not aware what Papers had been issued for which it was necessary that he should apply. This Paper, therefore, never came into his possession until he made inquiries about it in the Library. He sincerely trusted that the Government did not intend to effect economy by depriving hon. Members of their Blue Books. He should like to understand what Her Majesty's Government did propose with regard to the Committee for dealing with the question of Parliamentary Papers. He understood the Representative of the Government to say that they were quite willing to appoint a Committee. He hoped they would do so without further delay, so that the question might be expeditiously considered.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL (A LORD of the TREASURY) (Wigton) said, he thought the hon. Gentleman could have hardly understood the explanation which was given yesterday. The proposal was not to deprive hon. Members of any Papers if they desired to receive them, or to prevent any Member of the House, if he so wished, from receiving all the Papers that were printed. If he wished to have them he had only to give an indication of his wishes to the Clerk at the Vote Office, and he would continue to receive them. It was evident, however, from the course of the debate yesterday, that the majority of Members felt the present supply of Papers to be somewhat burdensome, and that they would be glad to be relieved of so great a bulk by the exercise of their own discrimination. It was proposed that a list of all Papers printed should be sent round daily to Members, from which Members would make their own selection. In case an hon. Member did not wish to make a selection, but to receive all, he had only to give notice of his wishes. In regard to the question put to the Government as to the appointment of a Select Committee, the desire of the Government was that the Printing Committee should be allowed to exercise an effective control

over the Printing Department. The style of printing might there be regulated, and he believed thus was great room for economy in that respect, so far as the size of the type, and so on, were concerned. He hoped before long that the Committee would be able to carry out an effective arrangement.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he did not quite understand the reply of the hon. Baronet to the question of his hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell). He was not able to be present in the House yesterday; but he had carefully read all that passed, and he did not think the Government were justified in giving a decided expression of opinion in what was merely a strictly limited House yesterday afternoon assembled just after a long Adjournment. The opinion expressed by hon. Members under such circumstances could not be taken as anything like an expression of the whole feeling of the House as to the desirability of effecting a change in the distribution of Official information. He was quite prepared to support the appointment of a Committee; but he certainly did object to the plan shadowed forth by the hon. Baronet, that Members should be supplied with a slip of paper every morning, from which they were to find out what they wanted, and determine what Papers they would be supplied with. There were a great many Parliamentary Papers, the value of which could not be known until they were actually in the hands of hon. Members. Upon this question he might, perhaps, be allowed to say a word or two, because he had presided over a Committee which sat on the stationery question a few years ago, and he was able to give his testimony that the enormous expense of this Department did not proceed from the official printing required for the information of Members of the House. He had investigated the amount expended in Returns, and he had found it to be infinitesimal as compared with the general expenditure. When hon. Members asked for Returns and general information, and were told in reply that their wishes could not be complied with on account of the expense, they might be certain that the plea was unreal. There were a great many Blue Books giving in duplication year after year a vast mass of statistical information, which, if given every three or five years, might be valuable. Hon. Members had to look into what were known as a short list and a long list. He did not understand upon what rule this list was prepared, or who was responsible for it; but he was satisfied that a number of Papers and Books might well be put in the short list, while there were in the short list Papers which ought to be in the hands of every hon. Member. He did not see why the Printing Committee should not look into the whole question of this official literature and its due distribution; but he did object to an expression of an opinion in a thin House on a Wednesday afternoon—[*Cries of* "No!"]—being taken as an expression of the general opinion of the House. He would not contradict the hon. Member who said "No;" but it was stated in the newspapers that the attendance was small, and that a quorum was not formed until the Speaker had been waiting for some time. The matter was one that was well worth considering, but he hoped that hon. Gentlemen would not be deluded by the idea that the enormous expenditure for stationery arose from the printing of Parliamentary Papers. A far greater saving might be effected in the cost of the stationery and printing of the House of Commons if the Treasury would invest the Stationery Department with a greater amount of control than it had at present. The rule of the War Office might be followed, and a strict investigation made into the printing and stationery arrangements of the other Departments, and a saving might be effected vastly greater than any sum that could be got by restricting the distribution of Parliamentary Papers. He hoped the Government would not proceed with precipitancy, and he thought it would be wise for a Committee to sit on the whole question, the Printing Committee being as good as any other for the purpose. The question had not been properly discussed, and there was a great deal more in it than might appear at first sight. He was most anxious to reduce expenditure, and by the proposed plan, perhaps, from £8,000 to £10,000 a-year might be saved. But a great deal larger saving might be

Sir Herbert Maxwell

effected by preventing waste and regulating the quality of the paper. He did not believe that any restriction of official information would be wise; and when hon. Members pressed for Returns, although the subjects to which they related might appear trivial, a great deal of time was saved by supplying the information which it was certainly the duty of the Government Departments to supply.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that if his right hon. Friend had been in the House yesterday he would have observed that the House, although small, was a very intelligent one. Was he to continue to be pestered with Blue Books, and have his hall "bunged" up with Parliamentary Papers because his right hon. Friend wished to read them? At the same time, he wished his right hon. Friend to understand that no one was anxious to prevent him from reading the Blue Books morning, noon, and night. All that was asked was that hon. Members should go to the Office and say—"I wish to be supplied with all the Blue Books," and he would continue to receive them. Why should he (Mr. Labouchere) be compelled to have them if he did not want them? A sage had once divided the world into two categories—the wise men, who read few books; and the foolish men, who read many books. He himself was in the first category, but his right hon. Friend insisted upon being in the other. He was sorry for him. The new system might, at least, be given a reasonable trial, and then, if it were not approved of, the old system could be reverted to. It would most unquestionably save the money of the State, and it left it to the option of every Member of the House to say whether he would take the whole of the Papers or not.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he altogether differed from the view which had been expressed by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). The hon. Member wished to be supplied only with the Books and Papers he chose to ask for, but he (Sir George Campbell) would put the matter in another shape. He did not wish to have the responsibility of saying that he did not want a certain Blue Book. He thought every hon. Member should have the whole of the Blue Books if he wanted them, and it was for his hon. Friend and those who thought with him to take upon themselves the responsibility of saying that they did not want them. It was not necessary that much more should be said on the general question. It was quite understood that the Printing Committee was to be called together. He maintained that it was monstrous that a Member who desired to call attention to such an important question as the African Slave Trade should be told that the Papers had been docketed as if they were of very little importance, by they did not know whom—perhaps by the Librarian or by some clerk in the Library. There were many very important Papers that were not placed in the long list, which hon. Members should have facilities for obtaining. He could only hope that the Printing Committee would deal with the matter thoroughly.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, that if the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) would read the Votes daily he would find that a list was given of the Papers issued, and that he could obtain them if he chose to apply for them.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was one of the foolish people who did read the Parliamentary Papers; but when he was absent from London for a few weeks he did not see the Votes. In regard to the Paper on the African Slave Trade, he had never seen that it had been issued until he came down to the House, nor had he any opportunity of knowing that it had been issued.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £8,314, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, and of the Office of Land Revenue Records and Inrolments."

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, that this Vote was a very important one and involved the expenditure of several thousands of pounds. It related to land and property which were handed over to the State at the commencement

of the Reign for administration, so that they might be managed properly and as much as possible got out of them. Now, some of the accounts connected with these Offices were never submitted to the House of Commons, and the Vote only gave the salaries and expenses incurred in the Office of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues. There was, indeed, an account which was placed in the Library of the House, but he did not think it was to be found among the Papers that were distributed to Members. At any rate, he would call attention to one fact which showed what little regard was paid to these accounts. Some years ago he had a conversation with a former Secretary to the Treasury about some items of this kind, and, pointing to a particular sum, the hon. Gentleman said—"Why, I never saw it." Although he had been Secretary to the Treasury for some years, he said he had never seen the item to which reference was made before in his life. The attention of Parliament had in recent years been repeatedly drawn to this subject, and no doubt the present Secretary to the Treasury had looked into it, but it could not be expected that other hon. Members should be acquainted with the manner in which the Crown estates were administered, or whether they were administered in the most economical manner or not. He saw that in the legal branch the Solicitor got for himself an annual salary of £1,500, with incidental expenses amounting to £1,195. This gentleman had, he presumed, to consult counsel, instead of acting on his own opinion, because there was an item in the Vote of £2,115 for fees to counsel, and the year previously the amount paid in the same way was £1,160. Now, it did appear to him that if they were to have a legal gentleman at a salary of £1,500 a-year, with clerks under him and incidental expenses, this gentleman ought to be able to form his own opinion without consulting counsel. That, however, was a matter of detail. He proposed to give a few instances to show what the Department really cost, and what the actual expenditure was. Windsor Park and Woods covered 22 square miles; one-third consisted of pasture land and the other of woodland and woods. Pasture land in the neighbourhood of Windsor was of very great value, and many gentlemen would be glad to have it for nothing, and would make a good deal of money out of it. Let the Committee see what the expenditure upon Windsor Park was. The total receipts from the 22 acres fell considerably short of the total expenditure, which amounted to £23,337. When he had drawn attention to this circumstance in a previous Session he was asked to look at the roads. The roads cost £8,358, and setting aside that sum they received £1,300 less than they spent upon the administration of Windsor Park. If hon. Members would look into the various items they would not be surprised that this was the case, seeing that they included the salaries of a deputy ranger, park-keepers, game-keepers, and other officials who had been foisted upon this item of expenditure. Going further, he found that there were charges for the maintenance of new works and improvements, for a covered way at Ascot, and for drainage at Cumberland Lodge. Why were they to provide a covered way at Ascot, which, he presumed, meant to the racecourse, or for the drainage of Cumberland Lodge? It must be remembered that this was property which the State had taken over for the purpose of administering it economically, and to get as much money from it as possible. A further item was for the laying on of water to Ascot stables and stand, and for the repair of the Royal stables and kennels. The last item was, he believed, in connection with the stag hounds, under the control of the Master of the Buckhounds, the Vote for which came out of the Civil List; but why should the country be called upon to pay for the maintenance of the stables and kennels? Then there was a contribution of £500 for food for game. When he had called attention to this item before, the explanation of the Treasury was somewhat remarkable, and he would take the liberty of repeating it. It might naturally be expected that if a tenant kept up the game, the landlord would pay the expense of the food supplied. But he was simply told that there was once a charge of £1,500 a-year for this purpose. That was not, however, a question which Parliament had to consider now. They were discussing a simple question of a sum of £500 charged as a contribution for food to game. The Government said that if

hon. Members would look into the Act of George III. it would be found that in taking over the Crown Lands Parliament accepted all the charges upon the land taken over; that in the Act 1 *Viet.* these charges were recapitulated, and that Parliament accepted all of them. But it was pointed out that at the time of the passing of the Act of George III. people did not breed pheasants. The authorities admitted that that might be true, but that as the pheasants had been deprived of the fields of buckwheat which existed at that time, other food was substituted as a sort of compensation to the pheasants. This was an instance of the way in which the public money was wasted and squandered. There was another instance which he desired to mention. There was in Leicestershire a village called Billingborough. The other day the labourers of that village held a meeting, and applied to the Commissioners to grant them allotments. There was a farmer in the parish who farmed 830 acres, at a rent of 32*s.* per acre, including buildings, &c. This farmer was in the habit of letting out a portion of the land for which he paid 32*s.* per acre to agricultural labourers at £4 per acre. Well, the Commissioners replied to the deputation which waited upon them that they would grant allotments to these agricultural labourers, but they notified to them that they must pay £4 an acre —that being the price at which the farmer let out his land. The agricultural labourers met together, and unanimously refused to accept the offer, because they said they could not work the land at a profit. He had thought it worth while to mention this fact, because it showed that some investigation was absolutely necessary. But he was going one step further, and he desired the attention of his right hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. Fowler) to what he was about to say. His right hon. Friend, like many other Members of the House, was a member of the Nonconformist persuasion. He held in his hand a circular sent out by the vicar of the parish of Billingborough and others asking for subscriptions to the much-needed restoration of the chancel of the parish church, and he found that the Office of Woods and Forests had contributed a sum of £500 for a new roof, a new floor, and a new east window. Was there any instance of these gentlemen contributing to the maintenance and repair of Nonconformist places of worship? None. Why should they contribute to one particular sect money paid by all sects in the community? The case was a public scandal. In the case of land being required for a board school an excessive price was charged by the Commissioners. He thought it was monstrous that while the Commissioners refused to give land to a board school, and the board school had to incur a debt, this other sum of money was granted by the Commissioners for an east window in the chancel of the parish church. He was strongly of opinion that a Committee ought to be appointed to inquire into these matters. There had been Committees upon other Public Departments, and he saw no reason why there should not be a Committee upon this. He certainly knew of no Department which more required investigation. The facts he had pointed out in connection with Windsor Park and the village of Billingborough showed that there was something wrong in connection with the Department. He had given Notice of an Amendment upon the Vote, and his hon. Friend the Member for Inverness-shire (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh) had given Notice of another on the same point—namely, to reduce the Vote for the salaries of the two Commissioners. He thought those Amendments went to the root of the matter; and if the Committee would agree to that which he proposed to move—namely, the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £500, it would enable the country to repay itself for the contribution to this east window in the chancel of the parish church of Billingborough. He hoped that he might receive an assurance from the Government that next year a Committee would be appointed to look into the whole subject. He should like to go even further than that; but he saw that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) was alone on the Treasury Bench. Neither the First Lord of the Treasury nor the Chancellor of the Exchequer was present, and probably the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would not be able to give an absolute pledge; but he was sure that the hon. Gentleman recognized

the fact that some investigation was necessary. The Treasury were of themselves unable to cope with the matter without having Parliament behind them. But he should be content if the Secretary to the Treasury would tell him that he recognized the facts himself, and would do his best to induce his Colleagues to grant a Committee. In that case he would not press the matter further; but in the meantime, in order to afford an opportunity to the hon. Gentleman to tell the Committee what he intended to do, he begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £500.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, Wages, and Allowances, be reduced by £500."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. HANBURY (Preston) said, he thought the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had done good service in bringing this Vote under the attention of the Committee. Personally, he was not one of those who advocated economy in the abstract; but he was desirous of seeing it carried out in practice. He hoped the Government would grant the Committee which had been asked for, and for this reason—that, owing to the way in which this Vote came before Parliament and the accounts connected with the Crown Lands, although a Royal Commission had been appointed to inquire into all the Civil Establishments, it would not be possible for that Commission to inquire into matters connected with the administration of the Crown Lands. They could only deal with the actual Establishments for which money was voted by Parliament. He had had the curiosity to look into the Report relating to this Office for last year. In all these matters he entertained a strong opinion that they should not be regarded as questions between the Benches on which he sat and those opposite; but that independent Members sitting on both sides of the House, who were desirous of effecting a reduction in the Expenditure of the country, should unite together. In regard to this Vote, in the first place, he could find no clear statement whatever as to what the nation really got from the Crown Lands; and as he read the statements which were issued from the Office of the Commissioners, some of them were absolutely contradictory in themselves. He would take, for instance, such an important point as the gross amount paid annually into the Exchequer as the balance of Revenue over the ordinary Expenditure. Last year he found, on deducting the Expenditure from the Income, that there was a balance of over £375,000; but that was not the sum actually paid into the Exchequer, because he found, from the Auditor General's Report, that the sum actually paid into the Exchequer was under £370,000. Why was not the exact balance paid in? On looking into the Report for this year he found that in the year 1887-8 the balance between the Receipts and Expenditure was £413,000; but he found that, as a matter of fact, only £390,000 was paid in. Where had the remaining £23,000 gone? No doubt the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would be able to explain; but Parliament ought to insist upon this—that whatever sum was returned as the balance between Expenditure and Income ought to be paid into the Exchequer, every penny of it, and these round sums ought not to be given. It was important that these matters should be looked into, because the nation, as a whole, taking the average of years, was a considerable loser by the bargain which had been made with the Crown. This was not because the Crown Lands were not well able to bring in a much larger return than was actually paid to the Crown—namely, £385,000 a-year; but anyone who inquired into the way in which the Crown Lands were administered would find that the way in which matters stood was something that passed all comprehension. How did the matter stand? He believed that we paid the Crown £385,000 a-year for the Crown Lands. What did they get in return? He found that last year there was paid into the Exchequer a sum of £375,000; but even that did not represent what the nation got. It got a great deal less than that on account of the cost of the Office which they were going to vote that day. Last year the Office expenses amounted to £30,000, and this year to £1,500 more. What they got last year was only £335,000, as against £385,000, or a clear loss of £50,000. People told him it was a delicate matter to inquire into these Crown Lands; but he maintained

that the question had nothing to do with the Crown at all. Indeed, it was these very men who, under the guise of loyalty, fattened on the maladministration of these Crown Lands, and that was the essence of the complaint he made. He did not understand why these Reports were not presented as a whole, and why they should be split up. The Committee ought to be able to see at a glance what the Crown Lands brought in, and what the nation had to pay for them. In looking over the Report there were a good many things which suggested thoughts to his mind. In the first place, if he understood the bargain which had been made with the Crown, it was that the nation was to pay to the Crown a sum of £385,000 a-year, and to receive the produce of these lands in return. But he did not find that that was the case, and he wanted to know from the Secretary to the Treasury exactly which of the Crown Lands the public was entitled to the produce of and which not? It should be distinctly put to the nation how they stood in regard to the profits derived from the Crown Lands. It was quite certain, on looking through the Reports of the Commissioners, that it was quite possible to make a great deal more out of them on the one hand, and to spend a great deal less on them on the other. They were administered by two Commissioners. He was bound to say that, looking at the past administration of the Crown Lands, the two Commissioners had quite enough to do if they attended to that business alone; but, to his astonishment, he found that one of them had been appointed Receiver General for the Duchy of Cornwall. He strongly objected to pluralities of that kind. If the Commissioner in question would fairly attend to his work in connection with the administration of the Crown Lands, he would have plenty to do; and it was improper, he thought, on the part of Her Majesty's Government to sanction the holding of a double Office. He had been anxious to get some general idea of what the Crown Lands were; but he could find no Schedule whatever of the acreage or of the properties in the hands of the Commissioners since 1875. He thought it was high time that there should appear in the next Report a distinct Schedule showing what the Crown Lands were, where they were situated, and what the acreage was. In the absence of any statement of the acreage in the Report, it was utterly impossible to know how they were administered. He was not aware that in any one case, with the exception of Windsor Park, the acreage was mentioned, and in that instance the facts were not very encouraging, because it would appear that out of 23,000 acres only £4,000 was obtained as a return, whereas £21,000 was spent upon them. The whole Report was the most absurd jumble it was possible to imagine. No one could tell what was the charge for permanent improvements, or what was put down for temporary improvements in the current year. It was impossible to say what rents were received as income and what represented capital. No clear distinction could be drawn as to the profits derived from sale and the profits derived from rent. The whole matter, he was bound to say, was more unintelligible than the usual unintelligible documents presented to Parliament, and he was afraid that it was meant to be unintelligible, because he could not be persuaded that it was not possible, with all the talent they had at the Treasury, to submit the accounts in a more intelligible form. Then, again, as to the produce of these Crown Lands, the hon. Member for Northampton had told them something about Windsor Park—the only case in which the acreage was given. He had told them that there were 15,000 acres of woods, 5,000 of timber, and 5,000 of pasture land. Yet the whole estate produced only £4,500 a-year, and the cost was £24,300. The excuse the Commissioners gave for this small amount of income was that, like the Royal Parks in London, Windsor Park was largely used by the public for purposes of recreation; therefore, a profit and loss account was not to be expected. He had looked into the matter, and he found that the only Park which was treated as a public Park was the Home Park, which produced £91 and cost £150. He did see in the Accounts, however, such items as "Chaplain" and "Organist," although he did not know what the public had to do with them in connection with Forests and Woodlands. At the same time there was no account whatever of the acreage of these estates, nor had any account been presented

since 1875. Taking the New Forest, which represented the largest of the Crown Lands, he was not aware of the acreage, but he knew that it was pretty considerable, and anyone who knew anything of the management of woodlands was aware that the Forest was most disgracefully managed. There was an ex-Minister (Sir William Harcourt) on the other side of the House who ought to know something about the New Forest, but, to his astonishment, on looking through the Return of last year, he found that the right hon. Gentleman to whom he referred had leased a portion of the New Forest to himself. Now, it was a Rule that Ministers must not lease Crown Lands to themselves, yet in 1883 this right hon. gentlemen had granted to him a lease for 99 years of land which had never been leased before, and at a very cheap rent—namely, £35 a-year for the first three years, and then £100. Not only was this the taking of land which had never been leased before, but it was breaking through the invariable Rule that land of this kind was not to be leased for more than 21 years. He trusted that the House would receive an explanation from the right hon. Gentleman on the subject. With regard to the New Forest itself, if it was intended to lease the Forest in that way, they were certainly not likely to get much profit out of it. What was the Result? There could be no wonder, if this was the management of the Commissioners, that last year the New Forest should have been a dead loss, and that the whole of that vast tract of land brought nothing whatever into the National Coffers, the cost having been more than was obtained from it. Then, again, there was the case of the Forest of Dean. From the enormous extent of woodland in that Forest a profit of only £2,000 was obtained, and that profit was made from the smaller forests. The entire estate was so badly managed that it was only from small portions of it that a profit was realized. There was another question he should like to ask, in connection with this Forest. In former times one of the main purposes for which estates of this nature were kept up was that they might supply timber for the Navy. Upon that point there were two questions he should like to ask. In the first place, what quantity of timber obtained from these forests was now used by the Navy; and whether it was the fact, as he was given to understand, that the Admiralty, instead of buying this timber, obtained what they wanted in another way? Hon. Members might see in the columns of the newspapers an advertisement in which the Woods and Forests proposed to sell a certain amount of timber immediately followed by another advertisement in which the Admiralty wanted to buy timber. He was told that it very often happened that the contractors, seeing these advertisements, bought the timber from the Woods and Forests, and sold it again to the Admiralty at a smart profit. Then, again, he should like to know how far the principle of selling these things by public auction or contract was adopted? On looking over the Returns he found that every sale that took place in regard to the Woods and Forests was a sale by private contract. He was afraid that selling by private contract let in a good deal of jobbery which he should be glad to see stopped. He should certainly like to see much less of this selling by private contract. He had now gone through the Woods and Forests; and he wished, before bringing his remarks to a close, to refer to the ordinary Estates of the Crown—the farms and mines. He found that the produce from them was £440,000 a-year; but the real rent was only £400,000, owing to various sources of expenditure, such as interest and charges of that kind. But what did the Committee think it cost to administer this £400,000? The cost was £84,000, or more than 20 per cent. In fact, it amounted to more than 25 per cent of the gross total. And it must be recollected that these properties were not like ordinary estates. He saw, for instance, that although a certain sum appeared under the head of donations, yet that item was entirely confined to properties in England, and was very small. Then, again, these properties did not pay rates. In some counties that fact gave rise to great inconvenience. For his own part, he could not conceive why the Crown Lands should not be treated for rating purposes like other properties. Any contributions in aid of the rates were given as a free gift, and they were exceedingly small, amounting, he believed, to only £1,000.

Another reason why the Crown Lands should be carefully administered was that there were vast arrears, which there was no probability of recovering. In addition to that he found from the Report of the Accountant General, that a heavy charge would fall upon these Estates in 1891, in regard to the Forest of Dean, which would involve a dead loss of £20,000. Another thing which induced him to believe that the estates might be more judiciously administered was a suspicious statement which occurred in the Auditor General's Report, and from which it might be gathered that the banking accounts of the Receivers had not in the past had that close attention which they ought to have had. The Accountant General said that the banking accounts were more satisfactorily arranged, and that the Receivers of the Crown Lands now kept separate banking accounts and bank books, which were of great use in the verification of the accounts. The administration of the Crown Lands appeared to have been bad from the beginning to the end. He trusted that in a matter of this kind they would not have the Liberal on the one side and the Conservatives on the other; but that independent Members would unite in voting against the two Front Benches, each of which was as bad as the other. The matter was one which was entirely separate from Party; and for the reasons he had given, he would most heartily support the Motion of the hon. Member for Northampton.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, he agreed with a great deal that had fallen from the hon. Member for Preston, and he hoped that the question would be dealt with on both sides of the House without regard to Party feeling. There were one or two matters which had been brought before the Committee by the hon. Member, on which he thought a word or two of comment was needed. If there had been a bargain between the Crown and the country, that bargain was not of the character which had been shadowed forth in the words used by the hon. Member. The Crown had given up nothing whatever at any time to the country. He said this notwithstanding the opinions which were expressed last year from the Treasury Bench; but from a careful examination of every document relating to the question which he had been able to obtain. The whole history of the matter was exceedingly simple and clear. It dated back only from the time when William III. came to this country. Up to that time no regular Civil List Vote was in existence. In the Civil List Act certain items making up the Civil List Revenue were specifically named, and one of those items was the Crown Lands, such Crown Lands not being the private property of the Sovereign, and the Civil List meaning the whole Civil Expenditure of the nation. As a matter of fact no member of the Royal Family had ever given up one inch of private property at any time. The sums which had been voted since the time of William III. had been voted as a free gift from Parliament without any kind of bargain and without any kind of consideration being received from any member of the Royal Family for the gift. He believed it was impossible to contradict that statement, and if any Member of Her Majesty's Government ventured to contradict it he would be prepared to rise again and give quotations from every one of the Statutes and Resolutions of Parliament it had been his duty to examine. At the present moment, however, he did not propose to trouble the Committee with that evidence, but he would deal with a comparison between the Revenue derived from the Crown Lands and the amount paid to the Royal Family. It was not easy to discover precisely what that amount was. He had understood the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to promise last year that the sum would be given in the Estimates this year in a foot note, so as to enable the Committee to ascertain the actual amount paid to the Royal Family. Instead of being £385,000, he believed that it was at least £300,000 more; but as he had said, he did not know what the exact amount was. As a matter of fact, Her Majesty alone received out of property which, in the reign of William III., both by Statute and Resolution of the House of Commons, was regarded as belonging to the nation, amounted to nearly £500,000 a-year. It was necessary for the Committee to bear in mind that this was not a question of Crown Lands, upon which the House was not free to exercise its judgment in

the fullest and freest manner. It was as much a part of the income of the country as the sums derived from Excise and Customs and the income from the Post Office and Telegraphs. There was a legal record of what these sources of income, including Crown Lands, were, and they were all set out Statute by Statute, Resolution by Resolution, and Act by Act. Hitherto the nation had not received one farthing from any member of the Royal Family in reference to any property surrendered by the Royal Family. He contended that the so-called Crown Lands were not Crown Lands at all, but lands belonging to the State. They were as much the property of the State as any of the other property of the State.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) said, he desired to join in the appeal which had been made by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the administration of this Department. He also had been very much bewildered by some of the items which the hon. Member for Preston had referred to. He ventured to say that if they took the whole history and record of the administration of the Crown Lands in Wales they would not find anywhere a more disgraceful record of maladministration either in this Kingdom or anywhere out of it. For many generations the vast Crown Lands in Wales had been jobbed away to Party and Court favourites, and then appropriated by Inclosure Acts. When that system was stopped, valuable Crown manors were sold for a mere trifle to the large landowners in Wales. Upon these manors peasants and labouring men had built houses and laboriously cultivated plots. The houses which had been built upon the Crown Lands were handed over to the landlords, and the tenants were charged rent for the houses which they themselves had built and the land they had tilled. In point of fact the Crown Lands, so far as Wales was concerned, were a mere rent extractor, and a very capricious rent extractor too. If a peasant holder had made an encroachment and desired to purchase the freehold, the Crown officials stated that they were unable to sell it on account of the valuable mineral rights connected with it; but if it was a landowner who wanted to buy a whole mountain side, he was able to get it for a mere song, and in one notable case the Crown's rights to royalties in a great slate quarry were sold outright. When mountain sides which had from time immemorial been common to the people were sold to the landowners, they at once proceeded to inclose them, parcel them out to the tenants, and finally to charge rent for them. That was to say, that they took away the rights of the people from time immemorial, and obtained rent upon them. Another objection he had to this administration was that it was a secret and an obscure administration. It was impossible to know the number of acres dealt with by it or to have a map or survey. No information whatever was given in regard to the particular rights in connection with Crown Lands. He had asked for a simple statement of the extent of those lands and of the amounts which had been paid every year from Wales for the last 50 years to the Exchequer, but he had not succeeded in obtaining it. Surely it was not too much that the people of Wales should know once in 50 years what the sum was that they actually paid. Then again, when land was leased or sold, no public notice whatever was given of the sale. The property was sold quietly to the landowner, and the Commissioners said in one of their Reports, some years ago, that no public notice of sale had been given because it was thought better to sell the land to one of the great landowners on account of the sporting rights over it, allowing them to deal with the tenants who had encroached on the Crown Lands. Another charge against the administration was that it was an utterly unproductive administration. An average of £13,000 was received in Wales from those lands every year. A Predecessor of the present Secretary to the Treasury, Lord Frederick Cavendish, admitted that there had been realized from the sale of various Crown Lands in Wales as much as £113,000. For the last 50 years Wales had paid something like £700,000 to the Woods and Forests Office, and what did it get in return? It received, according to the Report, grants towards the support of hospitals, stipends for Ministers and for Universities. He

should like to know what the hospitals and Universities were now receiving from this revenue, and he hoped the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would be able to give to the House in some detail, either to-day or on some future day, an account of this interesting item. They did not expend one halfpenny in making inquiries into the mineral wealth of Wales, although, when others tried to get leases in order to do this, they extracted extraordinary sums in law charges. He noticed that the solicitor to this office received a formal salary of £2,800; in addition there were other legal expenses amounting to £1,195 over and above the sum paid in the shape of salary. Yet, if any action had to be taken, the Law Officers of the Crown took it, and no doubt were paid for it. Those persons who required leases had to pay heavily to the Crown for the legal fees. He noticed that there were 21 leases in Wales in reference to mineral property, and for those 21 leases, and a few conveyances of sales of fee-farm rents, the solicitor charged last year £1,067 19*s.* 10*d.*, or more than £50 for every one of them, the money being paid by persons who were desirous of discovering and developing the mineral wealth those Crown Lands contained.

An hon. MEMBER asked if all the leases were the same?

MR. T. E. ELLIS said, they were practically the same, and the form he believed was stereotyped. There was another item of some interest. He found that the sum of £121 5*s.* was realized last year by the sale of fee-farm rents, but it appeared that out of that sum £99 14*s.* 6*d.* was paid as commission to the receiver for the sale—more than £99 out of a total of £121 which the sale realized. The last time he referred to this question, when the Local Government Bill was being discussed, he ventured to say that if this property in Wales were well administered the revenue derived from it might be doubled if not quadrupled. He would point out in what way that could be done. In his opinion the most fruitful way of doing it was by planting in Wales. In the Isle of Man planting had been going on with highly satisfactory results; but in Wales, which had been a land of Mammoth forests and which largely supplied at a critical period of the history of England the oak for its Navy, this Office had not spent a single halfpenny in planting. He ventured to say that if a part of the sum taken from Wales every year were spent in this way and planting carried out intelligently and judiciously, there would in 30 years, or at any rate in 60 or 70 years, be a splendid revenue derived from the Crown Lands in Wales. He knew that this would be the case, because in some instances landowners had carried out planting on a small scale in the Principality from 15 to 20 years ago, and even now they were beginning to realize the profit. The plantations had done an immense amount of good in affording shelter, in beautifying the country, and in giving to the farmers on the hill side the value of the thinnings which were necessary. In a very few years more those woods which had been planted by the landowners on what was originally the common land of the people would bring in a large revenue, not to the country, or the peasants whose common lands were taken, but to private landowners. If a similar course were pursued by the Department or by the new County Councils, or, better, a General Council for Wales, he ventured to assert that in the course of a few years a splendid revenue would be derived from the Crown Lands of the nation. Crown Lands in Wales were the ancient tribal common lands, and they should now be administered for the Welsh nation, and the best way of administering them for the nation was to place them in the hands of representative Local Authorities, who would spend a share of the rent extracted upon them, and in a few years obtain an excellent revenue.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby) said, he was not in the House when the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury) alluded to him, and called upon him for an explanation; but although he was not in the House at the time, he was in one of the Galleries, and he had gathered what the complaint was. The hon. Member seemed to think he had rather "smelt a job" in this matter. He believed he was able to give a satisfactory explanation. The truth was that in the New Forest, in the old days, for the purpose of forestry, there were a number of lodges built at various times,

and round those lodges were patches of 20 or 30 acres. There were probably a dozen or 15 of such places, and they were occupied by the persons who had charge of the deer, but in course of time, when the Deer Removal Act was passed, those lodges became useless, because the Forest was no longer required for the preservation of deer. The Crown had then to consider how they could make use of the land to the best advantage, and they resolved to let them for farms and for different purposes. By slow degrees they got people to take what were originally called these Forest lodges. They were offered in the public market to persons who went to cut the wood, and they were let upon various terms. One of those places being in the market, he had taken the land upon a building lease. Some other of the lodges had been in the market, and had with great difficulty been let, but he believed that one had been let within the last six months.

MR. HANBURY: Upon a 99 years lease?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he could not state upon what term, but he knew that it was a long lease. It must be borne in mind that those places were yielding no rent at all, but were simply occupied by officers having no employment whatever, so far as the New Forest was concerned. The length of the lease was proportionate to the sum to be spent upon the land. The property was let just as a house on Crown Land would be let in Carlton House Terrace on a building lease. The hon. Member seemed to think that he had got a very good bargain in connection with this lease. All he could say was, and he might appeal with confidence to other hon. Members who were lessees of the Crown, that he had never yet heard of the Crown asking too little, and all he could say was that in this instance he simply gave the price asked for it. He hoped that explanation would satisfy the hon. Member. It was all that he had to say on the matter. As, however, he was upon his legs, he had a word or two to say in reference to the New Forest. He was not surprised that hon. Members should be astonished at so large a tract of land yielding so small a revenue. He did not propose to detain the Committee by going into a large amount of detail upon the matter, but there was a great deal to be said upon it. It should be remembered, and he believed that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) would recollect the fact, that a Committee upon the New Forest, of which the right hon. Gentleman and himself were members, together with the late Mr. Fawcett, Sir Charles Dilke, Lord Edmund Fitz-Maurice, and the late Lord Mount-Temple, was appointed to inquire into the condition of the New Forest, especially with a view of its not being treated solely for the purpose of revenue. There was a great deal of discussion at that time as to the propriety of providing ornamental timber and making new plantations, and it was considered that if the New Forest were dealt with for the purpose of Revenue only, one of the best parts of England might be disfigured. The Committee carefully inquired into the matter, and upon their Report Parliament deliberately restricted the Crown from treating that portion of England as an estate merely for the purpose of Revenue. The Committee sat, he thought, in 1877, and it was considered that just as the Government of the United States had wisely set apart the Yellow Stone Park as a place which retained its ancient wildness of character and great beauty of scenery, so in a country like England and a district like the New Forest, some spirit of the same kind should be shown in protecting that particular district from destruction. At all events, that was the policy deliberately adopted by Parliament, and the Crown was restrained from treating the New Forest as a subject-matter of profit. Practically speaking, the Crown, in reference to many parts of the New Forest, had no power of dealing with the land for the purpose of Revenue; and although there were other purposes for which it might be utilized, which would bring in a larger income, those purposes were not rendered available. He had thought it right to make this statement. With reference to the general question he had no objection—quite the reverse—that there should be an inquiry into the general administration of the Crown estates. All he could say was that, if they contrasted the net produce of the Crown estates now with what it was in former years

before 1852, which was the time when those estates were removed from the control of Parliament—the Commissioner of Woods and Forests being a Parliamentary Officer, and placed at the head of the Department—if they contrasted the net produce then with what it was now that the estates had been placed under a purely administrative department, he believed it would be found that the profit to the Exchequer had nearly doubled. No doubt in those days Parliament was extremely liberal in dealing with the Crown property, and Parliamentary Ministers were subjected to pressure, which certainly was not to the advantage of the Exchequer. It was upon that ground that the control of the Crown Lands was removed from a Parliamentary Officer and placed, by the Government of Lord John Russell, under the administration of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, who were not direct Parliamentary Officers. He had not the figures before him, because he was not aware that the discussion was coming on, but he was sure that if hon. Members would look into them they would find the actual result had been that the net produce from that Department of the revenue had very largely increased. His own impression was that it had something like doubled since the administration was changed. The net produce formerly was something like £200,000 a-year, and he believed that the amount had not far from doubled since. He was not in possession of sufficient information to enable him to support or condemn the administration in all its details, but he maintained that the principle adopted was right. That principle was to place the administration of those Departments under the control of specially selected officers. It was a much better system than the old Parliamentary administration; it had answered in other Departments, and he did not see why the one under discussion should be an exception. With regard to the proposal for the appointment of a Select Committee, the administration of other Departments had been subject to investigation, and he saw no reason why there should be an objection to a similar inquiry in this instance. He believed that nothing but good came of inquiries into such matters. Sometimes they disclosed abuses which were not believed to exist, and at other times they removed prejudices and suspicions that were unfounded. He should be glad, therefore, if the Government could see their way to the institution of an inquiry, because he believed that it would be beneficial from every point of view.

MR. COMPTON (Hants, New Forest) said, he was anxious to say a word or two before the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury rose to reply. An attack had been made on his right hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) in regard to a lease he had entered into for a portion of the New Forest. It must be remembered that land in the New Forest was subject to considerable restrictions imposed by Parliament. The complaint was that in this instance land had been let by the Crown which had never been let before, and that the price paid for it was much too small. He thought it could not be expected that land under considerable restrictions would fetch the same price as if it were unrestricted.

MR. HANBURY said, that his objection was not so much to the price, although he should have thought that 22 acres let upon lease as building land in the very heart of the New Forest for 99 years would have brought more than £35 a-year for five years and £100 afterwards. It was certainly a very low rent. His main objection, however, was that a Minister should lease any part of the Crown Lands to himself, that he should lease land that had never been let before, that in his case an unusual exception should be made, because there was no other piece of land let for so long a term, and all that in contravention of rules to the effect that no piece of land should be let for a longer period than 21 years.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the hon. Member was entirely mistaken in the statement he had made. He did not believe that any one of the leases was confined to 21 years, and he was quite sure that if the hon. Member would inquire into the matter he would find that the land was let for very much longer terms. In the case of the lease recently effected, the term was much longer than 21 years, although he would not say that it was up to 99 years. The policy was to induce persons to build, and no one would do so on a short lease. The consequence was that longer leases were

granted. The main part of the land which he had leased was a piece of four acres, upon which he desired to build.

MR. HANBURY: There will be a Return?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that of course there would be a Return. Probably the whole interest on the outlay would be paid by the buildings erected on this plot of four acres. At some distance there were detached pieces of worthless land which had been let for £25; the rest of the rent would be paid by the piece of land he intended to build upon.

MR. COMPTON said, the complaint was that a piece of land had been let to his right hon. Friend the Member for Derby which had never been let before, and that a longer lease was given than ought to have been granted. The answer to that complaint was that this was one of many small lodges which had been let from time to time within the last 20 years. The hon. Member for Preston was not correct in saying that no lease had been entered into for more than 21 years; he forgot the exact number of years, but lodges had been let for long terms—some for 30 or 40 years.

MR. HANBURY: This is for 99 years.

MR. COMPTON said, he thought he could mention other leases considerably longer than 21 years. In all these cases the length of the lease depended on the amount of money expended upon the land by the tenant. His right hon. Friend had not hired a house, but had built a new one entirely for himself. When the land had been let to his right hon. Friend, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, who was formerly a Member of that House, went to him and said—"Is not this a job?" Sir Henry Drummond Wolff thought it was an opportunity for making an attack on the right hon. Member for Derby, and he and Sir Henry Drummond Wolff went into the matter together. Looking at the price the right hon. Gentleman had paid for the land and the terms the Crown offered, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff came to the conclusion that it was no job at all, but an exceedingly good bargain for the Crown.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.) said, he wished to say a word in regard to the administration of the two Gentlemen who had been attacked by the hon. Gentleman below the Gangway. He had had considerable experience of property managed by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and he had always found on every occasion that the Commissioners of Woods and Forests drove a very hard bargain on the part of the Crown. He believed they managed the Crown estates with the greatest possible care; they were most courteous to the tenants, and were willing to listen to any representation that was made to them. At the same time, they looked very carefully after the interests of the taxpayers of the country.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he would endeavour to reply to some of the questions which had been put to him, but before doing so he should like to be allowed to say that, so far as the Commissioners of Woods and Forests were personally concerned, he would venture to express his opinion, notwithstanding what his hon. Friend the Member for Preston said of him, that it would be very difficult to find an Englishman who possessed greater knowledge of agricultural land than Colonel Kingscote. It was only right to Colonel Kingscote to say that, so far as he had been able to judge, the whole of the business placed in his care had been managed, not only with the greatest ability, but certainly with the greatest exactness all through. His hon. Friend had mentioned the fact that Colonel Kingscote had just been appointed Receiver General for the Duchy of Cornwall, and his hon. Friend seemed to think that that was a position which would seriously interfere with Colonel Kingscote's duties as a Commissioner in the discharge of his regular work. He did not know whether his hon. Friend was under the impression that by accepting this appointment Colonel Kingscote had made a large increase to his salary; but, as a matter of fact, he believed that there was no salary attached to the office at all. He was further assured that, so far as the duties were concerned, an attendance two or three times a-year was all the work that Colonel Kingscote would be called upon to do. He therefore thought that his hon. Friend the Member for Preston might possibly relieve his mind from the impression that

this appointment would seriously interfere with Colonel Kingscote's sphere of usefulness. Mr. Culley, the senior Commissioner, had to deal with all questions relating to mining royalties in various parts, not only of Wales, but of England and Scotland. So far as he was able to judge, Mr. Culley was not only a competent, but a very able public servant. His hon. Friend the Member for Preston had criticized very severely the management, or, as he called it, the disgraceful management, of the Crown Lands in the New Forest. It had already been explained by the right hon. Member for Derby and the hon. Member for the New Forest Division that in dealing with the New Forest the Deputy Commissioner had to deal with property subject to very severe Parliamentary restrictions. He was not able to deal with the property as his hon. Friend was able to deal with his own. Not only had the Act passed some 12 or 15 years ago seriously restricted the manner in which the land was to be dealt with, but there was also a strong public feeling, to which it was necessary to pay some regard at the present time, that steps should be taken to prevent the cutting down of the trees of the New Forest. The result of that restriction was, of course, to prevent the realization of any large amount of income from the Forest. When property was held under these restrictions it was absolutely impossible to obtain revenue from it, and it was also impossible to avoid expenditure, because, among other things, they had to maintain the roads, and the public would complain if anything went wrong in the event of the fences not being kept up and everything being maintained in order. His defence of the arrangements in connection with the New Forest was to say to the Committee that, so long as the New Forest was to be maintained practically for the use of the public, and so long as they had parks like Windsor Park largely used by the public, they need not expect to get revenue from them. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had raised several points of detail, and had been good enough to say that if the Government were willing to have some inquiry into the business administration of the Department he would not feel it necessary to press his Resolution. He had, however, to answer the remarks which had been made by other hon. Members in the course of the debate. His hon. Friend the Member for Preston —if he might venture to say a word as to his speech—had dealt with the question in a very able manner; but while the Government welcomed the criticism and assistance of the hon. Gentleman, he must deprecate the use of such words as "battening" when applied to public servants who were, he believed, honestly trying to do their duty. The hon. Member for Preston had done one great service by pointing out that this was a question of dealing with the practical administration in the hands of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests; that this was not a question of royalties, which question was entirely distinct from it; and, therefore, on those lines he (Mr. Jackson) was authorized to state that not only were the Government willing to grant an inquiry, but that they would welcome it. It was, therefore, not necessary for him to go into and reply to the points raised, although he would refer to some of them. The Government would be prepared to nominate a Committee of the House, who would be charged with the responsibility of looking into the leases and the business management connected with these forests; and that he thought would be satisfactory to the Committee, and would show that the Government were desirous of effecting economy in every direction and improving the administration in every Department over which they had control. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had referred to the fact that the legal expenditure of this year had increased. The explanation of this was very simple, and he would point out that there had been some actions which it was necessary should be tried. One of these was still pending. He believed that the case of the "Attorney General *v.* Emerson" was before a Division of the Supreme Court, and it related to some foreshore rights at Shoeburyness. Judgment in the first place had been given in favour of the Crown, but an appeal was threatened, and his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General (Sir Edward Clarke) now informed him that it was being argued to-day. It had, therefore, been necessary to make some addition to what would have been the ordinary expendi-

ture for legal purposes. He would point out also that the Commissioners of Woods and Forests dealt with property in every part of Great Britain and Ireland. The hon. Member had also referred to the contribution made towards the restoration of the church at Billingborough. This case had come before him, and on behalf of the Treasury he had the responsibility for the action that was taken. The position was this—the Crown was the owner of the whole parish, and with the estate was bought the church living, so that the Crown had no power to refuse to carry out its own part of the bargain, and it had, as he was advised, a legal responsibility for the maintenance of the chancel of the church, and it was in consequence of that obligation that the money was given; and it was given also together with a considerable sum locally raised for carrying out the work. He thought it would be admitted that the estates were managed as far as they could be on the lines on which estates were usually managed by private owners, and, were the land in the possession of private owners, the probability was that they would have discharged the obligation which lay upon the Crown in this case. The hon. Member for Preston had referred to the balance, as he called it, between the total amount received and the amount paid over. He thought the hon. Member would see that taking the estate as a whole, managed as it was by the Crown Commissioners, there must be a certain amount of working capital. The accounts had been audited, and he would point out that certainly this year, and last year also, the Commissioners of Woods and Forests had not been called upon by the Controller and Auditor General for a single explanation of any item in their accounts, which showed that the Controller and Auditor General was satisfied that these had been properly kept, and that all receipts and payments had been duly accounted for. The balance, therefore, in the hands of the Commissioners was simply that which it was necessary to hold in the interest of the Crown. The hon. Member for Preston said that the Crown Lands were not bringing as much as they ought. But he (Mr. Jackson) thought that anyone connected with agriculture, and knowing what the condition of agriculture had been, would be rather surprised if the revenue had not fallen off. There had been reductions in rent involving in some cases from 50 to 60 per cent; indeed, there was a very great difference in the rents paid by tenants now and those paid in former years. The hon. Member had spoken about timber for the National wants. He seemed to think that instead of selling timber as the Commissioners did now, and which was generally put up to tender, sometimes to auction but always to competition, it would be better if it were sold to the Admiralty for shipbuilding purposes.

MR. HANBURY said, he saw on page after page in the Return that it was sold by private contract.

MR. JACKSON said, that when timber was submitted to public competition and no offer was made, it was, of course, submitted to private contract. But, apart altogether from the question that there was no real connection between these estates and the Navy, it was impossible to deal with timber of this kind except by disposing of it to those who had a use for it. As far as his experience went, and he had had some experience in buying and selling timber, the best plan was to deal with a man who had a market for the various kinds, and that plan he believed produced the best results. The hon. Member had referred to the cost of the Establishment. He (Mr. Jackson) admitted that the cost of the Establishment was considerable, and he believed that it was necessarily so, but he thought the hon. Gentleman was wrong when he said that the cost of management was 25 per cent. In the first place, it was only due to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests that in making calculations as to the cost of management hon. Members should separate the property into two or even three classes. It was not fair to charge agricultural land with the cost of maintaining such Parks as Windsor Park and the New Forest, and call it cost of management. But he had a statement which showed that, charging to the account of collection and management the portion of the whole extent which could fairly be charged, the total cost compared with receipt was 5·5 per cent, and this he did not think a very extravagant charge; but even if that could be reduced to the extent of one-half per cent it would be

their duty to make that reduction. Setting aside such items as repairs and improvements, donations to churches, fixed charges, rates, taxes, gratuities in lieu of them, miscellaneous payments, and certain others, the maintenance account showed a total charge of £45,712 which was about 10·3 per cent as compared with the revenue derived. Putting the two items together, the result arrived at was, that the cost of collection and management, coupled with the cost of maintenance and improvements, amounted, on the whole, to about 15·8 per cent. He had made some inquiries on this subject, because he thought that this question would be raised, from men who had large estates, and he was informed, as the result of their experience, that anything between 13 per cent and 20 per cent was about the average cost of collection and management. The cost of managing and maintaining property such as this might naturally be expected to be greater than in the case of private property, and the actual cost—namely, 15·8 per cent—did not appear to him to be extravagantly large. The hon. Member for Merionethshire (Mr. T. E. Ellis) spoke of the cost of certain fee farm rents in Wales; and in reply to this he (Mr. Jackson) had to point out that many of these items were of small amount—even so small as 1*s.* a year—and yet it was the duty of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to preserve the property, with all its rights and privileges, with which they were entrusted for the time being. This necessarily entailed cost, and he was not sure that in some cases it would not be a matter of economy to sacrifice some of these small sums, although, as he had said, it would be impossible to do this, because the rights of the Crown had to be maintained.

MR. T. E. ELLIS said, it was not to the charge for collection to which he referred, but that for the sale of these rents.

MR. JACKSON said, the hon. Gentleman would admit that if these rents were divided and sub-divided to the extent he (Mr. Jackson) had described, the cost of collection being large, obviously the cost of disposing of them was large also; because there was exactly the same process to be gone through in selling a fee farm rent of 5*s.* a-year as there was to be selling one of a much higher rent, and the explanation was, he believed, that the farms were so divided that the cost was naturally increased. However, he gathered from the feeling manifested by the Committee that the Government had fairly met the wishes of hon. Members, and he trusted that they would meet the Government in the same spirit of concession, and let the Vote be taken.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) said, that, having held the Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer as well as that of Secretary to the Treasury, and having been the author in the latter capacity of the Act of 1866, regulating the business in many respects of the Woods and Forests Department, he might be allowed to say one or two words on this subject. In the first place, the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury) had mentioned that an arrangement had been made with the Commissioners of Woods and Forests in 1883 by his right hon. Friend (Sir William Harcourt) as to his house in the New Forest, which seemed to the hon. Member open to censure. In that year he (Mr. Childers) was Chancellor of the Exchequer; but, he might say as a matter of fact, that the lease was granted in the previous year, and that the Minister responsible in these matters was the Secretary to the Treasury. He was, however, aware that when the case came before the Treasury, it was by them very carefully considered, and the act of the Commissioners had been sanctioned and entirely approved by them. When he said that the arrangement was equivalent to his right hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) paying for the land on which his house was built at the rate of £500 an acre capital value, he did not think it could be said that the public interest had been disregarded. But he rose chiefly to say that, in his opinion, it would be extremely advantageous to have the inquiry promised by the Government. The position was that, with respect to the proper charges to make on the income from Crown Lands—which income was strictly the property of the country—a great many different questions arose; there were a number of doubtful points, the clearing up of which by the proposed

nquiry was desirable, and would very much assist the Secretary to the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer in arriving at a decision on those questions. For that reason, without expressing any opinion on the particular cases brought forward by the hon. Member for Preston, he thought a Committee ought to be appointed. He only suggested that the Committee should be a strong one, and that there should be no unnecessary limit to the inquiry, so that it might cover all transactions on the part of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, there was, no doubt, a good deal of contestable matter in the reply of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury with regard to the amount paid for the repairs of the church at Billingborough; but the Government had met the Committee by promising an inquiry, and he did not see the use of prolonging the general discussion. In asking leave to withdraw his Motion, he would merely say that there was a general demand for inquiry, which, as hon. Members had shown, ought to be granted. With regard to the case of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), he was sure no Member of the House would doubt that had a job been carried out, in his (Mr. Labouchere's) opinion he would have denounced it with that Roman virtue which they all knew distinguished Sir Henry Drummond Wolff. But he knew that his right hon. Friend had made a bad bargain with the Government. He had himself suggested to a friend that he should take a place in the New Forest as well situated as that which his right hon. Friend had chosen; but that gentleman found there were so many demands made by the Commissioners that he said "he would not take the place as a gift." He believed that any hon. Member who desired it could become a leaseholder in the New Forest on the same terms precisely as those accepted by his right hon. Friend.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire) said, he rose to move the reduction of this Vote by the sum of £1,000. On the 12th of July this year he had asked the Secretary to the Treasury to inform him of the circumstances under which the Commissioners of Woods and Forests had sold the right of fishing on Loch Morar, in Inverness-shire, a Loch 12 miles long by two broad; upon whose recommendation the sale was made; and whether any attempt had been made to get the best price for it? The hon. Gentleman's reply was unsatisfactory; he declined to state the circumstances under which the right of fishing was sold. Some years ago one of the proprietors in the district converted a large part of the land in the neighbourhood of Loch Morar into deer forest; before that time the public had full right of fishing in the Loch, and also to use it for the purpose of recreation and navigation. So long as the land was held in the ordinary way by tenants, there was no reason why the public should not be allowed to use the Loch for purposes of recreation; but they all knew that immediately land was placed under deer it was necessary to exclude the public as much as possible. Accordingly, having cleared the land, the proprietor, in conjunction with other three, applied to the Commissioners of Woods and Forests for the purpose of getting a grant of this Loch. The Commissioners had previously granted the right of salmon fishing in the river Morar, so that it could not be said that their eyes were not opened so far as the public interests and their own were concerned; but, notwithstanding, it was found that the Commissioners of Woods and Forests had sold for very small sums the right of fishing in the Loch to four persons whose lands bordered on the Loch, the public knowing nothing about the matter at the time. Under an Act of Parliament of *Will.* IV., similar powers of sale as those which up to that time existed in England were given with regard to Scotland, and the English Act required that no sale should take place without a report being first made by a sworn surveyor as to the value of the property. He wanted to know whether or not this sworn surveyor had been appointed under the Act for the purpose of inquiring into the value of the grant, because, as far as had been ascertained, no inquiry had been made. When the Commissioners granted the fishing rights to the proprietors, the tenants and crofters, who had been in

the habit of keeping boats on the Loch for their own purposes, were ordered to take them off. This, when it came to the knowledge of the more intelligent of the people, gave rise to some resistance. The proprietors then took proceedings in the Supreme Court of Scotland against four parties who resisted in the neighbourhood, to interdict their using the Loch for any purposes. He and his hon. Friends complained that here an important right had been taken away from the public behind their backs and given away for a most inadequate consideration; for, had it been offered in open market, it would probably have fetched four times the amount for which it was sold. These people were taken into Court and obliged to defend themselves; the object of the proceedings was not only to prevent fishing, but the putting of any boats on the Loch. He pointed out that on one side of the Loch there was no road whatever; that side was impassable, and on the other side of the Loch the road was not a good one. Here was a distinct act of oppression, because it was impossible for the inhabitants, who were a small and peace-abiding body, to go along the Loch by any other means than by boat; and there was, indeed, no access to some places except by water, so that by the action of the proprietors they had been prevented from going to chapel or to their burial grounds. He pointed out that the officer of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests in Scotland was a gentleman who, while he received large sums from the Commissioners, was the private legal agent for two of the proprietors who had received these grants, and one of the firm of legal agents now prosecuting the poor people in the Court of Session. He contended that this matter ought to be looked into, and with the object of promoting the inquiry he begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum he had mentioned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, Wages, and Allowances, be reduced by £1,000."—(*Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh.*)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he was glad that the Committee of Inquiry asked for by his hon. Friend had been granted by the Government. He was also glad that his hon. Friend who had just spoken (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh) had persevered in bringing before the House this question of Loch Morar, in which he (Sir George Campbell) and his hon. Friends thought there had been a gross betrayal of the public interests on the part of the Commissioners, who he did not think ought to be allowed to get off scot-free. They did not go into the question as to whether the revenue administration of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests was good or bad; but they contended that the public interests had been sold for an inadequate consideration, under the habitual practice of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, which had been going on in Scotland for years, and continued to-day. It was most necessary that this question should be considered, and he trusted that the Committee about to be appointed to investigate the administration of the Commissioners would not be restricted to inquiring into management only; but, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) had both suggested it should be, a Committee of Inquiry into the whole management and administration of Crown property. They wanted to know whether Crown properties were to be managed in the interests of the public, or in the interests of private individuals? He regretted that his hon. Friend the Member for North Aberdeen (Mr. Hunter) was not present, who, as hon. Members would be aware, had brought in a Bill, which was receiving a large amount of public sympathy, and which, if it were passed, would enable the public to obtain access to the mountains and parts of Scotland from which they were unfairly excluded; but he thought his hon. Friend's hair would stand on end when he found that the Commissioners of Woods and Forests were selling for a mess of pottage these rights which the people had enjoyed so long, a transaction which he and his hon. Friends regarded as a scandalous abuse, and into which they trusted strict inquiry would be made. He was not imputing to the Secretary to the Treasury any want of fairness in dealing with the House; but he was bound to say that his refusal of the Papers in reference to this transac-

tion was most extraordinary. He hoped that this was not the result of ignorance, but he could not help thinking that there was something very suspicious about the reticence of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests and their disinclination to give information to the House of Commons on this subject. He contended that there had been a substantial breach of the law in this matter. The Act of Parliament required that the Commissioners should submit to Parliament and the country a Report of their administration, and it required that they were to submit not only their accounts, but also

"Such other matters and things touching the said possessions, lands, and revenues of the Crown as to the said Commissioners shall seem proper and necessary."

He submitted that the true meaning of the words was that the Commissioners should submit a substantial Report; but they had simply presented a Paper which did not contain a single word of information or explanation with regard to this transaction. They were bound, in his opinion, to explain the circumstances under which these rights were sold; but they had done nothing of the kind, and when hon. Members asked the Secretary to the Treasury for Papers, they were informed that the matter was not of sufficient importance to justify expenditure on their production. He denied that it was reasonable to refuse information upon such a ground, and that the case was not of sufficient importance to justify the necessary expenditure. It was impossible for him and his hon. Friends to submit to this refusal, and he hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would furnish the Papers which were wanted for the purpose of satisfying the public that there had been fair dealing in this matter. The proprietors were wise in their generation when they approached the Commissioners of Woods and Forests; they approached them secretly, and by a secret arrangement a transfer of rights was made for a mere song, similar to that which took place in the case of Epping Forest, with the object of shutting out the people from its use and enjoyment. As hon. Members would recollect, neighbouring proprietors were encroaching on Epping Forest, and endeavouring to shut out the public; the public rights were being sacrificed, and would have been sacrificed but that the great Corporation of the City of London were able to step in and preserve them to the people. In Scotland, in the same way, the rights of the people were being taken from them, and the case which his hon. Friend had laid before the Committee was one which, on account of its serious nature, they felt it their duty to probe to the bottom. This was the most recent case of the kind; but it was only the last in a long series of cases in which the rights of the people had been sacrificed by the Crown. But there was another kind of Crown sale going on, and that was the salmon fishing rights on the coasts of Scotland. Here, again, in secret and in an underhand way, by private bargains, these rights of the Crown were sold for trumpery sums. Fishermen were terribly harassed by them within a distance of three miles of the shore, for if a salmon got into their nets the water bailiffs came down upon them. The fishermen of the North of Scotland were capable, pushing, and active men, who combined to do many things of themselves; and he was sure that if these rights had been offered to them, they would have gladly bought them, in order to get rid of this continuous harassment which they were subject to. He hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would not put himself into the false position of refusing these Papers.

DR. R. MACDONALD (Ross and Cromarty) said, this kind of action was nothing new to the people in the Highlands of Scotland. They never heard of such a thing there as public tenders being made for the right of fishing. These rights were sold privately; the landlord would go to the local representative of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, the rights would be sold, and the landlord would take possession of them without anything about it being known. The prices paid were insignificant. In his own constituency the foreshores were sold to the late Sir James Matheson for £400, and, from a calculation made by the people of Stornoway, the fishing rights now produced a revenue of £1,000 to £1,400 a-year. If the foreshore rights had been sold by public tender, they would, of course, have fetched a much greater sum. These were all hole-and-corner transactions, and were the result of the deer-

forest system. No one ever heard of them until deer forests were created; but, after they were, an exclusion of the people immediately took place, and not only were these rights taken away, but a large amount of property was in consequence injured. It was a very hard matter that those poor Catholics who had to cross Loch Morar should be required to walk round the Loch in order to get to a place of worship on Sunday; but such was the way in which things were sacrificed to this deer-forest mania, which was spoiling the whole of his country. Not only that, but tourists were ceasing to come from the South and from England. Formerly large numbers of these used to frequent the Lochs for the fishing, and filled the hotels in the districts; but the landlords now had to tell the people that they must not go there, and their trade was consequently dying out. When the conduct of the Commissioners was examined into, he felt sure that it would be found that it was not immaculate. Could the Secretary to the Treasury, or anyone representing the Department, inform the Committee that these rights were ever put up to public tender? The hon. Gentleman could not say that. It was not the custom in Scotland to do so; but it was the custom, as had been shown, to sell the public rights for a song.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) said, that this was a matter which had occasioned considerable comment in Scotland and raised very wide issues. His hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had said that the Commissioners sold salmon rights for an old song; but what was more important was that the Commissioners had been guilty of a dereliction of duty in selling these rights at all. Loch Morar was a vast sheet of water dividing two large districts of the country; the only communication between the two districts being across the water. The shores of the water belonged to four proprietors, but these proprietors had no right of fishing over the Loch. The Loch was Crown property, and the only kind of right of property the Crown reserved in it which could be parted with or transferred to private owners was the fishing rights. This was what the Commissioners had done, and they had done it, apparently, for a very inadequate sum. But he did not think that that was of much account; what was of the greatest importance was the dereliction of duty of which they had been guilty. What had been the consequence of their action? The proprietors to whom the rights of fishing had been transferred had of late been transforming their estates into deer forests, and in order to make their deer forests valuable they had to exclude the public. The proprietors had already given notice to the people who lived on the Loch side that they were no longer to be permitted to use their boats on the Loch; they had also put up gates across the means of access along one end of the Loch. The inhabitants in that part of the world were few and far between, but a few of them combined together and took down the gates. An interdict had been applied for against these people, but had not yet been granted. It was a very costly matter to defend a right of way, and at this moment these individuals had appealed to a public society in Edinburgh and to the public generally in Scotland to help them in the further defence of the public right, knowing perfectly well the long purses of those private individuals opposed to them. The object of the present debate was not merely to bring forward the dereliction of public duty, but also to give as great publicity as could be given to what had taken place in regard to Loch Morar, in order, if possible, that this vast sheet of water and the country surrounding it might not be permanently shut out from the enjoyment of the public, and also to pfevent any such attempts being made in the future in the same direction. It was idle to shut their eyes to the fact that transactions of this sort—not so much the parting with those rights to private proprietors, but the use private proprietors were making of the fishing rights—was stirring up considerable public feeling in Scotland at the present moment. He trusted that they would obtain a disiinct pledge from the Government that if a Select Committee was to be appointed to inquire in the management of the estates of the Crown Lands by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, the Committee would be empowered to inquire into the mode in which the Commissioners have dealt with other rights, such as the salmon fishing rights in Loch Morar.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) said, it seemed to him that the demands made by his hon. Colleagues had not gone far enough. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) begged the Secretary to the Treasury to produce Papers which he had formerly refused to produce. Of course, the hon. Gentleman would produce the Papers now, because he was in a very tractable frame of mind. Another hon. Gentleman suggested that a Select Committee should inquire into this matter; he wished to make the matter public. He (Dr. Cameron), however, wanted something further. The allegation was that this was an illegal and informal transaction, and, therefore, what they required was that it should be quashed. Had the conditions of the law been complied with? Had the Treasury sanctioned the sale of the Salmon Fishing Rights?

MR. JACKSON: Certainly.

DR. CAMERON: And after the Report of the Surveyor?

MR. JACKSON: Certainly.

DR. CAMERON said, then it was the hon. Gentleman himself who was to blame. Did the hon. Gentleman state anything of the sort in answer to the Question put to him in the commencement of this year.

MR. JACKSON: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will read what I said.

DR. CAMERON said, it was clear, from the answer he gave, that the hon. Gentleman knew nothing whatever about anything. The Commissioners even did not know anything about the effect of their action. Now, however, the hon. Gentleman knew what the effect had been. For the paltry sum of £400 a-year—[Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL: No; not a year]—for the paltry sum of £100 the right of fishing in this great Lake, which was 10 miles long by two miles wide—a Lake which constituted not merely a fishing ground but a public highway—had been parted with. A public road had been shut up; a public ford, a right possessed from time immemorial, had been sacrificed. What made the matter particularly hard was that if, instead of these rights belonging to the Crown, they had belonged to a private individual, such alienation would have been impossible. They had been told that the right of the public to put boats on this Lake was at present being tried in the Quarter Sessions. But there were four rich proprietors trying the case on the one side, and they had a few poor persons on the other. There was room for any amount of appeals, and it was perfectly easy to see what the chances were of a satisfactory termination. His hon. Friend mentioned that certain persons who considered themselves aggrieved had combined together and pulled down a gate. Had he revealed that secret in the days of the late learned Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald) he (Dr. Cameron) would have expected to find a criminal prosecution of all the men for mobbing and rioting, and he would not have been surprised if the Forces of the Crown had been sent down to preserve peace. He trusted that they were about to enter on a less military era in respect to the administration of the Highlands, and that under the administrative reign of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson) who now held the Office of Lord Advocate, they would have matters on the behalf of the Crown more tenderly managed. What he (Dr. Cameron) and his hon. Friends wished was that the Committee which was appointed should look into not merely the administration of the Crown rights and Crown property in Scotland, but into the validity of a number of transactions which had been made against the public. A very large number of the Department transactions in Scotland had operated against the public. Sales of foreshore were against the public; sales of salmon rights in lochs were against the public; and, as an hon. Friend of his had pointed out, both these were very great and substantial grievances of fishermen. Now, when it came to selling the Crown rights, not only in a great freshwater lake but in an important highway, an aggravation would be added to the many grievances which had arisen out of the action of this Department. He trusted that they would not be compelled to carry on this discussion in the dark as to the facts, for they necessarily did so, not having Papers. Also, he would like to know whether it was the fact that the agent of the proprietors who purchased these rights at a cheap rate was actually the Secretary or the officer of the Woods and Forests Department in Scotland.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire) said, the real grievance in this matter

arose from the difference between the law of England and of Scotland. In England the Crown could not sell or alienate any salmon fishing rights whatever, and had not done so since the time of Magna Charta. But the law of Scotland was different, and the Crown had sold salmon fishing rights for very inadequate prices. He assured the Committee that there was a very strong feeling in Scotland on this subject. The taste for fishing had increased exceedingly during the last 20 years; a great many people in towns desire to have an opportunity of fishing. The people of England even had more facility for fishing than the people of Scotland. How many people could fish in the Thames, and was there one good river in Scotland in which the public could fish? He trusted that if a Committee were appointed it would inquire into this aspect of the question, and see whether there was any good ground why there should be any difference between the law of Scotland and the law of England in this matter of the sale or alienation of the right of salmon fishing,

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) said, there were one or two points which he should like to have cleared up. He wanted to know, in the first place, at what time the Treasury Warrant was issued for the sale; who signed it; and whether the Secretary to the Treasury would lay on the Table of the House a copy of the Warrant? Then he was anxious to learn who was the Surveyor who made the survey, or ought to have made it under Section 61 of the Act which applied to the subject; at what time he made the survey; and also whether the hon. Gentleman would produce to the Committee a copy of the oath the Surveyor was required by law to take in order to satisfy the Commissioners that the sum offered was a reasonable one?

MR. JACKSON said, he could not help thinking there was a great deal more importance attached to the refusal of the Government to give the Papers than the matter deserved. The case, as far as the Treasury and the Department of Woods and Forests were concerned, was extremely simple. He had listened most carefully to what had been said; but he had not yet learned in what sense the action of the Woods and Forests Department had disposed of any rights of the public. The rights of the Crown were not the rights of the public. [An hon. MEMBER: Of course they are.] They were not the rights of individuals. His hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury) rather attacked the Woods and Forests Commissioners because they had not made the most of the property, and now hon. Members from Scotland were attacking the Department because it had sold something, receiving something in return. No indication or illustration had been given at all of how, in any respect, the right of an individual to go on this Loch had been taken away by the action of the Department. In what sense had that right been altered? Everyone who had a right to go on the water before this sale surely had just the same right now. The right of the individual, so far as he understood it, was precisely the same; and in the opinion of the Commissioners of the Woods and Forests their action had not prejudiced in any particular whatever a right in anything possessed before the transaction. He thought that the Correspondence which had taken place ought not to be given; and he trusted hon. Members, after his explanation, would feel that the reason he gave was a fairly proper one. In the first place, the *ex adverso* proprietors who had become the purchasers in this case—at least one of them—claimed certain rights which were more or less indisputable; and he was told that in the course of the Correspondence and negotiations which took place in confidence some of these disclosed their titles. [An hon. MEMBER: They are all in the Register Office.] Then, if they were, they must be very easy to get. The negotiations were more or less confidential; and, therefore, he felt he would not be justified in making public the Correspondence. That was the only reason for refusal. He had not the smallest objection to the sale being—[Dr. CLARK: Cancelled.] He had no power to cancel it; and, therefore, he should have very strong objections to do that. The hon. Member for North Aberdeen (Mr. Hunter) asked him various questions which he was unable to answer. He was not able to give the hon. Gentleman the date of the warrant; but he had no doubt the date could be given if the hon. Member would put a

Question to him to-morrow. He had no idea that this was such a serious question, and that hon. Members intended to make such an attack upon the transaction. If there was any information he could obtain which would assist hon. Gentlemen from Scotland, he should be very glad to furnish it. Someone had said that this was a case of rich men fighting poor men. They had nothing to do with that; he had no doubt that the poor men in Scotland would get justice from the Courts of Justice there. [Dr. CLARK: What part did Donald Beith play?] He understood that Donald Beith was paid for his services where employed, and that he had nothing whatever to do with the fixing of the grant or the negotiations. The only question in which that gentleman was concerned was that of the title and of the conveyancing.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY asked whether the hon. Gentleman would undertake that no more fishing rights should be sold until the Committee had reported?

MR. JACKSON: Oh, certainly.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) said, he could understand the difficulty of the Secretary to the Treasury in understanding purely Scotch questions. One of the difficulties was that this question was decided by purely English Commissioners, who were compelled to consult the Secretary to the Commissioners in Scotland, he being no other than Donald Beith, the agent of the landlords. The whole of this question was one very much of title, and the Secretary to the Treasury asked in what respect the position of the inhabitants around the Loch had been prejudiced by the grant which the Crown had given. Before this sale by the Crown the crofters were in possession of the Loch. The Loch was 12 miles long by two wide, and it belonged to no individual proprietor in Scotland. The Loch was the property of the Crown, and it was in the possession of the public in the very self-same way as the commons of England were in possession of the people of towns. Before the sale the landed proprietors could not interfere with the right of the people to use the Loch as a highway, or for recreation, or as a fishing ground. The proprietors, however, purchased from the Crown the right of salmon fishing, and now they could go into Court and say—"We have private right of property here, which is being interfered with by the public using the Loch." That was the reason why the sale on the part of the Crown raised such an important question. One very great matter of complaint was that the Commissioners acted upon the advice of a man who was the landlord's own agent. The assertion was not disputed that in England there were no Crown rights in salmon fishing. What was being done in Scotland was that the Government were taking for the Imperial Exchequer that which they did not take in England. Was that fair, he asked, to the people of Scotland? What was the whole object of this purchase on the part of the landlords? It was not the value of the salmon, but it was to keep the public out of some other interest. The proprietors had now got possession of the Loch, and the Secretary to the Treasury said—"Oh, these poor people will get justice in the Courts of Scotland." He (Mr. Caldwell) believed they would, but was it fair that the Crown should give a weapon to landed proprietors by which they had a plausible title to raise a question which they never could have raised without this sale? Practically, the landlords now came into Court without a title; four of them joined together, and sought to interdict poor men, hoping that by litigation they would eventually gain what they wanted. The Representatives of Scotland were certainly entitled to complain very bitterly of the action of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests in this matter.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he wished to ask permission to answer the two questions of the Secretary to the Treasury as to what hon. Members wanted, and what they complained of. What they wanted was to get this sale cancelled. He did not know how that could be done; it might require an Act of Parliament. If so, he hoped the Government would bring in a Bill. What he and his hon. Friends complained of was that the Commissioners had aided and abetted Lord Lovat in this conspiracy to manufacture a few more deer forests. He believed that this was the second loch in Scotland which had gone in the same way, and he would like to say a word or two as to the position of affairs regarding all these fishings. He

had an extract of all the sales and leases made since the control had been placed in the hands of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. There had been no sale at all or lease of any salmon fishing in England. The Woods and Forests Department got control in 1848, and from 1848 to 1872 there was not a single salmon fishing right sold. There were any number of leases, and the income derived amounted to £6,204 a-year. The first sale was that of a sea salmon fishing right, and that was made in 1872, so that from the time they got power to control the lochs and the sea coast, the Commissioners never made a single sale till 1872. Then five years elapsed before there was another sale, and then it was that a portion of the rights on Loch Ness was sold. There was traffic through the Loch, and the public had not suffered by the transaction. Two years then elapsed before another sale, and it was only since 1883 that the practice had become persistent. Now, year after year, all the Crown rights were being sold, and the unfortunate fishermen were being troubled by the new proprietors. He believed that, practically, there had been no fishing value sold to Lord Lovat, but that all his Lordship wanted was to put a stop to the public right of user.

MR. JACKSON said, that Lord Lovat did not seek to acquire it. He believed it was with the greatest difficulty Lord Lovat was induced to buy the fishing right.

DR. CLARK: By whom?

MR. JACKSON: By the Commissioners of Woods and Forests.

DR. CLARK: That is all the hon. Gentleman knows about it. Lord Lovat bought a highland first, and he was the individual to begin the transaction.

MR. JACKSON said, the negotiations had been going on since 1883, so that Lord Lovat did not appear to have been in any great hurry.

DR. CLARK said, that one reason why Lord Lovat wanted to secure these rights had never yet been brought before the notice of the House. The Commissioners of Supply had now got control of a large number of roads and bridges in the country. He believed it was in 1877 that the Trustees gave over the control of these roads and bridges to the Commissioners of Supply, but only a number of the principal roads were scheduled, and all the roads and bridges which were not scheduled were now practically no one's property, and were lying waste. There used to be a rate levied to keep them up; but now, as they were not scheduled, they did not come under the cognizance of the Commissioners of Supply. Some of the bridges had fallen out of repair, and the proprietors would not rebuild them except they wanted the road. The rights of way were now being shut up. In the district of Loch Morar this remark very much applied. There was a great deal of traffic across the centre of the Loch, and it was to stop this traffic—to stop the rights of way—that this transaction had been concluded, and in order that a big deer forest might be created, and that no rights of way should exist over the forest. What he wanted was to prevent this conspiracy being successful. The matter would be fought out in the Courts. If the proprietors had got a title from the Crown, it must be cancelled. He asserted that there had been corruption in this matter, and maintained that no solicitor employed by the Crown ought to have anything to do with the sale or transfer of any rights to any proprietor for whom he was also acting as solicitor. The very man who had in this matter acted in the double capacity was now, he believed, acting a third part, and that was as prosecutor of the people who had asserted their rights. Unless the Government wished disturbances to occur year after year, they would do something to prevent such sales being made.

MR. A. R. D. ELLIOT (Roxburgh) said, that the Committee must recollect that much was due to the change of time and circumstances, and that a great many sporting rights which were of no pecuniary value some years ago had now become so because of the fashion of the day. The question arose as to what was right or proper for the Crown to do as regarded property, which in the old days was never either let or sold, now that such property had become of considerable pecuniary value? He did not consider that this was a Scotch question as against an English question. What was desired was that the administration of the Woods and Forests should

be satisfactory both to England and to Scotland. He was bound to say that he could not agree altogether with the propositions laid down by the Secretary to the Treasury. These rights had become pecuniarily important; and if these rights, though they belonged to the Crown, were to be parted with, perhaps the actual legal rights of persons might not be affected, but undoubtedly their enjoyment of certain privileges would be largely affected, and he could not agree that the Crown would be acting the part of trustee of the public interest if it disregarded those local rights — those local customs which might not be rights at all—on the part of the public. The Crown, on the contrary, was bound to have regard to them, as well as to any pecuniary profit it might make by the sale of the rights. Anyone who came from the part of Scotland he came from—a part particularly unconnected with deer forests—was aware that the salmon fishing rights of private individuals had caused considerable dissatisfaction on the part of the public, who thought that in some way or other their rights were interfered with by the exercise by private owners of their fishing rights. Under the existing state of things he did not think the Crown could be too careful of the way in which it dealt with the right of fishing. The rights of salmon fishing in inland rivers were another thing such as could not be enjoyed by the people of the whole of the Three Kingdoms; but if they were enjoyed by anyone, there must be some sort of limit put on the right of the public to fish—a limit of time, and persons, and so forth. Before sitting down he desired to enforce what was said by his hon. Friend the Member for West Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan)—namely, that it would be as well, when inquiring into the exercise of the Crown's rights with regard to woods and forests, that the Reference should be so drawn that the Committee could deal with these sporting rights in Scotland.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) said, that a very interesting point had been raised in this discussion—namely, how far the Crown, which in this case distinctly represented the great body of the taxpayers, was right or wrong in disposing of certain privileges or rights for which it could get money value; or whether, on the other hand, it ought to allow those rights to lie dormant on account of local considerations which might make it undesirable that any transfer of those rights should take place? Of course, no one would deny that that was incidental to the present discussion; and when hon. Members wished the matter to be referred to a Committee, he understood it was not this particular sale, but the general principle as to how far these rights should be disposed of which it was proposed to refer to the Committee. He was inclined to think it was an extremely important question; but he doubted whether it could be conveniently referred to the same Committee that was to inquire into the general administration and business of the Woods and Forests. The point, however, should not be neglected. He would inquire as to the best means of threshing out this particular point—namely, the disposal of the rights of the Crown. He trusted, however, that the Committee and the public would understand that this was not a case of the Crown acting in any invidious sense as against poor fishermen. This was national property; and the question was, how far, in dealing with national property, they ought to take into account the local claims connected with it? He could quite understand that there were cases in which the disposal of Crown rights for small sums might excite local prejudice and create inconveniences and losses so great that it would be better that the property should not be disposed of. In view of the feeling of the Committee he would undertake that no further sales of this class should take place until there had been ample inquiry, until they could see what was the proper policy to pursue. In the discussion of this question a word had been used which he deeply regretted to see so often used in matters affecting administration, and that was the word corruption. Charges of corruption ought not to be loosely made; but when they were once made, they ought to be established. The Government had to defend public servants, because those servants were not there to defend themselves. Hon. Members would see that it was the bounden duty of the Government not to

allow charges to go by default, and to give those against whom charges were made an ample opportunity of vindicating their conduct. What he firmly believed to be the case was that the Commissioners of Woods and Forests were extremely anxious to make the very most of the property which belonged to the taxpayers. With that motive, and with no other, did they dispose of property which they thought ought to be realized. In this matter there would be no desire to conceal anything; the subject should be thoroughly investigated, and he had no doubt that if this sale had been illegally made it would be cancelled.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) said, he did not think the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer could be much surprised at the anxiety of hon. Members in this case, a case which had created great interest, and about which there was much uneasiness. He generally listened to all the statements of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury with great admiration, because the hon. Gentleman was always candid and fair, but he confessed he was surprised to hear the reasons assigned for not giving the papers in this case. It was said there was something confidential about this matter. What was the transaction? It was a simple sale of the property of the Crown to subjects of the Crown, and they were told by a Minister that the negotiations relating to the sale of the Crown's property had to be kept back from the Committee because there was something confidential between the parties. Had Lord Lovat been asked for the production of the correspondence; and why was it not right that the Committee should be informed upon these matters? The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that he would make inquiries; but, however the right hon. Gentleman might investigate the matter, nothing could be so satisfactory to hon. Members as to have the opportunity of investigating for themselves. He did not think, under the circumstances of the case, that they could look upon an inquiry by Government officials with any very great confidence. Personally he would much rather have the Papers before him and examine them for himself. He could not see how there could be any difficulty in the way of the production of the documents, and the attidude of the Government in this matter made hon. members very suspicious of their action.

MR. GOSCHEN said, he would make inquiries as to the documents, and see whether they were such as could properly be produced in the House. He would undertake to communicate with the gentlemen concerned, with a view of complying with the wishes of hon. Gentlemen opposite if he found it possible to do so.

MR. ANDERSON said, that probably after what the right hon. Gentleman had said, the Papers would be produced. As to the inquiry the Government had proposed to initiate in regard to the foreshores in Scotland, he desired to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to an important Return issued in 1880 with regard to the granting of these foreshores. It was shown in this Return that many of the grants of foreshores were for very small sums. There was one case in which a grant was made of foreshores to the Duke of Argyll for the sum of £14 10*s.*, and the complaint which was made in this case was one which applied to dozens of other similar cases. The price paid for this acquisition of Crown rights was only £14 10*s.*, but the expenses of making the grant would, in all probability, far exceed that sum, and he, therefore, looked upon it as a ridiculous thing from a revenue point of view for the Government to engage in such a transaction. The great grievance was that in order to obtain a sum which was so small as to be of little or no value to the revenue of the country, they parted with rights which were most valuable to fishermen and others, putting them into the hands of landed proprietors who, he was sorry to say, used them solely to advance their sporting privileges to the detriment of the fishing community, who were excluded from the foreshores. He hoped the Government would appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the salmon fishery rights granted by the Crown, to ascertain the position in which these rights stood at present, and whether or not the granting of these rights to landed proprietors was prejudicial to the interests of the fishing community. By the granting of

such Committee it might be possible to arrive at some satisfactory settlement of the question.

Mr. HUNTER said, he regretted that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not given a more satisfactory promise, and had said nothing whatever to encourage hon. Members to believe that they would find in the servants of the Crown in Scotland, and the servants of the public, protectors of the rights of the Scotch people, instead of men who were ever ready to sell those rights for nothing at all to the landlords round about them. There was nothing in what had fallen from the Government to lead him to take hope from them on that score. He did not intend to allow the case of Loch Morar to pass away as if it was not a case of suspicion. There were two circumstances of grave suspicion connected with that case. In the first place the price paid for the Crown rights in the case of this Loch was one-fourth the amount which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Inverness-shire, who was a capital judge of these matters, declared the rights to be worth, and declared that he would have been willing to give more for them. That, in itself, was a circumstance of strong suspicion, even if it stood alone. But it did not stand alone. It was combined with another circumstance which rendered it even more suspicious, which circumstance was that the Law Agent of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests was himself the solicitor to two of the parties concerned in this transaction. He (Mr. Hunter) asked the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, therefore, whether, upon those two facts alone, there did not arise such grave suspicion? The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury shook his head. He had evidently had no experience of the Court of Chancery. Finding that the agent of the vendor was the agent of the buyer, and also that the price given was only one-fourth of what the rights would fetch in the market, the Court of Chancery would at once upset the sale, and what the Court of Chancery would do in a case of this kind he maintained that the House of Commons and the Government ought to do. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer might rest sure that the Scotch Members would not be content until they had this case sifted to the very bottom and the truth ascertained. What were the reasons given by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury? The first point was that it was doubtful whether there was any salmon fishing at all in this case. If that were so, could there be a stronger circumstance of suspicion? If there were no salmon fishing, what did the neighbouring proprietors pay this £475 for? If it was not for salmon it must have been paid with some ulterior motive. Was there an ulterior motive? Of course there was. Everyone in Scotland knew the principal object in view was to give the landlord a weapon against the public in order to keep them out of Loch Morar. Then the Committee were told that the Papers could not be disclosed because they contained confidential matter. Before the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury made that remark, he should have remembered that he was an Englishman, and that Scotch law was not on all fours with that of England. The hon. Gentleman objected to proprietors being made to disclose their titles, evidently not being aware of the fact that there were no secret titles in Scotland. His hon. Friend the Member for Inverness had read every one of the titles connected with this case. The statement of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury showed how unsatisfactory were the arguments upon which the Government resisted the demands of the Scotch Members, and showed, furthermore, the disadvantage of having Scotch matters managed by a gentleman who was not a Scotchman. To go to another point, he (Mr. Hunter) maintained that it was bad public policy, and totally unjustifiable, to sell one single right of the Crown consisting of fishings or foreshores in Scotland. Technically the Government had a right to do it, but morally they had no such right. To whom did these rights belong? Why, these rights, which were rights *inter regalia*, were simply the rights granted to the people by Roman law, and stolen from them by the feudal system. Notwithstanding the feudal law, however, there remained a few rights to the public under the shelter of the Crown, and these rights should continue to be held for the public. Morally speaking, the Crown had no

right to sell them. Moreover, he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer this question: When the Government sold these rights, whose property were they disposing of, and what did they do with the money? The right hon. Gentleman and the Committee must remember that the Crown of Scotland was quite a distinct Crown from the Crown of England. The two Kingdoms were merged into one owing to the fact that the two Crowns happened to belong to one person; but that made no difference in the rights of the people of the two countries. The rights were totally distinct, and all those rights which were called Crown rights in Scotland were the property of the people of Scotland, and not of the people of England; and he maintained that the Government were not justified in selling the property of the Scotch people in the interest of the general taxpayer. Out of this amount realized by the sale of these rights to Scotch proprietors Scotland would only get some £60, the remainder going to England, Ireland, and Wales. He submitted that the Government had no right to sell these public rights of the people of Scotland; and even if they did, they certainly were not justified in putting the money so realized into the pockets of the English taxpayer. There was one other point upon which he should like to say a word before he sat down, with regard to the general question. The appointment of a Committee had been agreed upon to inquire into the system of management in the Woods and Forests Department. Well, he hoped when the Government settled the terms of the Reference of that Committee they would so settle them as to enable the Committee to take into their consideration, with regard to agricultural land, and also with regard to houses, the tenure upon which such properties ought to be held. At the present moment the general tenure of land in agricultural districts was one year, and in towns the tenure of houses was mostly 99 years. Leases granted on these tenures ought to be revised in order to give some inducement to leaseholders to spend more money on repairs. If the terms were extended the effect would be that substantial repairs would be carried out by those who were in enjoyment of the properties. He believed that by the adoption of this suggestion it would be found that a considerable amount of money would be secured to the Treasury.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY asked whether the Government would not refrain from making any further sales until the Committee had reported?

MR. JACKSON said, he had said, as distinctly as he could, that no further sales would take place until the Committee had reported, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had also given a similar undertaking.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he had made an appeal to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury last year, that no further sales should be allowed to take place until the matters complained of had been investigated. Nevertheless——

MR. JACKSON asked whether the transactions which had been referred to did not take place before the date of the hon. Gentleman's appeal?

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he understood that they had occurred since.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said that one of the transactions took place in January, 1887, and the last, he believed, in March, 1887.

MR. JACKSON said, the transaction to which the attention of the Government had been especially directed took place, he believed, on the 3rd of June, 1886. There might have been transactions in January and March, 1887, but the land sales were in June, 1886.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, the discussion to which he referred occurred in August, 1887. He had appealed to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury to give a pledge that no more fishings belonging to the Crown would be allowed to go into the hands of private proprietors, and suggested that if the Commissioners wished to make money out of the fishings, they could lease them. He ventured to say that if the Commissioners had leased these fishings, they would have got 10 times better terms than those they had accepted.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) said, he did not wish to prolong the discussion upon the question immediately before the Committee to which the hon. Member for Inverness had alluded.

He desired to refer to another point, and he was sorry that the Lord Advocate for Scotland was not in his place to reply to him. Probably, however, the absence of the Lord Advocate would not cause so much inconvenience as it might otherwise have done, as he had reason to believe that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had information upon the subject with which he wished to deal. What he desired was, that the subject on which he was about to speak might be brought under the purview of the Select Committee about to be appointed. There was, he understood, an old Scotch Act under which the foreshores were preserved to the fishermen. Under this Act fishermen could build houses, spread and dry their nets, and otherwise carry on their industries. So far as he was informed, proprietors of land adjoining the foreshores in Scotland had encroached very much on the rights which were reserved in this Act to fishermen. The law was, that if land was under cultivation—that was to say, used for agricultural purposes—the fishermen had no right to the foreshores; but what he was informed had taken place was this—that the proprietors of adjoining properties took means to scratch up the surface of miserable bits of land and put them, technically speaking, under cultivation. Although the land was of no value, they claimed exemption for it under the Act of which he had spoken. They claimed the land and charged the fishermen large rents for the use of the foreshores. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was aware that this matter of tenure was one of great grievance.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must say I fail to see how the subject the hon. Member is now dealing with is connected with the administration of the Office of Woods and Forests.

MR. ESSLEMONT said, he understood that the officials to whom he referred were under the administration of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests.

MR. JACKSON said, they were under the administration of the Board of Trade.

MR. ESSLEMONT said, then of course they would not come under the purview of the Select Committee about to be appointed, and he would not proceed any further in the matter.

DR. CLARK said, that in the matter of the sale of these rights to the Scotch proprietors no doubt the dates were confusing. What had occurred showed how badly the Commissioners of Woods and Forests kept their accounts. The facts relating to this sale of Loch Morar were published in the 87th Report of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, but they only said that they had made three sales — one for £150, and two for £60 a piece. But in the same Report they gave themselves credit for having received four—two at £150 and two at £60; and in the present Report they found, under the date of April 14th, that four of these rights had been sold. They seemed to put the whole four in the present Report though they had only information with regard to the sale of three. Since the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury gave an assurance that there would be no more of these rights sold, there had been three disposed of. The first was sold in October last—two months after the assurance had been given—in the county of Caithness. It was sold in the county of Caithness to an English gentleman who had bought an estate there and was in trouble with the crofters in regard to the fishing rights. Previously the right had been let to this proprietor and brought in £7 a-year, but last year it was sold to the proprietor for £150. The fishermen of the district would have given the Government twice that amount for it. Probably in the future they would find these men catching fish and having a salmon in one of their nets, and out of that would come no end of trouble. Further rights were sold in January last in the county of Aberdeen, and in February last other rights to salmon fishing were sold in another part of the country.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he thought the Government were getting nearer and nearer to giving up their position with regard to the Papers which were asked for by the Scotch Members in the case of Loch Morar, and he believed that if the debate were continued a little longer, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would yield and allow the Papers to be produced. The hon. Gentleman the Se-

cretary to the Treasury did not like to say that the Papers would be submitted, simply because at an earlier period of the debate he had twice refused them. He had given them bad reasons for his refusal, and, those reasons having been argued away, he now told them that he did not like to produce the Papers as they might be confidential. It was necessary that hon. Members should know what those Papers were, as it was not desirable that they should make complaint against public officers until they were sure of their game. How could they be sure of their game, however, unless they had these Papers? The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said he would consider the matter, and see if it would be possible for him to allow the Papers to be produced, but unless hon. Members pressed their point that evening they would be unable to bring pressure upon him until next year. It was only once a year that private Members had a sort of field day. Their only opportunity of taking the Government to task was when these Estimates came down, and if they surrendered their demand to have these Papers, however favourable the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer might consider the matter, if that consideration did not result in the Papers being produced they would have lost a year—they would have to wait another 12 months before they could bring any further pressure to bear upon him. He (Sir George Campbell) did not see why the Papers should not be given, and he hoped that before the debate closed the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would change his mind and would promise to produce them. With regard to the general question he (Sir George Campbell) quite admitted that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had spoken very fair words, but still, with every confidence in that right hon. Gentleman and in his desire to do justice in the matter, he (Sir George Campbell) desired to say that this was a popular question, and that it would be much more satisfactory that some pledge should be given that all the facts would be submitted to the House rather than that they should rest content with the statement that the Government would inquire into the matter. He could understand in a case where they had a valuable right—say, to a salmon fishing bringing in some thousands a year—that that right should be sold for revenue purposes, but in the vast majority of these cases the rights were of small value, and the sales were of no advantage whatever to the Exchequer, and when these rights were parted with for an almost nominal consideration, and the interests of the fishing community were greatly injured thereby, he thought the matter was one constituting a grievance which should be submitted to a Committee of the House. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the case of the Scotch fishermen, so far as these foreshores were concerned, was not precisely on all fours with the Epping Forest case. The sale of a salmon right, he maintained, did not give or take away a right of way, but, as in the case of Epping Forest, where the right of way was doubtful and the dispute was one between a rich man and a poor man, and where the means of fighting the dispute was doubtful, it was a most important thing that the rights of the Crown should be maintained whenever they were calculated to preserve the rights of the public. In the case of Epping Forest the Crown rights—obsolete, no doubt—prevented the proprietors clearing the Forest and shutting out the public from it. The Treasury in those days thought their duty was to get a revenue and to sacrifice their rights, whatever they might be and to whatever extent the interest of the public might depend upon them, and if the City of London had not fought the case in the Courts, Epping Forest would have been entirely lost to the public. This Scotch case which hon. Members had been ventilating that night was exactly similar, only that, unfortunately, there was here no such Corporation of London to fight the matter in the interests of the public. He hoped the Government would consent to the understanding arrived at in the earlier part of the evening and allow all these matters to be gone into by the Committee.

DR. CAMERON said, that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had agreed to refer the question of these

sales of Crown rights in Scotland to the Committee to be appointed.

MR. JACKSON: No, no!

DR. CAMERON said, he wished to make the matter clear. He had understood the hon. Gentleman to agree to suspend further sales until the matter had been inquired into.

MR. JACKSON: Yes, precisely.

DR. CAMERON: But the matter was not to be inquired into. He should like to know what was really meant?

MR. GOSCHEN: I am not quite sure whether the Government have been met in the spirit which marked our proposals. The Committee first asked, on the ground of maladministration in connection with Woods and Forests, and on the ground of extravagance, it being alleged that the cost of the management was too high and that the Commissioners failed to utilize their disposable property, that an inquiry should be instituted by a Select Committee. The gravamen of the charge against the Commissioners was as to the manner in which they conducted their business. The Government assented to the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the mode in which the Commissioners conducted their business. We promised to nominate a Committee, but that promise has now been utilized by hon. Members opposite for other purposes. Hon. Gentlemen wish to raise very important questions indeed, connected with the rights of the Crown, and the sale of those rights, and I understand my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury to answer on that particular point that the request of hon. Members shall be considered. I recognize the full importance of this matter, and I assure the Committee that it would be greatly to the interest and comfort of the Government if we could get rid of these difficult questions by handing them over to a Select Committee, throwing the entire responsibility upon such a Body. There is no more difficult task imposed upon us than the adjustment of claims between the taxpayer and the localities interested in Crown property. But I am doubtful whether the same Committee which we should appoint to inquire into the general business arrangements of the Department of Woods and Forests would be the best tribunal we could select to inquire into the question raised by the Scotch Members, which is a matter of law in which Scotland is especially interested. I should be disposed to think that a Committee to inquire into the disposal of Crown rights would be one on which Scotch Members might wish to be much more strongly represented than on a Committee to inquire into the general administration of the Crown Lands. I should be glad to have the assistance of hon. Members of this House on such a subject as the disposal of Crown rights; but it would be premature to say more than that the Government are anxious to inquire. Perhaps hon. Members will now allow the Government to proceed with the Business of the Estimates. With regard to the question of sales, I may say that no more will take place for the present. I go further than that. I do not think that this class of sales should be proceeded with until the Government have looked into the matter in a broad spirit. I will undertake that instructions shall be given that no more sales of this kind shall take place. The hon. Member opposite quoted a case where he said there had been a sale, there having previously been a lease. I do not know how long the lease in question may have been, but I think the length of the lease must have had something to do with the sale.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Do we understand definitely that the Papers are refused for the present?

MR. GOSCHEN: We have not got them here, and I must ask the Committee to allow me to look at the Papers in order to see whether they can be produced or not. I cannot, after what has happened, promise them without first examining them.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member for Inverness-shire press his Amendment?

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH: I do.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 69; Noes 114: Majority 45.—(Div. List, No. 280.)

Original Question again proposed.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said, that the organization of the Department was very costly, although he did not complain so much of that fact. The

Commissioner received £1,200 a-year, and there were, besides, the salaries of a large number of clerks. There seemed, however, to be no persons connected with the Department who knew anything about Woods and Forests. He thought that in a Department of that kind there ought to be some skilled person, and that the Department should resemble that which controlled the forests in India. He would ask the Secretary to the Treasury if he had any Reports from the Commissioners of Woods and Forests as to the amount of land in the hands of the Crown which would be available for the real purpose of the Department, which was the planting and keeping up of woods in the country. Anyone who had travelled on the Continent or in India would be aware that the amount of woodland in this country was extremely small; indeed, if it were not for certain private proprietors, it would be absolutely insignificant, and the effect upon the climate and drainage of the country would be very serious. Foreign Governments considered it absolutely necessary for the industrial resources of the country that there should be considerable areas of woodland. He had read the Report of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, and he was bound to say that they had touched extremely little on this important subject. He thought it high time, therefore, that the Secretary to the Treasury should give the House some information on the point, and say whether the attention of the Commissioners was directed to the replanting of the Crown Lands. He was aware that in the New Forest there was a certain amount of land replanted; but there was only a small portion of the woodlands of this country in which the practice was systematic. He drew attention to this point because he thought it should be attended to during the present year. The importance of this was well known to all the Members of the House who took an interest in the subject of our Woods and Forests in England, Ireland and Scotland. The hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham (Sir Richard Temple), who lately presided over the Forest Committee, was himself anxious to bring this question before the House; but, the Government having confiscated all the days of private Members during the Session, he had been unable to do so. As he (Colonel Nolan) believed that the only opportunity of a private Member to raise the question was when this Vote was before the Committee, he would ask the Government whether they would bring the subject before the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. He would like to see the English people as prosperous as possible, but he quite acknowledged that he took a greater interest in the people of Ireland, where, he was sorry to say, that woodlands were still more conspicuous than in England by their absence; and one might travel over the great plain which lay between Dublin and Galway and see very few woods indeed. If the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had time to devote to the Report of the Committee presided over by the hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham, he would see that it strongly recommended that this Department should take up the question of replanting a portion of Ireland; that it was stated that a large amount of land would be available there; and that the people would willingly surrender grazing land for the purpose. For a long time the Department had been content to collect a certain amount of rent and to sell certain water rights for small sums, as in Scotland, and he thought it was time to do something to re-forest the country, which was the true work and gave the real title to the Department. He would ask whether the Commissioners had directed their attention to the planting of Crown Lands for this purpose? He would also ask the hon. Gentleman how he explained the curious anomaly that in the Woods and Forests Department there did not appear to be any forester? There was a geologist, and he thought it was right that there should be, because the Commissioners had to deal with a large number of mineral rights. It was time—and the Committee, of which he (Colonel Nolan) was a humble Member, had pointed out—that attention ought to be called to this subject in England, and that the Department should in some way include skilled foresters, men trained in technical schools, and that, if such persons were not to be found, men should be sent for training to schools in other countries. He hoped that attention would be paid to this most important subject, and that instead of having a Department of well-paid Commissioners and clerks without any special know-

ledge, they would place on the staff one or two skilled persons, and then the Office would be really of use, and be worthy of the name of a Woods and Forests Department. The hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham had tried very hard to get a day for his Motion without success; and the only chance of drawing the attention of the Government to the subject was to bring it before them on the present occasion. He hoped to hear if the hon. Gentleman had obtained a Report, and whether his attention had been turned to this important matter.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, the question raised by the hon. and gallant Member for North Galway (Colonel Nolan) was, no doubt, a very important one; but he (Mr. Jackson) ventured to think that it was entirely distinct from the Vote before the Committee. He would point out that there was, as he thought, a little misconception in the mind of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, because the duties of the Commissioners were really to administer the estates under their charge mainly from the point of view of making the most that they could out of them. The question whether it was desirable to plant new forests in this country was, in his opinion, an entirely separate one, because he doubted that the Commissioners would be justified in spending money on planting unless they could, by so doing, bring in any more revenue. It was true that there had been some planting in the Isle of Man on land that was well suitable for it, and because it was the best purpose to which it could be put. He had known for many years the gentleman who occupied the position of sub-deputy at the New Forest, and not only did this gentleman give much attention to the subject of forestry, but he was also a man of great competence in that respect. The subject raised by the hon. and gallant Gentleman was, undoubtedly, one of great interest; and although, as he had said, it was not included in this Vote, it ought not to be lost sight of.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, in this Department, instead of there being an economy, there was an increase of £1,000 in Fees to Counsel, and in Incidental Expenses of £400. The probable reason why the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury was asking so much more for counsel was that the Legal Advisers of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests in Scotland had commenced tyrannical proceedings against some unfortunate tenants in Caithness; it was owing to that very prolonged and expensive legislation that a Supplementary Estimate had been asked for, and that this additional £1,000 was now put down. He should advise the hon. Gentleman to see that the Solicitors of the Commissioners in Scotland were paid by salary instead of by fees, because by this litigation they were making rather large fees for themselves. If the Lord Advocate were here he should have said something more on this subject; but the Government had been entirely defeated, and he should therefore say no more on the subject at that moment. In Caithness the same system had been carried out on Crown Lands as on other lands. The crofters had been turned out of the moorlands which they had made valuable, and larger farmers had come in; and in this respect the action of the Crown had been as bad as that of private landlords. He did not believe there were any small tenants in Caithness; but he could get no information about this matter from the Papers, which only gave a lump sum for all the Crown Lands throughout the country. He saw that Scotland brought in about £12,000. The great bulk of the land in Caithness was held by three or four farmers, who paid all the rents, and where there were previously townships there were now farms extending for seven miles. He asked whether anything could be done to carry out in this district the principle of the Crofters' Act? The special grievance in Caithness was that all the small fertile farms so useful to the population had now been made into great farms. A great farm at Scrabster had been let to a large farmer, who probably paid £5,000 or £6,000 rent. He hoped there would be no more of this, and also that something would be done to carry out the principle of the Act, and that the Crown would give a chance for the cultivation of these lands. It might have been at the beginning a little more profitable for the Crown to get rid of all their tenants and bring in some big grazier; but now the men who had made the so-called improvements were nearly all bankrupts,

and they were scarcely getting a return for the buildings placed on the farms where desolation had been caused by turning out the small tenants; whereas the proprietors who had not adopted this policy were the only ones in Caithness who were in a prosperous condition. He asked whether the Crown would break up these large farms and convert them into a number of smaller ones? All the arable land was falling into the condition of waste, and places that formerly carried 4,000 or 5,000 sheep could now carry no more than 2,000. He, therefore, hoped they would be able to carry out an extension of the number of holdings, and thereby improve the condition of a large number of crofters. Would the hon. Gentleman instruct the Commissioners of Woods and Forests that when the present leases of the large farms expired they would permit the people who had been driven away to go back to the Crown Lands and have small farms of 20 or 30 acres at rents of £20 or £30 a-year, which would add much to the value of the agricultural property, and, at the same time, be of great advantage to the people of Caithness.

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire) said, he thought it exceedingly desirable that the Crown Lands should, as far as possible, be let in small holdings. It was well known that the great evil in the Highlands was the gradual extinction of small holdings. It was the main cause of the discontent there, and year after year charges were brought against landlords on this account. Surely the Crown, at such a time, ought to set an example of the proper way of dealing with farm lands in this part of the country, which would then be probably followed by the larger landlords. He thought it deplorable that lands which belonged to the nation should be so handled as to become the cause of discontent amongst the people. When the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees held the position of Secretary to the Treasury, he (Mr. S. Smith) had ventured to bring before the House the same proposal—that a beginning should be made to create small peasant holdings; but since then matters had become worse instead of better. He thought it very much to be desired that the suggestion of his hon. Friend should now be acted upon, and for that reason he rose to support it with all his heart.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) said, he wished to point out that there was an increase in the Vote of £1,500, of which £1,135 was for legal Expenses. This item of Legal Expenses, he could not but regard as excessive, and thought that it required some explanation. He hoped that when the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury rose to reply he would explain this increase, and say whether it went into the pockets of the Law Officers of the Crown, or whether it was distributed outside the Government officials. Then there was the salary of £800 a-year for a Mining Inspector, with regard to which he would only say that he was certain a man capable of dealing with the minerals in the Crown Lands could be had for a considerably less sum. The whole arrangement appeared to be thoroughly extravagant, and he was sure the Committee could not be more usefully occupied than in checking the expenditure of the Department, particularly that under the head of Legal Expenditure.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, he desired to know what conclusion the Government had come to with regard to the royalties to be charged on gold and silver mining in Great Britain and Ireland. The last intimation was that a sum would be charged which would make gold mining absolutely impossible in this country; the sum proposed being unknown in any of the gold bearing countries of the world, and in Australia it was but the smallest fraction of that proposed to be charged here. In former times the charge upon the gold industry of the country was one of the causes of that industry dying out. It had now been revived in Wales and in the adjoining district, and the question had become one of great importance. Again, the gold fields of Wicklow at one time produced in a year £60,000 in gold; but the Government of the day imposed charges upon the industry which crushed it entirely. He did not want to see the same thing occur with regard to the new industry arising in this country. He was satisfied that a quantity sufficient to pay would be found, and he might say that such assays as had been

made and the samples inspected went to show that the new fields were richer to a considerable extent than many of those which in Australia and America were worked at a considerable profit. It was the bounden duty of the Government to do all they could to advance the industry, and were they to decide to take no royalty at all, he was convinced they would do the best thing for the interest of the country and the people in Wales and Ireland. It was reported that the Government had in one instance granted mining rights in an extent of country two miles wide and eight miles long to private persons; and if that were true they had made one of the worst mistakes possible. In Australia and America an area of no more than 400 yards by 200 yards was given for the purpose of mining, and that represented the result of the experience of the Government of those countries; they knew that if larger areas were granted the land would not be worked at all; that people would be kept from making searches in the district; or, if the land turned out well, that one man would gather the wealth of a whole district. He asked the Secretary to the Treasury if he could deny that this large grant had been made to a single individual; and also what course the Government proposed to take, both as regarded royalties and the maximum area to be given to one person? He hoped to hear the hon. Gentleman announce that the Government had reduced the absurd royalty proposed to an amount which would make it possible for the industry in question to be pursued.

MR. JACKSON said, on the question of the increase of the charge for Legal Expenses, he had already explained that there had been two or three actions at law which had involved additional expenditure, to meet which it was necessary to supply the Department with the money now asked for. The hon. Member for East Bristol (Mr. Handel Cossham) had referred to the salary of the Mining Inspector. The Committee were probably aware that the gentleman holding this position—Sir Warrington Smyth—was as able an authority on the subject of mining as any in the country, and there was no mining lease entered into without being carefully considered by him, and without the advice of the Head of the Department. He believed it was admitted that no better man for the position could be found, and that the leases were perfectly safe in his hands. With regard to the proposal of the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark), that no more land should be sold, he (Mr. Jackson) was obliged to say that he could give no such undertaking, and he did not think that the hon. Gentleman supposed for a moment that he could do so. No doubt it would be very interesting to make experiments with small holdings; but he did not think the Commissioners of Woods and Forests would think they were justified in doing otherwise than carrying on their business on commercial principles and doing the best they could with the land under their control, nor did he think they would be justified in undertaking experiments which might involve a large amount of loss. He would, however, call the attention of the Commissioners to the remarks of the hon. Member, and ask whether they could, in any way, facilitate the object he had in view? The hon. and learned Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) had asked as to the amount of royalty to be charged on gold. The position which the Commissioners had taken was that the amount of royalty charged where the land belonged to the Crown was 1-15th, and where it was not Crown property 1-13th. These rates, he believed, were not absolutely followed in all cases; but, generally speaking, they were the rates charged. He did not think they were very onerous. [MR. MOLLOY: Yes; excessively so.] He did not agree with the hon. and learned Gentleman. They were charged on the amount of gold obtained. He was sorry to say that he was unable to give the information asked for by the hon. and learned Member as to the large extent of mining rights said to have been given to a private individual. The largest licence was for 600 acres, and that was for land not under Crown control. Speaking with some knowledge, he could say that it was the desire of the Government and of the Commissioners to encourage in every way they could the experiment which was being made in England and Wales. The question had been discussed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the Commis-

sioners, and instructions had been given to facilitate the industry in every case and to throw no obstacle in its way.

MR. MOLLOY said, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury spoke of 1-15th as a moderate royalty. He (Mr. Molloy) had no interest in any one of these works; but he had some knowledge of the subject, and could tell the hon. Gentleman that the royalties proposed must have the effect of destroying the industry. If the charge were made on the net profits he would still say it was excessive; but it was much more so when it was taken from the amount of gold obtained. The ores in Wales did not produce more than 4½ pennyweights, from which the expenses had to be deducted, and the result was that the Government were asking 50 per cent of the profit made from the mines. Was this fair, or was it calculated to prosper the industry here? In Australia, at the present time, the whole effort was to get rid of royalties and induce people to go into gold mining, because it was known that the true profit to the State arose from the prosperity of the industry which followed. Was it not a monstrous thing? Here was an industry which never could yield any large sum in this country; and yet, in their avarice to get something more into the Treasury chest, the Government were doing that which would check or kill the industry in a district where it was most wanted. Was it not wise to take counsel in those who were acquainted with these matters? He was sorry some of the Welsh Members, who were interested in the matter, had not taken it up. He hoped they would join with him in pressing upon the Government the necessity of dealing generously—and more than generously—with those who had undertaken researches for the precious metals in this country.

DR. CLARK said, he was not satisfied with the answer he had received from the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Jackson), because the position of the Crown as proprietor in the county of Caithness was quite different from its position in the South of England. The Commissioners appointed under the Crofters' Act were able to take the control of land out of the hands of the Crown, and to let the land to the crofters. Unfortunately, there were 15 conditions limiting the power of the Commissioners, and one of these conditions prevented the Commissioners taking land and increasing the holdings in Caithness. If the Government carried out the recommendations of their own Commission, the Sheriff of the county would take land, let it to the poor people, and thus prevent congestion. Now, as to gold mining, he had an experience extending over 20 years; and he had to corroborate the statement of his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Molloy), who was the patentee of a process which would make small reefs like those in Wales profitable working. The development of gold mining in South Africa had been considerable during seven years, but instead of getting £1,000,000 sterling a-year, as was now got in the Transvaal, there might be got £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 sterling annually if it had not been that when the country was taken over the then rising and progressing gold industry was crushed. It was only when the Republic was again proclaimed that the industry once more began to rally. The entire royalty charged by the Government there was less than a third of what the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Molloy) proposed. The authorites in the Transvaal only asked the mere nominal rate of 6*d.* per acre while a field was being was developed, and after it was developed all they asked was 2½ per cent. The future of the gold industry in Wales depended upon every facility being given for its development. If the Crown imposed the heavy tax which was asked, the attempt of the new Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Pritchard Morgan) to open up a new industry in the Principality would very likely fail. The Company had to pay a rental to the private owner, and another rental to the Crown. If the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil had known that the Crown would step in and put this royalty upon his findings, he would have made a very different arrangement with the owner. He (Dr. Clark) was fully persuaded that the development of gold mining in the poorest county of Scotland—namely, Sutherland—would largely increase the population, and result in a large gold industry there. At present the people were prevented from developing such mines. There were veins in the quartz

and granite mountains in Sutherland where nothing could be grown. They could not feed even a snipe upon 20 acres of them, but where there might be a profitable gold industry, if only facilities were given for its development.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire) said that as his hon. and learned Friend the Member for the Birr Division of King's County (Mr. Molloy) had appealed to the Welsh Members to say something on this subject, he did not wish the debate to close without saying one word. They all knew that gold mining was an exceedingly speculative kind of industry. It was very doubtful whether the find would last, and the cost of working was always very great. He thought it was a kind of industry which ought to be encouraged in every way by the Government. He quite agreed with his hon. and learned friend that a royalty of 1-15th, not of the net profits but of the gross, was really enormous. He had not gone into the matter closely, but he could conceive that such a royalty would take a very large slice out of what could be found. He put it to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury whether it was worth while, considering what a benefit this industry would be to the Principality of Wales, for the Government, for the sake of the very trifling sum of a few thousand pounds, to insist upon the payment of this heavy royalty? Even from a financial point of view it would be far better for the Treasury to be a little generous rather than kill that which might turn out to be a most valuable boon to an important but poor part of the Kingdom.

MR. KENYON (Denbigh, &c.) said, that as a director in the only Welsh gold mining industry which was paying any dividend at the present time, he desired to say that he and his colleagues had been treated with the greatest courtesy by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the matter of royalty. As far as the mine with which he was connected was concerned, he did not say they were not able to pay the royalty which was demanded, for they had raised as much as five ounces a ton; but he thought that in the interests of gold mining throughout Wales and the rest of the country, the royalty which was demanded was one which would effectually crush a rising industry and prevent numberless other mines which were at the present moment ready to be started from being floated in the market. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he was not prepared to waive the Crown rights, that he would consider whether it was not possible for him to reduce the royalty with a view to encouraging an industry which was likely to employ a very large number of people in a country which greatly required the employment of people? The gold mining industry of Wales 20 years ago had a fair prospect before it. In 1862 the Government drew as royalty from the gold mines of Wales no less than £2,000 in one year. He had been given to understand by people who were acquainted with the industry that to a great extent the industry was crushed out at that time or depressed very largely by the fact that the Government insisted upon this royalty. As there was great doubt as to the existence of a legal right to these mineral royalties, he suggested that it would be wise to appoint a small Commission to inquire into the whole question of Crown rents and mineral royalties, more especially in regard to Wales.

MR. GOSCHEN said that he had looked into this question with great care because it was one of some importance. The majority of hon. Members would desire that an infant industry should be allowed to be developed free from any difficulties that could fairly be removed, but the question in this case was not simply one of an infant industry. What the Government had found was that when persons had asked and obtained moderate terms from the Government, those who had received such terms had sold that which had been conceded to them, and had made an extremely good thing out of the transaction. The question was whether the public or particular individuals ought to have the advantage of the discovery of gold? He had been told that one of the Companies now developing this industry was prepared to pay a dividend of 10 per cent. If that were so, the industry could afford to pay to the taxpayers the amount demanded in the shape of royalty. He wished the Committee to understand that there were two sides to this ques-

tion. The Government had found that there were plenty of people prepared to accept the terms which had been offered, and he was of opinion that they ought not to part with public property to private individuals except at the full market price. The Government would be doing wrong if they were to encourage any particular Companies to acquire these rights, which were certainly valuable rights, at rates which were not full rates. They were perfectly clear that they had a good title to those rights, and they would defend them in the interests of the taxpayer. These rights belonged to the Crown—they really belonged to the nation, and the Government were bound, in the interests of the nation, to utilize them to the best advantage. They did not wish at all to put so high a value upon them as to discourage general gold mining in Wales. It would be false policy, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Osborne Morgan) had explained; it would be wrong to do so. But, surely, at the same time, there were no Members of the Committee who would wish the Government to put so cheap a price upon these rights as would enable individuals to sell the rights afterwards to Companies able to declare very high dividends. The Government had given every attention to the subject; they hoped to see the gold mining industry in Wales developed; but they considered it their bounden duty to guard against the dangers he had mentioned.

MR. MOLLOY said, that the question of the right of the Crown in these matters he knew nothing whatever about; but the point he wished to impress upon the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that the policy he had just expounded as that of the Government was a policy which was adopted originally in Australia and in the Transvaal, and that in both of those countries it had failed. In both of those countries it was admitted that the policy was a false one. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer asked why should the Government sell to a man a piece of land at a smaller price than he could get for it in the market? That was where the whole policy came in. It was quite true that if they chose to ask 50 per cent of the gross profits, they would still get men to buy from the Government, and who probably might be able, on some wonderfully rich find, to sell to a Company. He granted, if the right hon. Gentleman liked, that all he had said was perfectly true. Everybody knew, who knew anything about mining ventures, that the first two years of a Company were the best years in 95 cases out of 100. It was afterwards, when they got down to the average, that Companies came to the pinch; it was when they came down to the small average of four or five pennyweight that the smallest fraction made the difference between a paying and a non-paying mine. The 15th would then come in, and ruin the industry. What would they get in a few years by their 1-15th per cent; would it make any difference in two years? When these mines came to be developed, small quantities must be got out of them, as in other countries, and then, when the change came, the industry would die out. At the end of the last century there was a gold industry in Ireland; but by a policy such as that which was now being pursued by the Government it was killed. About 40 or 50 years ago there was a little spurt of gold mining in Wales, and identically the same thing happened there. Were the Government going to kill the industry again? Why could they not say that in the beginning of the industry they would seek for no or only a nominal royalty? That he could quite understand; but, as a matter of fact, the Government were fixing a royalty now which might become permanent. This was a working man's question. If they could get only a small amount of gold, the mining would furnish much employment. In the interests of labour, he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to reconsider the question, and take counsel with those acquainted with the matter.

MR. GOSCHEN said, that, as he had already explained, he was extremely anxious to see this industry develop; but it must be borne in mind that there were several competitors for these mining rights, and the question was who should have them. Were they to favour anyone in the matter, or were they to give the rights to the highest bidder; or were they to part with them to the first who applied, or to those who

could bring most influence to bear upon the Government?

MR. MOLLOY: The first who applies.

MR. GOSCHEN: Then it was to be a question simply of those who came first. There were some who believed they could pay the Government 1-15th. Were the Government to part with the rights to gentlemen who were unwilling to pay so much? Earlier in the evening the charge was brought against Government officials that they parted with rights belonging to the Crown at too cheap a rate. That charge might very easily be brought against the Government if they sold the mining rights at 1-30th to friends or supporters of the Government when they might get 1-15th from other parties. Take the case of the hon. Gentleman who had been recently returned to that House (Mr. Pritchard Morgan). That gentleman had acquired a certain amount of these rights. What charge might not be made against the Government if they had parted, not upon the principle of tender or the principle of giving them to the highest bidder, but simply parted with the rights which were worth 1-15th at the rate of 1-30th. He was impressed very much with the desirability of developing the mining industry, and of employing men, and of securing the greatest amount of enterprize and capital, but he was afraid of the middleman. He feared to part with the right, for instance, at 1-30th, to find afterwards that it had been sold again at, say, 1-15th, the profit being secured not by the public, but by a man who had been extremely active in coming first and securing the rights. In the particular case of Mr. Pritchard Morgan, the gentleman who had acquired these rights, the rights which had been parted with by the Government at a cheaper price, had been acquired by him, he believed, but by paying a still higher price for them. The Government must pursue this matter with an anxious desire both to be fair to the Principality of Wales, and, at the same time, to utilize competition up to a proper point.

MR. SWETENHAM (Carnarvon) said, that, as a Welsh Member, he took considerable interest in this question, and he felt the difficulty which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had just enunciated; but he could not help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman had answered himself. It was clear that if this industry was encouraged more persons would come forward, and the chances were that the royalties which might be payable to the Crown would be increased in bulk. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would see the great desirability of giving easy terms to persons who came forward for the purpose of embarking in this industry, which, unquestionably, would prove of very great benefit and advantage to the working men of Wales, who were anxiously looking forward to the time when the mining industry in their country would be developed. If the right hon. Gentleman would make the terms easy, and, at the same time, say to the person who came forward to be the original lessee that it would not be competent for him to sub-lease a mine at any royalty in excess of that paid to the Crown, the difficulty would cease at once. Persons who desired mining leases in Wales considered that a lease of 30 years was not quite sufficient. He believed that if people could get longer leases at more moderate royalties the industry would be still more developed. Men argued that it was a very expensive work to put up the necessary very expensive machinery, and that if they put it up and a considerable amount of gold was obtained, it was quite possible that the Crown might increase the royalties when it was asked for a fresh lease. He did not believe the Crown would do anything of the sort, but people did not think they ought to be satisfied merely with an assertion of the fact.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, it occurred to him that nothing would be easier than that a graduated scale should be introduced which would meet the difficulties contemplated. Not a scale based upon the gross profits, for that was a very variable quantity, but upon the profits declared. Why should not the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer lay down the very simple proposition that 1-20th of the profits devisable should go to the Crown? If the venture was a very successful one, there was no reason in the world why the Crown should not have a proportional profit. For his own part, he thought every possible security which the right

hon. Gentleman required would be met by a scale of the kind he suggested. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Denbigh (Mr. Kenyon) had said that a Company with which he was connected had raised this year as much as five ounces of gold per ton, but next year the very opposite might be the case. He (Mr. Illingworth) desired to turn for a moment to an answer which had been given by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson). The hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) referred to the question of the sale of farms in Scotland, and the hon. Gentleman fairly laid it down that the Commissioners of Woods and Forests ought to conduct their business in a businesslike way. What was the policy of the Commissioners in matters of this kind; what was the method adopted where there was no public sale? If the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would give the Committee an assurance that no private transactions took place whereby the Public Exchequer was damnified, he would be satisfied. He held that in a great Public Department of this sort everything should be above-board. The Crown, or at any rate the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Crown, were the largest landowners in the country. They were two great Public Departments, and it was never more important than at the present time that the country should know what policy was pursued in regard to the sale or the purchase of estates.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN said, he wished to point out that nothing could be easier than to prevent a person subletting a mine without the consent of the Crown by inserting in the licence or take-note a condition against sub-letting or assignment. Gold mining differed from almost every other kind of mining; gold was found in bunches, and the consequence was that the good fortune which might attend a speculation one year might come suddenly to an end the next year.

DR. CLARK said, that there was one point in regard to which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not given them any reply, and that was prospecting. What he thought the right hon. Gentleman might do was, to get a Return from all the Agent Generals of our Colonies of their gold laws and regulations. He thought that if the right hon. Gentleman would do that he would find that all difficulties would disappear. He well remembered a great row some years ago in Sandhurst. There the owners of the mine wanted to reduce the wages of the miners, the men struck, and the owners locked them out. The then Prime Minister made a speech in which he reminded the owners of the terms on which they acquired the rights, and pointed out that if they locked out the men the Government would be perfectly willing to give the mine to the men themselves. What was wanted in this country was a law similar to that in the Colonies.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had the greatest sympathy with the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in regard to the objections he took to granting concessions to persons who paid nothing for them. The great thing to be aimed at was, that people asking for concessions of this kind should give evidence of their good faith by entering into some engagement by which they might be held. With regard to the question of gold mining in Wales, it seemed to him that under the present circumstances of the country we were in great want of gold. All that he thought was necessary was that some evidence should be given of the *bonafides* of promoters of the gold industry. He thought the proper thing to do was to require promoters to get up Companies first, and then get the concessions. He did not believe it was at all impossible to do that. If a man came to the Government and said he had got up a Company, and was ready to enter into stringent obligations to spend the money in working gold, he thought concessions might be made by which he would have to pay no royalty at all.

MR. T. E. ELLIS (Merionethshire) said, he desired to press on the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer the suggestion for a sliding scale of royalties, not only for the gold industry, but also for the lead and slate industries. The lead industry of Cardiganshire was crushed largely by restrictive leases, royalties, and wayleaves. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would certainly help to put the industry on its

legs again if he adopted the suggestion of the hon. Member for West Bradford (Mr. Illingworth). As long as the Crown exacted the utmost rent and royalties from Wales, amounting to £13,000 a-year, and did nothing in return—neither planting a tree nor facilitating mining enterprize—it deserved to be considered the worst absentee landlord in Wales.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £20,600, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Office of the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings."

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Plunket) if he had yet arrived at a decision in respect to certain portions of Parks which were inclosed from the public, and the tenancies of which were expiring? He reminded the right hon. Gentleman that earlier in the Session he had said that he hoped soon to be in a position to announce his decision.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, that last year they had a discussion with regard to the Regulations for filling up vacancies in the Office of the Clerk of Works. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would state what had been done in the matter?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER OF WORKS (MR. PLUNKET) (Dublin University) said, he did not think that any opportunity had existed since the discussion took place of dealing with the subject. Of course, whatever undertaking was given it would be faithfully carried out. With respect to the question put by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), he had to say that the subject had been for a considerable time under consideration, but no final decision had yet been aimed at. The hon. Member was aware that a Return had been made, which showed what part of the Parks were inclosed. No decision had been taken, nor did he think that an opportunity for taking any decided action had arisen.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he thought it right to give the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner Notice that if during the year there appeared to be any more underletting, or what might be called irregular dealing in respect to these inclosures, or making private profit out of them, he should deem it necessary to raise the matter on the first opportunity.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, he noticed that there was an item in the Estimates for the inspection of ancient monuments. He objected to this as utter nonsense. He believed there was a Schedule of some of the ancient monuments. They knew there were any number of ancient monuments about the country, and why were all these monuments not to be in the Schedule? Why there should be an Inspector to look after four or five of these monuments he could not understand. For his part, he did not care 6*d.* about Stonehenge. He thought that they must have been fools who carried huge stones a long distance in order to place them in circles. Now, although they had an Inspector, they did not seem to give him work to do; they did not tell him to look after all the ancient monuments, but empowered him to choose half-a-dozen monuments to look after. What had this Inspector been doing? How had he looked after monuments? Did he live in London? What was he? He would like some explanation on this point.

MR. PLUNKET said, he would like to know with what object the hon. Gentleman asked this question.. The answer was a very simple one. This gentleman was appointed in order to carry out the provisions of an Act of Parliament passed some years ago for the purpose of protecting ancient monuments. He was a gentleman who travelled about the country a good deal for the purpose of carrying out that Act of Parliament, and he charged nothing for the expenses of his journeys; in fact, he (Mr. Plunket) believed the salary paid but little more than covered the expenses to which the gentleman was put. The Inspector selected a certain number of ancient monuments, which were from time to time added to the list. As to the policy of the Act itself, he supposed the hon. Gentleman did not wish him to enlarge upon that.

The Act of Parliament was there, and it was the business of the Government to carry it out.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he thought it was well that the Government valuation of this inspection of ancient monuments should be pointed out. He found that the Superintendent of the supply of coal and firewood received £350 a-year. There was also a Superintendent for the supply of oil and candles, who also received a large amount. He did not altogether agree with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), that these public monuments should be left to themselves, and not have that superintendence which was necessary to the preservation of these relics of magnificent antiquity; but he would like to know from the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner whether the duties of the Inspector of public and antique monuments were confined solely to England; whether the duties of that gentleman might not take him to a portion of the Kingdom—namely, Ireland, where were found monuments of greater antiquity than even those found in England? He would certainly like the right hon. Gentleman to explain how it was that if these monuments were worthy of preservation at all, the man who was employed to look after them, and who should have some knowledge of the value of these monuments, and should be prepared to take measures for their preservation, was actually placed on a par with men who looked after the supplying of the Departments with coal and firewood, and candles and oil?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) said, he should like to ask whether the Inspector of Ancient Monuments had made his Report?

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) said, that the day before yesterday certain new Rules were laid on the Table of the House for the regulation of Holyrood Park in Edinburgh. Difficulty had been experienced by those residing in the locality in getting Rules of this kind framed exactly as they desired to have them. They found it difficult to understand how far the new Rules varied from the Rules hitherto in operation. The old Rules were cancelled, and, so far as he could make out, the alteration effected was merely a slight extension of the liberty given to cyclists for the use of the Park. He thought it was a good thing to extend the liberty of cyclists; indeed, he thought that liberty should be extended a little further, for anyone who knew Holyrood Park as well as he did must be aware that there could be no objection to giving cyclists the free use of it, so long as they did not hold races there. The people of Edinburgh desired that the freest use of the Park should be enjoyed by all classes of the community. In regard to cyclists, there were a great number of them in Edinburgh as well as in London, and they were to be seen streaming out of the town on Saturday afternoon in the enjoyment of healthy exercise. He was glad to see this, and therefore welcomed any change which would extend the privilege of this class. There was another question which he had already brought before the attention of the Government—namely, that of the Arboretum and Botanical Gardens in Edinburgh. Without going into detail, he might express a hope that the Office of Works had considered, and would consider, certain small alterations and regulations for those places that were best suited to the conditions of the locality. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works would not make the same Rules apply to the Arboretum and Botanical Gardens in Edinburgh as were applied to Kew Gardens. Everybody who knew the Gardens in Edinburgh must be aware that they differed in their conditions very much from the Gardens near London. Referring again to the question of Holyrood Park, he (Mr. Buchanan) would impress upon the right hon. Gentleman the desirability of issuing some statement as to the alterations effected whenever new Regulations were issued to supersede old ones.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) said, he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works whether he would afford the Committee some information as to the particular duties which had to be performed by the Superintendent of Furniture, the Deputy Superintendent of Furniture, the Assistant Deputy Superintendent of Furniture, and other Assistant Deputies, the total salaries of whom amounted to £1,485 a-year. He found

that the Assistant Superintendent of Furniture also received an additional sum of £54 12*s.* a-year in lieu of a residence. Would the right hon. Gentleman be good enough to state what were the particular duties these officials had to discharge; and whether it was considered necessary that five or six men should be engaged in the inspection of the furniture of the various Government Offices? He would also like to ask the right hon. Gentleman to tell the Committee what were the particular duties of the official who appeared in the Votes as Superintendent of the supplies of coals and firewood? This gentleman received a salary of £350 a-year, and it would be interesting to know whether his duty consisted simply in ordering coal and firewood for the Government Offices, or what else he was expected to do. The Committee were entitled to some information, especially with regard to the first question he had put—namely, the necessity for five men being employed in the inspection of furniture.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) said, he saw an item of £2,199 for draftsmen and technical assistants. The Vote was £1,800 last year, and he would like to have some reason for the increase.

MR. PLUNKET said, he did not carry in his memory at that moment the particular circumstances which rendered necessary the increase in the Draftsmen's Department; but the hon. Member for East Finsbury (Mr. J. Rowlands) would see that in the other Departments they had been able to effect some reduction. That increases should occur from time to time in various branches of such an Office as the Board of Works was only to be expected, seeing that the amount of work generally fluctuated from time to time. With regard to the inquiry as to why there were several persons employed for the purpose of looking after furniture, it must be remembered that there were a great many Public Offices in London and different parts of the country where it was necessary to have inspections of furniture from time to time, in order to prevent extravagance and waste. When this subject was debated at an earlier period of the year, he had been able to show that by constant supervision and inspection the Government had reduced to a very small amount the expenditure of all the Public Offices on furniture. He did not believe it would be possible to have the work of inspection as efficiently carried out as it was now if the staff of Inspectors were at all reduced. The present number of officials had been fixed upon after many consultations with the Treasury, and he could assure the hon. Member that it was the desire of the Government always to reduce to the lowest possible extent the number of officials employed. As to the question put by the hon. and learned Member for West Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan), the Rules referred to for the regulation of Holyrood Park had been altered very recently; and he (Mr. Plunket) was under the impression, as he thought the hon. Member would find, that the changes which had been made had been effected in order to give greater facilities to cyclists, and had met with the approval of the cyclists of Edinburgh generally. If the hon. and learned Member could suggest any changes, either in the interest of cyclists or in any detail which would make the Parks of Edinburgh more available for the public, he (Mr. Plunket) would be very glad to consider them. As to the ancient monuments, there could be no difficulty if it was desired to embody, in a Return to be laid upon the Table of the House, any information required as to the number of ancient monuments which from time to time had been brought under the operation of recent Acts. As had been truly stated, it was entirely a voluntary thing for anyone who possessed an ancient mouument to have it scheduled under the Act. All the Inspector of Ancient Monuments could do was to go about the country persuading the owners of such monuments which he thought were valuable to place them under the Act. As to the matter referred to by the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner), he (Mr. Plunket) thought the ancient monuments in Ireland were very well cared for under the present system, and it would be unnecessary to go into further details in that matter.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, they now knew very clearly what the Inspector of Ancient Monuments had to do. He went about the country imploring owners of ancient monuments to put those monuments in the Schedule of the Act. Well, it seemed to him (Mr. Labouchere) a monstrous thing to

make the charge which appeared in the Votes for such a ridiculous purpose. The hon. and learned Member for West Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) had drawn attention to the Rules and Regulations relating to Holyrood Park, and he (Mr. Labouchere) desired to call attention to the Rules and Regulations affecting Hyde Park. Hyde Park, as the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works knew, was now maintained at the public expense. Other Parks were maintained at the expense of London, but Hyde Park was a national charge. What did he find in connection with that Park, however? Why, that cabs were not allowed to go there, carriages alone being permitted to do so. The aristocracy—members of the upper classes, the privileged classes, people who had carriages—were allowed to use the roads in the Park, and they alone, whilst the sons of toil and others, who sometimes, perhaps, hired a cab to take a drive, were altogether excluded. Twenty years ago he (Mr. Labouchere) brought this subject before the House; it had not made much progress since then he admitted; but, as some hon. Members might forget what he said on that occasion, he wished now to point out that there was no capital either in Europe or America where such a Regulation as that enforced in Hyde Park was maintained. Go to Paris, for instance. The Bois de Boulogne was open to cabs of all descriptions. So also, in the Vienna Parks and in New York, they found that cabs were permitted to drive through the Central Park; and it was only the fact that the classes were dominant in this country which enabled such a Rule to be maintained in connection with Hyde Park. He knew what the answer to this complaint was 20 years ago; it was that there was not room for cabs as well as carriages in the Parks, and that hundreds and thousands of people derived pleasure from going to look at the carriages of the wealthy classes. Well, he had a contempt for such people, and did not ask the House to legislate for them; but if he took a ride in a cab he desired to be permitted to go through Hyde Park if he thought proper. The people of the country paid for the Park, and they should be allowed to use it, as the people of all other cities in other parts of Europe were to use their Parks. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman, who belonged to that Party which said so much about Tory Democracy, would endeavour to carry out the popular aspirations of the Conservative Party in this matter.

MR. CREMER said, that the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works had not even attempted to answer one of the questions he had put to him, and the answer which the right hon. Gentleman had given concerning the Superintendent and Assistant Inspectors of Furniture was by no means of a satisfactory character. He (Mr. Cremer) distinctly remembered the question being raised last year, and the right hon. Gentleman stating that there were certain workshops which the Government had provided for the repair of furniture; and when pressed to state where those workshops were, and how many men were engaged in them, it turned out that there were only something like 15 or 16 men employed in repairing the furniture for all the Government Offices. He (Mr. Cremer) could not help entering a protest against this item in the Votes, seeing that there were only a few tables and chairs repaired in the Government workshops which the right hon. Gentleman had referred to. Then the right hon. Gentleman had not replied to the question put to him as to the item for the Superintendent of the supply of coals and firewood. Would the right hon. Gentleman state what were the duties this official had to perform?

MR. PLUNKET said, that naturally the duty of the "Superintendent of the Supplies of Coal and Firewood" was to superintend the supplies of coal and firewood; and if that was not clear to the hon. Member (Mr. Cremer), he (Mr. Plunket) did not know how he could make it clearer. If some official was not appointed to do this work, there would be any amount of extravagance and waste; and, as a result, a large amount of unnecessary public expenditure incurred. His own small experience, as a householder, was that there was nothing in which greater waste could occur than in coals and firewood, unless proper supervision were exercised over these outlays.

MR. CREMER said, he should like to know why a man could not be engaged to perform this work at a less salary than £350 a-year? He thought the duties might be performed for something like half that amount.

DR. TANNER said, that he had heard some suggestion from the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) just now, with which he entirely agreed. He (Dr. Tanner) contended that this question of maintaining Public Parks merely for privileged classes was one in which the people of London took an intelligent interest; and he should like to test the Metropolitan Members to see which way they would vote. He now proposed to take a Division on this question by moving the reduction of the Vote by £633. Everybody who had had the opportunity of visiting the capital cities of Europe would see, as the hon. Member for Northampton had mentioned, that everywhere the public were admitted into the Parks in cabs. [*A laugh.*] The noble Viscount opposite (Viscount Cranborne) might laugh—no doubt he would laugh so long as these Parks were kept for the classes to which he belonged—but the noble Viscount would not laugh at the people of London when they protested against being deprived of the money they found for these Parks. He (Dr. Tanner) maintained that in this great Metropolis, where they had thousands of working people paying rates and taxes for the purpose of keeping up these Parks, to which they had themselves as much right as the noble Viscount; aye, or the noble Marquess, his father, the Head of Her Majesty's Government, it was desirable that no restrictions should be placed upon the public in the using of the Parks. He protested against the people being denied their just right and privilege. Such a thing was not done in any other State in the world—neither in Paris, which was the capital city of a Republican State, nor in New York, Berlin, or Vienna. Nowhere were there any exclusive rights allowed to the privileged classes. On the contrary, no man who had the right to live and had a desire to employ a public vehicle was deprived of his legitimate right to drive through any of the Public Parks which were maintained by the State. There were a great many Metropolitan Members—notably Conservative Members—who knew full well that the present Regulations in Hyde Park were a burning injustice. He thought a Division might very well be taken on this point; and he would, therefore, move to reduce the Vote by the net increase—namely, the sum of £633, and he sincerely hoped that he should have the Members for the Metropolitan City with him.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £19,967, be granted for the said Service."—(*Dr. Tanner.*)

MR. LABOUCHERE said, there was one road through a Park where even private carriages were excluded—namely, Constitution Hill, and yet this Park was kept up like other Parks. He believed that Privy Councillors and courtiers were allowed to drive along Constitution Hill; but he did not believe that Members of the House were permitted to do so. He was not sure, indeed, that all Privy Councillors were privileged unless they were favourites. Let the Committee observe the graduations. They had one Park through which private gentlemen in carriages were not allowed to drive; they had another Park through which private gentlemen were allowed to drive; but not members of the public in public conveyances. It was said there would be a great crowd in Hyde Park if cabs were allowed to drive through; but that could not be said of Constitution Hill. There was a fabric near Constitution Hill—very seldom inhabited—and it was for the sake of this, he presumed, that the absurd Regulations to which he referred were laid down. He could not conceive, however, that it would injure anyone living in that fabric, or anyone in the world, if the public were allowed to drive through Constitution Hill. Cabs at present went nearer to this sacred edifice than over Constitution Hill, for they passed immediately in front of Buckingham Palace. He had never been able to fathom the mysterious reason why only privileged persons were allowed to drive over Constitution Hill.

MR. W. A. M'ARTHUR (Cornwall, Mid., St. Austell) said, he must urge the Government to answer the question as to what work was done by the Inspector of Coals and Firewood?

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he was not aware that the Parks were so conducted as to exclude poor people from their use. That was not his experience, and his experience of London was as wide as that of most people. He certainly thought that some of the Regulations

about cabs were stupid. Since a road had been thrown open through St. James's Park no difficulty in the way of crowding had been experienced, and the alteration in the Regulations had been of great convenience to the public. He would suggest, therefore, that similar facilities, where they had not been hitherto given, should be conferred on the public. However, he could not vote for this reduction upon the ground on which it had been moved. He had seen thousands of children of poor people lying on the ground in Hyde Park, and he would not give his sanction to a vote which would spread the notion that Members of the House of Commons believed that the poor were excluded from the use of the Park.

DR. TANNER said, that he might, perhaps, be allowed to point out that whilst poor children were allowed to go into the Parks on foot in order to recruit their health, there were numbers of invalids who left the large Metropolitan hospitals, who, with the same object, would like to drive through the Parks in cabs, but were not permitted to do so. [*Laughter.*] That was no laughing matter. There were numbers of convalescents coming out of the large Metropolitan hospitals who, though unable to walk, could and most probably would take an airing in the Park if allowed to do so. These people could not employ carriages, as the charge would be too heavy for the luxury; and he could not see why a person who could only afford to pay 1*s.* should be deprived of the pleasure of driving through a Park maintained at the public expense. He failed to see why poor people should be deprived of the rights which the rich could enjoy. That was a burning question, and was one which would certainly be settled sooner or later. If the present House of Commons, which was eminently aristocratic in its constituents, did not settle the question now, thank goodness! the next General Election would rectify the evil.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK (London University) said, he was afraid he could not vote for the reduction, his reason being similar to that advanced by the hon. Gentleman the junior Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). He (Sir John Lubbock) should be glad, however, if the right hon Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works could give an undertaking to consider the matter. He certainly thought that if Constitution Hill were thrown open it would be a great convenience to the public. He would venture to express a hope that the right hon. Gentleman would take this matter into his favourable consideration before they came to discuss it another year.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.) said, he should like to add to what had fallen from the hon. Baronet the Member for London University (Sir John Lubbock) that even if the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works could not see his way to opening Constitution Hill for the whole of the year, he might, at least, do it while Her Majesty was out of town.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, he hoped the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) would go to a Division on this matter. There was a principle of justice and fair play at stake; and he (Mr. Illingworth), for his part, did not propose even to give a silent vote with regard to it. Furthermore, he objected to place the matter on the narrow ground put by his hon. Friend. The question was not whether people were ill or well; but it was whether the classes should be privileged as against the masses. If the Park would not enable large numbers of vehicles to be driven through it, let the classes suffer together with the masses. Why a distinction should be made by the Governing Body of this country between certain sections of the population he could not understand, especially as such an idea never entered into the mind of any Municipality of the country; and, if that were so, why should it enter into the mind of the Government? The right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works had practically made no defence in this matter. They knew how this question had sat in the past. They had had great class distinctions recognized in days gone by; but now they had done away with those distinctions almost entirely, and he did not see why they should still be maintained in connection with the Parks. The time would certainly come when it would be absolutely necessary for the First Commissioner of Works to give an infinitely better reason than the right hon. Gentleman had given that evening, or had

given in the past, for the maintenance of this spirit of exclusion.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he could not vote for the Motion for the reduction of the Vote, as the effect of such a Regulation as that proposed would be to destroy the Park for amusement and recreation. If the Park were open for cabs, every cabman driving from Edgware Road to the South would take a short cut through the Park rather than go down Park Lane. He agreed, however, with what had been said with regard to Constitution Hill. Now that the road in front of Buckingham Palace had been opened and a great amount of traffic was allowed to go through the Park he thought the other part of the Park ought also to be thrown open. If they could get some sort of satisfactory answer from the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works, perhaps it would be as well to divide the question, and to vote upon that part affecting Constitution Hill. He (Dr. Clark) should not be prepared to give his vote for the two objects the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) had in view, although he was prepared to support one.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he should like to remind the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works that there was an important Member of his own Party, whom he (Mr. Conybeare) did not see in the House that night—he meant the hon. Member for the Central Division of Sheffield (Mr. Howard Vincent)—who took great interest in this matter, and who, if he had been present, would have supported the Motion under consideration. So far as it related to the opening of Constitution Hill, the right hon. Gentleman to whom he referred had put Questions in the House upon the matter, and, in fact, had a Notice of Motion on the Order Book bearing upon it. He (Mr. Conybeare) had had the pleasure of conversing with the hon. Member with regard to it more than once; and the hon. Member had declared that his sympathy was not only with the opening of Constitution Hill, but with the removal of all the barriers to the public which aristocrats had put up from time to time in various parts of London. He (Mr. Conybeare) would support this hon. Member in his view in trying to break down all those barriers, which were a great hindrance to traffic. He agreed with those who brought this matter forward on the broad general principle that all classes who had to pay for the Parks should be allowed to use them. He failed to see why they should set up upon a pedestal those who were wealthy or aristocratic enough to keep their own gigs. He would now ask the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works to do what he could to enlighten him on one or two points on which he desired information. In the first place, he should like to have some information as to the item for the inspection of ancient monuments. ["Oh, oh!"] He was told that during his unavoidable absence his hon. Friend the senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had gone into that question. He (Mr. Conybeare) would not repeat what had been said, but would merely ask for a little information as to why they had five different Superintendents and Deputy Superintendents of Furniture. ["Oh, oh!"] Oh! he understood that probably a most satisfactory explanation had been given on that point also; therefore he would content himself by looking into the reports of the proceedings of the House in to-morrow's newspapers. There was one point, however, which he believed had not been touched upon, and that was the Architects' Office. He desired to know whether the promise the right hon. Gentleman had given as to the adoption of better Regulations for governing the admission of working men and others into the Architects' or Building Department of the Board of Works had been carried out since the last occasion the subject was discussed? No doubt the right hon. Gentleman recollected the circumstance and the particulars of the case to which he (Mr. Conybeare) referred. He only wished to be satisfied that the representations which he had made on a previous occasion had had some effect.

DR. TANNER said, he did not wish to divide the Committee on the question of the rights of the public so far as Constitution Hill was concerned. He wished rather to divide on the broader issue of the rights of all classes of spring vehicles for the carriage of passengers to use Hyde Park. He should like hon Members to divide upon that question in a serious spirit, and to take the

matter up as one of the rights of the masses, and not of the classes. He should like the Committee to say whether it was going to continue the privilege to certain classes in the use of Hyde Park which was not allowed to the classes in any other capital in the world? He trusted that hon. Members would divide upon that issue alone, leaving Constitution Hill altogether out of the question. It was not a question of traffic, but was a question as to whether people paying money for the maintenance of one of these Public Parks were to be allowed the right to drive through it or not. That, and that only, was the issue he wished to put before the Committee in the Division he was about to take.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he would explain what this Vote really was. The hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) said he would hesitate to vote for the reduction of the Vote, because if cabs were allowed to drive through Hyde Park, there would be such a rush that the Park would be destroyed for the purposes of amusement and recreation. As a matter of fact, however, cabs were allowed to drive through the Park along one particular road at present; and there was not found to be any rush, or crush, or interference with the recreation of the public. His hon. Colleague (Mr. Bradlaugh) had declared that he would not vote for the proposed reduction, because he did not wish to interfere with the children who played on the grass. Well, nobody wanted to drive on the grass. They wanted the children to play on the grass, but they desired also that the parents should be allowed to drive in cabs and look at the children playing on the grass. They supported this Motion for the reduction of the Vote on the general principle that anyone who could hire a vehicle should have a right to drive in it along any road in Hyde Park. With regard to Constitution Hill, who were allowed to drive in it at the present moment? Probably they had all heard the story of what had occurred in the Reign of George III., when a gentleman asked the King if he might be permitted to drive through Constitution Hill. His Majesty replied that he could not allow that, but he would make him an Irish Peer; and no doubt the descendants of Noblemen who had entered the Peerage in that way were now occupying seats in "another place." Was it still the fact that it was easier to make an Irish Peer than to grant permission to use Constitution Hill? He (Mr. Labouchere) desired to know who were allowed to use the Hill; and why those who were not allowed to use it were debarred the privilege?

MR. PLUNKET said, he was not so conversant with the difficulties in the way of obtaining an Irish Peerage as the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) seemed to be; therefore he could not place against that difficulty the difficulty of obtaining the right to drive through Constitution Hill. He hoped the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) would not take up the time of the Committee by a Division on this subject. He (Mr. Plunket) would, however, explain how the matter stood. There was no distinction made between any section of the public in the permission granted for the use of any of the Public Parks which were maintained by the general taxpayer. The only part of Hyde Park where there was any necessity for permitting public vehicles to be driven was on the road which ran through the Park from north to south, and there vehicles of all classes were allowed to go. There was only a very small part of that Park where restrictions were enforced, and it was obvious that it would be impossible to maintain that drive, which he believed was full of interest and conferred great enjoyment on those who went in large numbers on foot to see the carriages, as it ought to be maintained if all kinds of vehicles were allowed to pass there. In spite of all the magnificent talk they had heard about the masses and the classes, and the sons of toil, he believed that if it were put to the public generally whether or not the Park should be thrown open entirely to all sorts of vehicles there would be a great outcry raised against the proposal made by the hon. Gentleman opposite. The enjoyment of the great majority would be seriously interfered with by its adoption.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 44; Noes 163: Majority 119.—(Div. List, No. 281.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, the Committee had not yet had an answer to the two questions raised; and, seeing the manner in which the Committee had been reinforced, it might be well to raise the subject again, in the hope of getting some sort of assurance as to what should be done in reference to Constitution Hill, and a promise of the removal of the restrictions to the use of that thoroughfare.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £5,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, in Aid of the Mercantile Marine Fund."

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, this Office was now being revised, and he would suggest the desirability of transferring all the control to the Board of Trade. At the present time one portion of the fund was in the hands of the Board of Trade, and the other portion it was difficult to say where. The Treasury said they were not responsible for the spending of this money and all Members could do was——

It being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES BILL.

(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Baron Henry de Worms.*)

[BILL 321.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he desired a personal explanation in reference to the Bill. When, the other night, the second reading was proposed by the right hon. Baronet the President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), he (Dr. Tanner) opposed that Motion. Since then he understood another hon. Member had stated publicly that it was through his opposition the Bill was deferred. With no wish to detain the House, he thought it right to make this explanation.

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

PARLIAMENTARY VOTERS BILL.

(*Mr. Cremer, Mr. William Crawford, Mr. Abraham (Glamorgan), Mr. Burt, Mr. Pickard, Mr. James Rowlands.*)

[BILL 171.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) said, he had waited to put a question to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), who was now in his place. Would the right hon. Gentleman, on behalf of the Government, give a pledge that at an early date they would take this question into serious consideration? The right hon. Gentleman was aware of the fact that a Committee sat some years ago and recommended some alterations in the Law of Registration; but no attempt had been made to give effect to that recommendation. It was by no means a Party question, and both sides of the House were equally interested in having it settled. If the Government would undertake to take the subject into serious consideration, he would be glad to withdraw this Bill; otherwise he must wait to take advantage of whatever chance he might get.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he had not had an opportunity of perusing the Bill, and was, consequently, quite unaware of its contents. It was, therefore, impossible for him to give any undertaking or engagement in regard to it.

MR. CREMER said, he did not ask the right hon. Gentleman to support the Bill, but that the Government should consider the question of registration in the light of the recommendations of the Committee to which he had referred.

Second Reading *deferred* till *Monday* next.

WALTHAM ABBEY GUNPOWDER FACTORY BILL.

Order [10th August] That the Committee on the Waltham Abbey Gunpowder Factory Bill do consist of Five Members, Three to be nominated by the House and Two by the Committee of Selection, read, and *discharged.*

Ordered, That the Committee do consist of Seven Members, Four to be nominated by the House and Three by the Committee of Selection:—Mr. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy, Mr. Pickersgill, Mr. Woodall, and Mr. Brodrick *nominated* Members of the Select Committee.

House adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve o'clock

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 9th November, 1888.

MINUTES.] — NEW WRIT ISSUED — *For* Dewsbury, *v.* Sir John Simon, knight, Three Chiltern Hundreds.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Vote 1.

Resolutions [November 8] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILL — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Metropolitan Streets Regulation * [380].

QUESTIONS.

THE DUTCH EAST INDIES—COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE OF BRITISH SUBJECTS IN THE AUXILIARY FORCE.

MR. WEBSTER (St. Pancras, E.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether representations have been made to the Government of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands with the view to exonerating Englishmen resident in Netherlands India from the local Militia, or Schuttery?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): As I have on several occasions informed the House, there is no stipulations in the Treaties between Great Britain and the Netherlands, exempting British subjects from service in the Militia in the Dutch Colonies. Unless, therefore, it can be shown that other foreigners are exempt, Her Majesty's Government cannot properly make any representations against such service.

"O'DONNELL *v.* WALTER"—THE SPECIAL COMMISSION.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will lay upon the Table a Return giving the names of any Divisional or Resident Magistrates, Officers of Constabulary, or any other public servants in Ireland, who have been absent from their duties, and at the service of *The Times* newspaper in the action "O'Donnell *v.* Walter," or in the proceedings before the Commission now sitting, and also showing the duration of their absence from duty.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I presume the hon. Member refers to the Irish Officials subpœnaed by *The Times*. It would be highly improper while the Commission is sitting, and useless at any time, to lay a Return on the Table of the House of the kind proposed.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): Have any officials of the same class been in attendance as witnesses for *The Times* who have not been subpœnaed?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir.

LAND (IRELAND)—DERELICT FARMS.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When he will lay upon the Table the facts and figures with respect to the taking of derelict farms in Ireland, to which reference was made by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant in a speech at Belfast on the 15th of October last?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I have already explained, on former occasions, the reasons which make me reluctant to tabulate in an official form the information we receive about evicted farms. Those reasons still seem to me to carry great weight.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): What are those reasons?

MR. J. E. ELLIS: The Lord Lieutenant has made those controversial statements, and are we to have no means of testing their accuracy?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon Gentleman will see that if the table were given it would only repeat what the Lord Lieutenant has stated, and on the same authority. So I do not see that the hon. Gentleman is, for controversial purposes, any worse off now than he would be if the Return were presented. Further, the hon. Gentleman is aware that information may properly be given in speeches which could not properly be laid before the House in a tabular form.

MR. CLANCY: What is the authority on which the Lord Lieutenant made those statements?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: From information supplied to His Excellency.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): Did not the right hon. Gentleman say, in the course of this Session, that the Government had no means of keeping an account of the

number of derelict farms; and, if so, what is the authority on which His Excellency made the statements?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: No, Sir; I do not think that I laid down a proposition like that. The right hon. Gentleman is aware that information on the subject has, from time to time, been given to the Irish Office; and one reason why I should be reluctant to give those figures is that, so far as I can make out, sufficiently precise and accurate instructions were not given in Earl Spencer's time for information to be collected on this subject with care and precision. Therefore, any figures which might now be laid on the Table cannot be compared with the figures gathered in Earl Spencer's time. As I have said, however, there is some information on the subject which can be supplied.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I do not rise to labour the point; but I should like to point out to the right hon. Gentleman that we do not desire those figures for the purpose of comparing them with any figures gathered in Earl Spencer's time; but for comparing the number of derelict farms at present with, say, a year ago.

CHINA—MISSION OF MR. COLMAN MACAULAY TO PEKIN.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true, as stated in the telegram of *The Times* of yesterday's date, that the Government of India has published a Memorandum stating that the Home authorities were alone responsible for the Mission of Mr. Colman Macaulay to Pekin; and, whether all the Correspondence relating to Mr. Macaulay's proposed Mission to Thibet, which was stopped at Darjeeling, will be laid upon the Table of the House?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Secretary of State has no knowledge of any such Memorandum as that described in the Question of the hon. Member. The second Question should be addressed to my right hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Article IV. of the Convention with China of July 24, 1886 (Parliamentary Paper No. 5, 1886), gives the reason why Mr. Colman Macaulay's Mission was countermanded. It would not be convenient that the Correspondence should be published.

NAVY—H.M.S. "SULTAN"—COLLISION IN THE TAGUS—THE BRITISH STEAMER "NITH"—COMPENSATION.

MR. LEATHAM BRIGHT (Stoke-upon-Trent) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is true, as reported in the Press, that the Government have agreed to pay an additional £20,000 to the parties interested in the collision between the *Ville de Victoria* and H.M.S. *Sultan*; if so, whether the Government have made any representations as to compensating the seamen who lost all their effects by the running down of the *Nith*; and, out of what fund the £40,000 will be paid?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): There is no foundation for the report that Her Majesty's Government has agreed to pay an additional £20,000 for the benefit of the families of those who were drowned on the occasion of the collision between H.M.S. *Sultan* and the French ship the *Ville de Victoria*, or of the passengers who lost their effects owing to the collision. The case of the *Nith* is different from that of the *Ville de Victoria*; and I am afraid I can only repeat the expression which the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has already conveyed to the owners of the *Nith* of his regret at the result of their appeal to the French Law Courts, and his sympathy with their disappointment at the decision; but as that decision has been arrived at in accordance with French law, Her Majesty's Government is precluded from making any diplomatic representations on the subject.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—IMPRISONMENT OF A GIRL IN CORK FEMALE PRISON.

MR. HOOPER (Cork, S.E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a girl named Griffin, from the Ballinspittle Petty Sessions District of the County Cork, has been recently imprisoned in Cork Female

Prison; of what offence was she convicted; what was her age; was she compelled to associate with abandoned women at exercise in the prison; whether she was also for a considerable portion of each day within earshot of the conversation of women of this class; whether it was with the knowledge of the Irish Prisons Board she was so brought into such contact with such persons; and, whether any power exists under the present law for saving a girl of her years from association with women of the character referred to; and, if not, whether he will take an early apportunity of changing the law in that direction?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I am informed that the reply to the first paragraph is in the affirmative. The reply to the second paragraph is that she was convicted of taking forcible possession of a house and land. The reply to the third paragraph is that the young woman was aged 19. In answer to the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh paragraphs I have to say that there is no such association allowed between the prisoners, who are obliged to walk five paces apart and to keep silence. I am informed by the Prisons Board that they think it is convenient that first committals should exercise as far apart as is practicable from old offenders, and that they so directed in this case when the facts were brought under their notice. If I am correctly informed, this constitutes a difference of practice between English and Irish prisons, which, like most of the other differences, is in favour of the Irish prisoners.

MR. HOOPER: Does the right hon. Gentleman mean to deny that this young woman, whose age, I understand, is 14, is obliged to exercise within a very short distance with women of this disreputable character in a small yard in Cork Gaol? And is not this a discreditable state of things?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think I stated the Prison Rule requires them to be kept five paces apart on each side while exercising.

In reply to Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne),

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that the house and land for the taking of which she was convicted belonged, not to her own father, but to the owner of the soil.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT(SCOTLAND)—THE BURGH OF HAMILTON.

MR. PHILIPPS (Lanark, Mid) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that no Councillor of the Burgh of Hamilton is allowed to take his seat till he has paid two guineas for a burgess ticket, which practice tends to prevent working men from coming forward as candidates for the Town Council; whether the charge is a legal one; and, whether he will endeavour to get it reduced or abolished?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute), in reply, said, that as there had not been time to receive from Scotland the necessary information to enable him to reply, he should be obliged if the hon. Gentleman would postpone the Question till next week.

THE SLAVE TRADE (EAST COAST OF AFRICA).

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, What vessels of the Navy it is intended to send to the East Coast of Africa to reinforce those usually engaged in the suppression of the Slave Trade; and, what is the number, the description, and the speed of those vessels at present so engaged?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The Squadron in the East Indies is composed of 12 vessels, to which the *Agamemnon* has recently been added for temporary service. It is not intended to further reinforce it from other stations. The number of vessels usually maintained on the East Coast of Africa, when circumstances admit of it, is four. There are at present with the Admiral on that division of the station six vessels, which the arrival of the *Agamemnon* will increase to seven. This Squadron consists of the *Boadicea*, flagship, cruiser, second class, with a speed of 14·7 knots; the *Garnet*, cruiser, third class, 13 knots; the *Penguin* and *Reindeer*, sloops, 11·5 and 11 knots; the *Algerine* and *Griffon*, gun vessels, 10·5 knots; and the *Agamemnon*, battleship, 13 knots. There is also on the Aden division of the station the *Osprey*, sloop, 11 knots. The work of slave suppression is principally carried out by the boats of the ships, the ships themselves forming the centres

from which the boats start on their cruises in search of slave dhows.

ISLANDS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC—EXPULSION BY THE FRENCH OF THE REV. JOHN JONES FROM MAHE, ONE OF THE LOYALTY ISLANDS.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When the correspondence and documents relating to the expulsion of the Rev. John Jones from the Loyalty Islands by the French, which was ordered by the House on the 7th of August, will be in the hands of Members?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The publication of these Papers was delayed, because it was understood that the London Missionary Society wished to submit a further statement. As, however, it is desired that the Correspondence hitherto shall be presented, it can be placed in the hands of Members in a few days.

POST OFFICE—"CHEAP POSTAGE TO AUSTRALIA"—ALLEGED BREACH OF FAITH.

MR. DE LISLE (Leicestershire, Mid) asked the Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been called to a letter in *The Times* newspaper of October 25, purporting to be signed by the hon. Member for Canterbury (Mr. Henniker Heaton), and bearing the title *Cheap Postage to Australia—A Breach of Faith*, stating that the writer had received a written assurance, given by the Postmaster General on January 31, 1886, that a 3*d.* rate for Australian letters would be conceded; and, whether there is any foundation for the statements made in that letter?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr RAIKES) (Cambridge University): There has been no breach of faith whatever; and no such promise was made to the hon. Member for Canterbury, inasmuch as I had only a voice in recommending whether the rate should be 3*d.* or 4*d.* I was decidedly in favour of the lower rate, and I so expressed myself in several Official Reports; but at a meeting held in Sydney in January it was unanimously decided by the Colonial Governments to fix a 4*d.* rate, and Her Majesty's Government did not think it desirable to defer a substantial reduction in Colonial postage by further controversy on this point. My letter to the hon. Member for Canterbury simply stated that I had very little doubt that the rate would be 3*d.* I gave no kind of assurance; and, indeed, I was not in a position to do so.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) said, that, as this was a matter of not only personal but of public interest, and as the House had always shown itself sympathetic to Australian interests, he begged their indulgence while he made his statement of the facts. On October 25 he wrote the following letter to *The Times*:—

"In May, 1887, I was able to announce in *The Times* that a 3*d.* rate for Australian letters would be conceded. I have since received (on January 31, 1888) a written assurance from the Postmaster General on the subject, and the Postmaster General of New South Wales and several Agents General also promised their support, or openly favoured the scheme. This morning I am informed that the postage will be 4*d.*, instead of 3*d.*, for the ocean-borne letters to Australia. I strongly denounce this charge as being most unsatisfactory to the public. Threepence is a convenient charge in itself; the man with many letters to write, or few sixpences to spend, being able to send two letters to Australia for 6*d.* instead of one, would not be likely to forget the boon. The threepenny-bit, too, still circulates, and the fourpenny is doomed. The 3*d.* rate would be accepted as a real instalment by myself and others. But Mr. Raikes should clearly understand that we would prefer to wait rather than accept the 4*d.* rate. It may be said that at a Conference in Sydney the 4*d.* rate was decided on. In reply to this, I beg to say that a majority of the members of the Conference were in favour of the 3*d.* rate; but the officials were too strong. England was not represented at this Conference, and you have already pointed out that it is the duty of England, with a £3,000,000 Post Office surplus, to take the lead in these reductions."

Well, his foundation for that statement was numerous interviews with the Postmaster General, who, on every occasion, expressed himself strongly in favour of the 3*d.* rate; and the following note, which, from a Member of the Government, he (Mr. Heaton) regarded as quite as satisfactory as a promise:—

"General Post Office, Jan. 31, 1888.

Dear Mr. Henniker Heaton,—I am much obliged for your letter of yesterday. . . . . I think there is very little reason to doubt that the 3*d.* rate will be adopted.

Yours very truly,

HENRY CECIL RAIKES."

He regretted the circumstance; but he

still maintained that he was right in the language used in the letter to *The Times*. He again thanked the House for their courtesy.

INDIA OFFICE — COMPETITION FOR INDIAN STAMPED PAPER, &c.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the competition for stamped paper, postcards, wrappers, and envelopes to be supplied to the Indian Government has been decided; whether the figures in the tenders bear out Mr. Purcell's figures, given as estimates in his evidence before the Select Committee on the Revenue Departments in April last; and who is the successful competitor?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The competition has been decided, but it was for stamped paper only; the existing contracts for postcards, wrappers, and envelopes do not expire until June, 1891. Mr. Purcell's figures are generally borne out. The successful competitor was Messrs. De la Rue. A copy of the new contract has been laid on the Table in compliance with a Resolution of the House of July 20, 1888.

PARLIAMENT — SCOTCH BUSINESS — BURGH POLICE AND HEALTH (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. D. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is the intention of the Government to proceed with the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill this Session; and, whether he is in a position to give an undertaking on the subject?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): The Government would be glad to proceed with this measure this Session if it be possible to do so; but further progress must be made with Supply before any undertaking can be given on this subject.

MR. D. CRAWFORD: I will take an early opportunity of calling attention to the position of Scotch Business.

Subsequently,

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill would be proceeded with this Session?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): My right hon. and learned Friend, the Lord Advocate has already answered that Question. I hope it may be possible to procedd with the Bill.

SOUTH AFRICA—BECHUANALAND.

MR. FERGUSON (Leith, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, By what authority was the Eastern Boundary of the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland of 1885 placed at the 30th degree of longitude in the map contained in Blue Book C. 5488, and when was that map prepared; and, is it the case that the Eastern Boundary of the British Protectorate, recently declared over the Native tribes south of the Zambesi, has been defined as represented in the map contained in Blue Book C. 5488?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The Eastern Boundary of the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland was fixed by Her Majesty's Government in August, 1887, after consultation with Sir Hercules Robinson. The map, as the Blue Book quoted shows, was prepared and sent home by Sir Hercules Robinson in June, 1888. It was necessary to define the Bechuanaland Protectorate; and its boundaries do not affect the separate question of the sphere of British influence south of the Zambesi, which, in a Paper already laid before Parliament, and shortly about to be distributed, is declared to extend over—

"The territories north of the South African Republic and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, south of the Zambesi, east of the 20th degree of East longitude, and west of the Portuguese Province of Sofala."

POST OFFICE—ALLEGED OPENING OF LETTERS.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Postmaster General, Whether complaints have reached him that on Friday, October 26, a letter was delivered by the post office letter carrier at No. 6, Mount Street, Ryde, addressed to John Robson, which had been previously opened in transit through the post office; and that the post office letter carrier, on being thereupon questioned, stated, in the presence of Mr. Fry, the tenant of the house No. 6, Mount Street, and

others, that he was instructed by Mr. Bright, the head clerk at the Ryde Post Office, to say, if any questions were asked about the letter, that it had been opened by the Postmaster, Mr. Brame; that Mr. Fry thereupon at once proceeded with the letter to the Ryde Post Office, and being unable to obtain an interview with the Postmaster, was informed by Mr. Bright, the head clerk, that the Postmaster had given orders that all letters for Robson were to be detained and opened, and that the letter in question had been opened by Mr. Brame; and, whether he will state the precise authority under which such letter was detained and opened, and if such detention and opening has taken place under his direction or with his knowledge or sanction?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): A complaint has been received from Mr. Fry that a letter addressed to John Rabson (not Robson) had been opened when it was delivered at No. 6, Mount Street, Ryde; but as Mr. Fry refused to let the officer who was instructed to investigate the complaint have the envelope, it has been impossible to ascertain what grounds there are for the allegation. If Mr. Fry will submit the envelope proper inquiry shall be made. Meantime, I am informed that no official authority or instructions have been given for letters addressed to Rabson to be detained and opened; that no such letters have been opened by the Postmaster, or any orders given by him to open them; and that Mr. Bright, the chief clerk, emphatically denies having told Mr. Fry, or instructed the postman to tell him, that orders to that effect had been given by the Postmaster, or that the Postmaster had opened the letter in question.

AFRICA (EASTERN)—THE SLAVE TRADE—ENGLISH AND GERMAN CRUISERS.

MR. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the statement in *The Times* of the 8th instant is correct, that, as regards the mainland in Eastern Africa, British ships will act only off the shore reserved to the British Government, whilst German ships will similarly be confined to the German Protectorate?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): At present, I believe, it is intended that the squadrons shall act separately, and the German ships will probably give their attention to the coast under German influence; but full discretion has been left to the Admirals.

THE TRUCK ACTS—DEDUCTION OF WAGES.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been drawn to a wages case heard before Mr. Hannay, at Marlborough Street Police Court, on October 31, where the employer claimed to deduct fines from the wages of a person employed, and Mr. Hannay decided distinctly that there was nothing illegal in fines; whether, in view of the 1 & 2 *Will.* IV., c. 37, s. 3, the magistrate was right in so deciding; and, whether the Government will direct the Inspector of Factories for the district to take action in the matter?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight), in reply, said, he was informed by Mr. Hannay that the trade in which the young person was employed was not within the Truck Act. No decision had been given by Mr. Hannay in respect to fines generally; and, of course, it must depend upon the particular circumstances whether they were illegal or not. He believed that in this instance there was no case for the intervention of the Inspector of Factories.

MR. BRADLAUGH asked, whether the magistrate had not been misled by the old Act, and had not paid attention to the section in the Act carried by him (Mr. Bradlaugh), extending the operation of the Act to every employment?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, it was only possible for him to deal with the information given him by the magistrate before whom the summons was taken out; but with regard to fines, it was a difficult question of law in each case as to the circumstances under which fines were deducted. If, a sa matter of fact, the fines were simply a method of ascertaining the actual wages earned by the workmen, there was no breach of the Truck Act; but if there were deduction from wages it might be a breach of the Act.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—HYDERABAD (DECCAN) MINING COMPANY.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the fact that the whole time of the House has been placed at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government, any opportunity will be afforded to a private Member this Session to raise a discussion on the Report of the Select Committee on the affairs of the Hyderabad (Deccan) Mining Company?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he was aware of the interest which attached to the Report of the Select Committee, and to the Report of the Currency Commission, especially the latter, which was of vast importance to the country at large; but the time at the disposal of the Government during these Sittings had been placed at their disposal for Public Business of a limited character, and they would not be justified in giving a place to anything that was not urgently necessary. He hoped an opportunity would be found for the discussion of these matters next Session.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. FERGUSON (Leith, &c.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government intend to proceed with the Universities (Scotland) Bill this Session, and if he can give any undertaking on the subject?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he was exceedingly hopeful that it would be possible to pass that Bill in the course of the present Session. It was one of those measures which the Government desired to pass, and he hoped the House would afford facilities for doing so; but in the present state of Supply he was unable to enter into any understanding as to when the Bill would be brought forward.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) asked whether the first opportunity would be taken, after Supply had been passed, and during the passing of the Appropriation Bill, to proceed with the measure?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that I will do everything in my power to pass that Bill this Session.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE VOTE FOR CROFTER EMIGRATION.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is proposed to bring forward the Vote for crofter emigration for discussion during the present Session; and, whether there is any foundation for the statement in yesterday's *Scotsman* that Government intend this Session to propose the appointment of a Select Committee of this House to consider the subject of crofter emigration?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It is intended to propose a Vote for crofter emigration in the course of the present Session. Expense has been incurred, emigration has gone on, and therefore it is only right that the House of Commons should have an opportunity of discussing the course the Government has taken. But it is also proposed that a Committee should sit; and I think that will probably be a better way of arriving at all the facts of the case than a prolonged discussion on the Vote in this House.

CRIMINAL LAW—THE MURDERS AT THE EAST END OF LONDON.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has seen by the evening papers that another terrible murder has been committed in the East of London; and, whether he does not think it is time tore place Sir Charles Warren by some other officer who will investigate the secrimes?

MR. SPEAKER: Order! order! The hon. Gentleman must give Notice of that Question in the usual way.

MR. CONYBEARE: I now give Notice of it.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must give Notice in writing at the Table in the ordinary way.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): I wish to ask, Sir, whether it is true that Sir Charles Warren is still in St. Petersburg?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): No, Sir; he is not.

AUSTRALIA—QUEENSLAND—APPOINTMENT OF THE GOVERNOR—SIR HENRY A. BLAKE.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for

the Colonies, Whether he had seen in the newspapers the statement that a despatch had been sent to the Agent General for Queensland in London by Sir T. M'Ilwraith, Premier, to the effect that the news of Sir H. A. Blake's appointment to the Governorship of that Colony had been received there with general indignation and astonishment?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): In answer to the right hon. Gentleman, I have to say that the same despatch was sent to the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office simultaneously with its publication in the papers. I have forwarded it on to the Secretary of State, who is now at Balmoral.

METROPOLITAN POLICE — RETIREMENT OF MR. JAMES MONRO, C.B., ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER.

MR. GENT-DAVIS (Lambeth, Kennington) stated that, at the request of the Home Secretary, he would postpone until Monday asking a Question and initiating a discussion on the retirement of Mr. Monro from the office of Assistant Commissioner of Police.

SUPPLY—THE IRISH VOTES.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.) asked when the Irish Votes would be taken in Supply?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he was not able at present to give any further information on that subject. It was intended that the Scotch Votes should follow the English; and therefore he was afraid it would be some days before they arrived at the Irish Votes.

MR. CLANCY pointed out that the case of the Irish Members was exceptional, as they had to cross the Channel to come here, and by reason of a special enactment a good many of them had to be in another place. Could the right hon. Gentleman make some definite statement as to when the Irish Estimates would be taken?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he regretted that he could not comply with the hon. Gentleman's request, as the day upon which the Irish Estimates would be taken would depend on the progress made with the previous Votes.

SUPPLY—THE SCOTCH EDUCATION VOTE.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked, Whether the Government intended to take the Scotch Education Vote immediately after the English Education Vote, or with the other Scotch Votes?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he should be inclined to follow the convenience of Scotch Members as to when the Vote should be taken. If it would be more convenient to wait until the other Votes were taken, he would consult the convenience of Scotch Members. [*Cheers.*] He took that cheer to be the wish of the Scotch Members to postpone the Vote, and therefore that course would be taken.

ORDERS OF THE DAY

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(1.) £1,286,077, to complete the sum for Public Education.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford): The pleasing duty now devolves upon me personally of asking the Committee to vote the Educational Supply for the current year; and, in accordance with previous practice, I propose, at the same time, to make a statement to the Committee giving a history of the progress which has been made in the past financial year. Seeing that the population of the country is increasing at a rapid rate, and that a large amount is annually demanded from the taxpayers, I think it is only natural that a jealous eye should be kept upon the expenditure, and as the day comes round for the discussion of the Estimates, I am not astonished that hon. Members on both sides of the House demand that a full discussion of those Estimates should take place. I am glad that the Vote is this year brought forward under circumstances which will permit of its being adequately discussed, for it is impossible, at this moment, for anyone who takes an interest in the

question not to see that there is a considerable amount of educational electricity in the air among those who take an interest in educational matters. A certain amount of this is possibly due to the triennial School Board elections which are shortly to take place, and in some degree, perhaps, it may be due to the appearance, long deferred, of the Report of the Education Commission. I will not now enter into a discussion of that Report; but it is only fair that I should express the gratitude which I know is felt throughout the country and in this House, altogether apart from Party or creed, to the Commissioners individually and collectively for the enormous time and attention they have devoted to this matter—not only for the manner in which they have analyzed the evidence which they have placed at our disposal, but for the extraordinary patience and assiduity they have shown in regard to the preparation of their Report. No one can study that Report, even in the most cursory manner, without being struck with the fact that while it contains a number of recommendations dealing with matters which for years past have been burning questions, still it also contains a vast number of recommendations of vital importance upon educational matters respecting which practical unanimity has been already secured. So far as the Government are concerned, it will be their duty to study that Report anxiously and carefully, with a view to stating next year the course they are prepared to pursue with regard to it; and I can give this pledge to the Committee—that if Her Majesty's Government deem it wise and expedient to ask Parliament to amend the Education Code, ample notice of that intention will be given to Parliament. If there should be any intention of amending the Code, their proposals will be laid on the Table in a concrete form for the information of hon. Members six weeks previously. It would be impossible to pass away from this portion of my observations without one further remark. It would be absurd for me to shut my eyes to the fact that a strong assumption has been drawn in certain quarters that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to lead an onslaught, all down the entire line, on the present system of elementary education. As far as I am concerned, I may say that I am absolutely ignorant of any such intention; and, standing here as a consistent supporter of the Act of 1870, I can say, for myself, personally, that I should look with the deepest concern upon any attempt to destroy the settlement arrived at in 1870. I can assure the Committee, and I say this after carefully considering the anomalies of the system, that I have formed an opinion which it would be wrong to disguise—that any attempt on the part of Her Majesty's Government to overthrow the settlement of 1870 would lead to the most disastrous results. I believe that this Education Question is at present regarded with an entire absence of Party spirit, and to plunge it again into the seething vortex of sectarian politics and agitation would retard the course of education to an extent that it is scarcely possible to exaggerate. I have, therefore, put the matter plainly to the Committee. I will now, with the permission of the Committee, make a statement with regard to a few figures. I think this is only due to the Committee, although the figures with which I shall have to deal are somewhat dreary. The Estimate for 1888-9 is £3,576,077, as compared with £3,453,807 for the year 1887-8, showing an increase of £117,270; but I am glad to say that the major part of this increase—indeed, nearly the whole—is accounted for by an increase in the sum of £114,685 for annual grants in aid of day and evening scholars, owing to the very welcome increase in their numbers. There is also the estimated rate of grant per head for day scholars, which is 17*s.* 6½*d.*, as compared with 17*s.* 5*d.* in 1887-8. With regard to the salaries of the Department, there is no numerical addition whatever. There is a slight reduction in the salaries at Whitehall of £505, which is due to a reduction in the cost of boy clerks and copyists; but there is an increase of £3,260 in the salaries of Inspectors due to the triennial and annual rise, and also to the fact of the increase of scholars in the evening schools and of the examinations thereby rendered necessary. In the payment of pensions to teachers there is an increase of £1,160, of which I am sure hon. Members will approve. There is no task more unpleasant to me than dealing with these pensions, for I am frequently driven into this position—that I have often absolutely to refuse a

pension to a teacher who has broken down from sheer hard work. No public man can have a more unpleasant task to perform than to refuse any public recognition of the services of these teachers. Although I do not wish to touch on any controversial subject, I am sure it is impossible for any practical man to deny the fact that the present state of things, with regard to the remuneration of teachers, needs very serious overhauling. This sum of £1,160 has been devoted to nine pensions of £30, 14 of £25, and 27 of £20. Certain grants have been made to School Boards under Section 97 of the Act of 1870. The increase of £1,155 under this subhead is chiefly owing to an underestimate of expenditure in 1887-8, and is partly caused by a slight increase in the number of schools receiving the grant. With regard to the annual grants to Training Colleges, hon. Members will see that there is a decrease under this head of £2,600. This is not due to any desire on the part of the Department to act unfairly to the Colleges; it is caused solely by an overestimate of the maintenance charges, which the fall in prices are gradually reducing. Therefore, the actual expenditure comes out for 1887-8 as £3,458,800, while the sum voted by Parliament was £3,458,807, showing a saving of £7. I will now ask the Committee to bear with me whilst I give a more detailed statement as to the rate of progress which has been made. I have, for purposes of comparison, to give the results of inspections for the years ending August, 1886, and August, 1887. At the close of 1886 the number of schools inspected was 19,022, and in 1887, 19,154, an increase of 132. The percentage of increase for 1886 over the previous year was ·67, and for 1887, ·69. The number of scholars for whom accommodation was provided in 1886 was 5,145,000, and in 1887, 5,279,000, showing an increase of 134,000. The percentage of increase was, in 1886, 2·93, and in 1887, 2·60. The scholars on the registers in 1886 numbered 4,506,000, and in 1887, 4,635,000, an increase of 129,000—a very large increase, far above any estimate that might have been expected from increase of population. The percentage of increase in 1886 was 2·12, rising in 1887 to 2·86. With regard to the average attendance of scholars, the numbers were, in 1886, 3,438,000, and in 1887, 3,527,000, showing an increase of 89,000. The percentage of average attendance to the number on the register—and this is really the only point that is weak and not quite satisfactory—was, in 1886, 76·3, and in 1887, 76·1. The percentage of passes in the Standard examinations was, in 1886, 85·99, and in 1887, 87·32. The scholars examined in Standard IV. and upwards numbered, in 1886, 848,000, and in 1887, 912,000, an increase of 64,000. The percentage of scholars examined in Standard IV. and upwards had risen from 34·7 in 1886 to 36·3 in 1887. Of certificated and assistant teachers there were, in 1886, 64,310, and in 1887, 66,547, an increase of 2,237. Of pupil teachers there were, in 1886, 27,804, and in 1887, 28,930, an increase of 1,126. One very gratifying fact is that the percentage of scholars in Standard IV. and upwards had increased from 29·03 in the year 1883 to 36·3 in 1887, and the percentage of passes in the Standard examinations had increased from 82·89 in 1883 to 87·32 in 1887. It will not be denied that the information which I have just given to the Committee is of vital importance. It does not prove anything exceptional; but it does show a very steady increase in the rate of progress and as to the quality of the education given for the money. And, perhaps, the most gratifying feature disclosed is the enormous rate of increase in the number of names that have been added to the register. The increase is, I believe, 129,000—an increase which the most sanguine could hardly have expected. At all events, it is very gratifying. If the Committee will take the last three years they will find the increase in the number of children on the registers has been, in 1885, 75,000; in 1886, 94,000; and in 1887, 129,000. This is an increase of 65,000 over the numbers which might be expected from the average increase in the population. There are some figures, however, which are not quite so satisfactory—namely, those relating to the rate of increase in the average attendance. In 1885 the increase was 98,000; in 1886, 67,000; and in 1887, 89,000. It will thus be seen that, when we come to compare the average attendance in 1887 with the average attendance in 1885, the result is not satisfactory. I

should like, before I have done with these figures, to give a further comparison of the number of scholars, taking the five years, 1883 to 1887 inclusive, in Standard IV. and upwards, and also the percentage of such scholars to the whole number of scholars examined. In the year 1883 the scholars in Standard IV. and upwards numbered 660,000; in 1884, 732,000; in 1885, 783,000; in 1886, 848,000; and in 1887, 912,000. The percentage of these scholars to the whole number examined was, in 1883, 29·03; in 1884, 31·26; in 1885, 32·9; in 1886, 34·7; and in 1887, 36·3. This represents a solid and increasing gain, as regards the quality of learning acquired by our children in elementary schools, and not only is there a solid gain in the quality of the education, but the figures show, if any hon. Member will take the trouble to analyze them, convincing proof of the gradual prolongation of school life among the children. I do not think I ought to detain the Committee with more figures, but it may be well to put one further test as to the progress made since the passing of the Education Act of 1870. In the percentage of the number of children borne on the school registers to the estimated population, a steady yearly increase is shown up to 16·41 per cent last year, or nearly one in six of the population. The percentage of children in public elementary schools in regard to population was 7·08 in 1869, 11·46 in 1875, 14·75 in 1879, 16·04 in 1885, and 16·41 in 1887, or as nearly as possible one in six of the whole population. As to the distribution of the merit grant, which has been much discussed, I will, without discussing it purely as a test, or expressing any opinion as to its retention or abolition, or otherwise, give, for what they are worth, the following results for the last four years. The percentage was as follows:—In 1884, below fair 6·67, fair 31·19, good 43·45, excellent 13·69; in 1885 it was —below fair 5·90, fair 28·59, good 49·27, excellent 16·24; in 1886 it was —below fair 4·97, fair 27·43, good 50·59, excellent 17·01; while in 1887 it was—below fair 4·29, fair 24·92, good 52·33, excellent 18·46. Seventy-two schools out of every 100 infant schools or classes received the good and excellent grants last year, and 70 out of every 100 schools for older scholars. At all events, as far as the results go—I will not say what is the educational worth of the estimates—but, as far as the results go, these figures show a steady and uniform rate of progress. With regard to school expenses the cost of maintenance per scholar in average attendance was as follows:—In board schools £2 14*s.* 11½*d.* in 1886, and £2 14*s.* 7½*d.* in 1887; in voluntary schools, £1 16*s.* 4½*d.* in 1886, and £1 16*s.* 4½*d.* in 1887. In board schools, excluding London, £1 19*s.* 2½*d.* in 1886, and £1 19*s.* 8½*d.* in 1887; in voluntary schools, excluding London, £1 15*s.* 9½*d.* in 1886, and £1 15*s.* 9½*d.* in 1887. In London board schools £3 3*s.* 4*d.* in 1886, and £3 0*s.* 5*d.* in 1887; in London voluntary schools £2 3*s.* 5¾*d.* in 1886, and £2 3*s.* 9½*d.* in 1887. [An hon. MEMBER: Is that the cost per head?] Yes. I claim for these figures that they prove that a solid result as regards education has been earned for the vast sum of money we draw from the taxpayers. I am not prepared to say that we have a perfect system of education, but I believe it is one which will be of enormous utility in the future to the children of the country. I have given the figures, because I think the taxpayers of the country have a positive right to demand information as to what the actual result has been. There is much criticism of the Act of 1870 at the present day, some of it of an adverse character, and some of it is to my mind not very reasonable; but I should like to apply another test as to what the result of the operation of the Act has really been. I have endeavoured to apply my mind not only to what the future may possibly bring, but to the exact position of the Education Question at this moment. Are the children of this country better brought up than they were formerly, and what is the state of the vast mass of our child-life we have had to deal with in the last 18 years as compared with the period before 1870? There is, I think, no better test to apply than that which may be gathered from the statistics of juvenile crime for two decades. Whatever that system may be, whether it is expensive or otherwise, it is desirable to bring it to such a test that it will be able to stand the criticism of this House. I have, therefore, taken pains to collect statistics showing the state of juvenile crime and delinquencies for two decades, from 1866-7 to 1876-7, and from 1876-7

to 1887. In giving these figures it is as well to say that I include the commitments to reformatory schools. The proportion per cent of the population of the commitments for juvenile crimes was as follows:—In 1866-7 under 12 years of age, males 1·5, females 0·5, total 1 per cent; under 16 years of age, males 6·7, females 3·2, total 4·95 per cent; in 1876-7 under 12 years of age, males 0·8, females 0·2, total 0·6 per cent; under 16 years of age, males 4·5, females 1·7, total 3·7 per cent; and in 1886-7, under 12 years of age, males 0·2, females 0·0, total 0·1 per cent; under 16 years of age, males 3·3, females 1·2, total 2·7 per cent. These figures are remarkable as an applied test. The committals of children under 12, which in 1866-7 were 1 per cent of the whole number, have been reduced in 1886-7 to one-tenth of that amount in the case of boys, and in the case of girls have almost entirely ceased, while the committals of children over 12 and under 16 have been reduced in the same period from 5 per cent of the total to little more than 2½ per cent, or, taking the two classes together, so as to cover the whole field of juvenile crime, the reduction has been from 6 per cent to 2·3 per cent, including admissions to reformatories.

Mr. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside): I think it would be interesting to know what the total numbers were in 1866-7 and in 1886-7.

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE: I am coming to that in a moment, but the percentage was 6 per cent in 1866-7, and it was reduced to 2·3 in 1886-7. The diminution is even more striking when the totals of juvenile commitments are compared with the population. In 1869—the year before the passing of the Elementary Education Act—with an estimated population of 21,869,607, the numbers of juvenile commitments were 10,314, or one to every 2,120 of the population. In 1886, with an estimated population of 27,870,586, juvenile commitments have fallen to 4,924, or one to every 5,660 of the population, so that while the population has increased by more than a fourth there is not half the juvenile crime there was 20 years ago. Surely this result is a goodly record of our legislative efforts. We still find to-day a fixed relation between crime and ignorance. During each year there is an almost uniform proportion of commitments of persons of all ages who can neither read nor write, or can only read and write imperfectly. This proportion, according to the latest information, is from 96 to 97 per cent. I do not adduce figures to show that the present system is perfect; but how grave is the responsibility of those who propose to amend an educational scheme which can claim such solid results! I trust that I may now be allowed to advert for a few moments to a question which lies uppermost in my mind—namely, the average attendance of the children as compared with the number on the register in 1887. The number of the names on the register show an increase of 129,000, whereas the average attendances show an increase of only 89,000. I do not think that that is a satisfactory result, and I trust that no remark I may make upon it will be taken in any controversial sense. It has been my duty to read the Reports of the Inspectors and endeavour to ascertain the causes of this diminution. Various Inspectors give different reasons, and I find among the various reasons assigned that some of Her Majesty's Inspectors believe that the normal limits of compulsion have been reached, while others hold that a more vigorous attention on the part of the Attendance Committee and on the part of the Local Authorities and the more strenuous application of compulsion are necessary. One of our Inspectors (Mr. Sharpe) says, in his Report, that there is some difficulty in dealing with the poorest of the children, and some small decrease in the regularity of attendance; and then he makes a remark of the utmost importance, that it is absolutely necessary to popularize the schools, not only with the scholars, but with the parents also. Then he goes on to say that the condition of the lowest class in some of the board schools is pitiable and a question of serious national import, and he comments on the practical failure of compulsion to reach the lowest strata. I do not propose to enter into a debate on the merits or demerits of compulsion, but there is one thing that strikes me very forcibly. Our chief object should be to increase the average attendance, and to make our school life more popular than it is now. We place the greatest value on the interdependence of scholars, managers, and parents. And we believe it to be a good thing for the community at large

to improve off the face of the country all ill-regulated, badly ventilated, and badly constructed schools. The smallest circumstances of school life may affect the lives of little children, such as well-lighted rooms, bright papers, and pictures on the wall. One has only to recall one's own school days to remember what little things influenced one's school life, such as a bright paper on the wall or a good light—very small matters in themselves, but exercising an important influence. It is also absolutely essential that we should find some less barbarous method of paying the fees of pauper children. Mr. Coward, one of Her Majesty's Inspectors, says that a good deal of the irregularity of attendance is due to irregularity in payment. We are all unanimous in respect of these things. In improving the attendance we should look rather to making school life attractive and to the earnest work of School Attendance Committees than to any extension of compulsory powers. Mr. Sharpe, in that portion of his Report which I have already quoted, refers to the pitiable state of the children in the large towns, and especially the Metropolis. There I must venture to urge that, in a great measure, we must look to the aid of the several existing charitable institutions. I had the honour of moving the first Report ever printed of the Poor Children's Aid Society in London, and that is not the only society which deals with the very poorest and hungriest of the children. A kindred body is the South London Dinner Fund Society, than which none does more practical work in this country. They are solely worked by voluntary committees, who employ able men and women on the spot to sift out every individual case, not only in regard to the children, but the parents. I have mentioned these societies because I am sure they are deserving of all support. The hon. Baronet who sits for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) has a Motion upon the Paper, and it would be discourteous on my part if I were not to refer to it. The hon. Baronet desires to add manual instruction to the Code, either as a class subject or on the same footing as cookery. The hon. Baronet is an authority on class subjects, and I think on this question we are in substantial agreement. My view is that there should be considerable freedom given to teachers in dealing with these subjects. But, of course, in pressing this change, we do not forget the necessity of a good training in English and grammar. I have studied this question, and I believe I shall be supported by the Committee generally when I say that this freedom can be given to the teaching of class subjects, and yet the teaching of English and grammar may be fully safeguarded. As I am on the question of class subjects, there are two kindred ones to which I wish to allude which are nearly allied to technical training—namely, drawing and cookery. They are subjects on which I have taken some trouble. Here, again, I believe I shall receive the full sympathy of the Committee. Allow me to state how the matter stands in regard to drawing. In passing, I may say that I deeply regret that we are unable to proceed with the Technical Education Bill this Session. But, in the meantime, while we are waiting until some measure of technical education is passed, whether we are dealing with the higher class of education or the more elementary part of it, I think we ought not to be idle with regard to drawing. Hon. Members will be aware that the subject of drawing has had a chequered career, and that it has been made a kind of foot-ball between the Education Department and the authorities at South Kensington. But the Committee will be glad to know, from information which has reached me up to this date, that our school managers and teachers are becoming more alive to the advantages of the change lately made. It is satisfactory to know that there is solid evidence that the teachers and managers are being made aware of the advantages to be obtained, and I think I can say with accuracy that the increase in the present grant over that for last year amounts to something like 20 per cent. I should like also to say a few words on the subject of cookery. There, again, I have found the greatest difficulty in making those immediately concerned aware of the importance of the provisions which we have made with regard to the cookery grants. In many cases we have been offering a grant of 4*s.* to cookery classes, both in day and evening schools. I have been at some pains to inquire into the question of cookery, and I have had the advantage of discussing the matter with Her Majesty's Inspector at Oxford, who promised me that he would make

an effort in this direction. I should like to state to the Committee what the result of the effort has been. In the City of Oxford a most successful experiment has been made, and 441 girls are now being instructed in cookery. There are two teachers engaged by the committee, in three separate establishments, both of whom are fully trained, and one holds a triple certificate for artizan, household, and high class cookery. In 1886 the number of grants made to girls for cookery was 24,556, and in 1887, 30,431, or an increase of 5,905. The City of Oxford is a good instance of what may be done in teaching cookery. As I have said, 441 girls are now receiving instruction in cookery; and if the advantages offered by the Department were more generally known in the country, we should find that many would follow the example of Oxford in the establishment of evening classes. At all events, there would be no difficulty in the summer months in applying the system which had been successfully applied in Oxford to other parts of the country, and establishing a system of classes in cookery. There is another place in which the experiment has been tried. I do not see the hon. Baronet the Member for Banbury (Sir Bernhard Samuelson) in his place; but in that town the experiment has also been tried, and no less than 186 girls have been attending the classes which have been established, and which I have no doubt will be for the ultimate good of Banbury and the surrounding districts. I am afraid I have detained the Committee at considerable length—far longer than I originally intended. It is perfectly obvious that I have been addressing the Committee at some considerable disadvantage in regard to this great Education Question, as I have been unable to enter into the recommendations of the Commission. Whatever observations hon. Members opposite may have to make, in regard to the matters dealt with in the Report of the Commissioners on Education, I would implore them, under all the circumstances, to be somewhat merciful in the length of their remarks. It is not for me to say that they should not refer to the Report, but I wish them to understand that, whatever they may say, I am tongue-tied as to the most important points in the Report. I have to apologize to the Committee for the barrenness of my remarks on this head. I can assure the Committee that, considering the great number of subjects of great importance which are necessarily brought under my notice in the Education Department, if I am silent on some of them it is not because I do not take a great interest in them. I should also like to notice that the functions of the Education Department seem gradually to have been extending since the Education Act came into force. The chief function is, of course, to administer the Education Act. During my short connection with the Department I have had various matters brought before me connected with higher education, with University Colleges, and other educational bodies. As I have said already, I do not under-rate the responsibility which rests on any Government that deals with questions like these; but I would throw out a warning. It is impossible to disguise the fact that we shall shortly be brought face to face with an important question connected with evening schools and continuation schools. By all means let us consider these questions of evening classes, evening schools, and continuation schools; but, in doing so, let us be just to the taxpayers and ratepayers of the country. Do not let us beguile them into a large expenditure of money which may to any extent be applied to secondary education. At any rate, let us inform the British taxpayer of the position in which we stand with regard to these important matters; and if we have to make a large advance, let us, at all events, be sure of our ground, and arrive at a clear understanding as to where primary education ends and secondary education begins. I have now only to thank the Committee for the patience with which it has heard me, and for the attention which it has paid to my remarks; and to assure hon. Members that, so far as the large amount which it is my duty to ask for is concerned, I sincerely believe it will be profitably and well laid out in making further provision for the education of the people. So much for the present. As regards the future, I can further assure the Committee that Her Majesty's Government feel the great responsibility which rests upon them in reference to this great problem, because they feel that no portion of the huge trust committed to their care is more important or more sacred than the

training of the youth of the country.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK (London University) said, he had listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman with great pleasure, although he regretted that the Committee were to be precluded from discussing the Report of the Commission. The right hon. Gentleman had made one remark to which he had listened with great satisfaction, and that was that there would be no attack upon or any attempt made to upset the settlement or compromise of 1870. That statement would have been heard with satisfaction in all parts of the House. The right hon. Gentleman had adverted kindly to the labours of the Commission, and as he (Sir John Lubbock) happened to be one of the minority upon it, he trusted that he might be allowed to express his own opinion as to how very much they were indebted to the majority for the great care they had devoted to the subject. He hoped the points of difference among them would not prevent the country appreciating the very numerous points on which they agreed. After the announcement which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman, he took it that there would be no attempt in the present discussion to introduce those questions upon which the Commission were divided. At all events, if any such attempt were made, he hoped that time be afforded for ample discussion. Though, no doubt, there would be much difference of opinion in the Committee as regarded the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Education with reference to denominational education and any aid to voluntary schools out of rates, still as regarded the purely educational recommendations there was a remarkable consensus of opinion, and he hoped that the rising conflict over voluntary schools and denominational education might not over-shadow those important points on which the Commission were agreed. He believed that when the Committee came to consider the question of what it was desirable to teach in our schools, those who read the Report of the Commission would see with some surprise how much of agreement there was among the Commissioners. Among the Members of the Commission were Cardinal Manning, representing the Roman Catholics; the Bishop of London; Mr. Shipton, representing Trades Union Congress; Mr. Ellers, representing the teachers, and many hon. Members representing all sections of the House, especially Mr. Richard, whose recent loss they all deplored. He (Sir John Lubbock) was one of those Members of the Commission who found themselves unable to sign the Report as eventually adopted by the majority; but the points of difference were on questions relating to the finances of voluntary schools and denominational instruction. On most of the matters relating to purely educational questions the whole Commission was practically agreed. Not having been able, on those accounts, to sign the Report of the majority, he might venture to express his sense of its great value as a most important contribution to this vital question. Of course, there were many other important and interesting questions raised by the Report, and upon which the Commissioners were unanimous, or nearly so—the question of the distribution of the grant for instance, and many others into which he would not enter; but he wished for a few minutes to direct attention to the curriculum in these schools. Considering the very varied character of the Commission, it was certainly remarkable that, after a long and exhaustive inquiry, they should, as regarded the subjects of study—that was to say, on purely educational subjects—have been absolutely unanimous. He should have hoped, if the Forms of the House allowed it, that these recommendations—these unanimous recommendations—might have received the endorsement of the Committee; but as that could not be, he trusted that, at any rate, they might receive from his right hon. Friend opposite an assurance that he would give effect to them. The Report of the Commission stated—and the minority concurred with them—that—

> "We desire that, as far as practicable, children should be grounded in all the four class subjects—English, Geography, History, Elementary Science—and that, when some only of them are taken, the selection should be left to the school authorities."

They did not, of course, expect that this could be effected all at once, but indicated it as the object to be aimed at; and the latter part, of course, might at once come into operation. Now, that being the recommendation of the Commission, what was the present

position? There were altogether between 19,000 and 20,000 schools. Of these, 12,000 only taught geography. That was to say, there were nearly 8,000 in which no children were presented for examination in geography. That in itself was sad enough, but when they came to history matters were far worse. He doubted whether the country at all realized how backward they were. Out of the 20,000 schools, only 383 presented any children for examination in English history; while as regards science, only 39 schools out of the 20,000 presented it as a clas subject at all. Perhaps he should be told that he was omitting all reference to the teaching of these subjects as specific subjects; but, according to last year's Report, out of 4,600,000 children in our schools, under 22,000 were presented for examination in elementary science. There was a vague idea that board schools often taught Latin and French; but out of the 4,600,000 children, only 3,000 were presented for examination in French and 200 in Latin. Or, take drawing. The Commissioners said—

"We are of opinion that drawing is a most valuable part of elementary education, and that we are in England at present deficient as compared with foreign countries in respect to the teaching of this subject. At no time in a child's life can it be so easily taught as during the period of schooling. . . . We therefore recommend that, as far as practicable, drawing should be made compulsory for boys."

Some form of manual training, perhaps carpentering, in accordance with the Swedish system, would be very valuable, not as a direct preparation for a trade, but as a mode of training the hand and the eye. The Commissioners dwelt with much force on the importance of elementary science. The importance of science teaching was urged in that House long ago by the Committee over which the hon. Baronet the Member for Banbury (Sir Bernhard Samuelson) presided. It had been urged by the Committee on Technical Instruction, and by other high educational authorities. Moreover, it was so far recognized, that in all infant schools simple object lessons and lessons on the more common phenomena of Nature were given. But as soon as the child was promoted into the upper school those lessons ceased, though in some cases they were recommended in the upper Standards. Even there, however, there was a long break. The Commissioners especially quoted the evidence of one of their witnesses as typical, who told them that he found elementary science was especially valuable, because it was the one which most enlivened the teaching of the school, and did most to quicken the intelligence of the children. He said that he knew cases in which the parents changed the washing day so that their children might not lose the science lessons—certainly, in a homely fashion, one of the great scientific triumphs. The Commissioners said—

"If it be true, as we believe it is, that the object of elementary education is to give such instruction to the scholars as will best fit them to fulfil the duties of the life to which they are most likely to be called, and to enable those who may be endowed with special gifts to rise to still higher callings, then elementary science is only second in importance to elementary instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. We have had" (they add) "a great deal of evidence showing the educational effect of science teaching in our elementary schools for both boys and girls; and we think that science —especially mathematical, mechanical, and physical science—is not only the foundation, but an essential part of thorough technical instruction."

Dr. Siemens, as regards science, said—

"In the elementary schools of Germany we do not learn much of any particular thing, but we learn a little of many things as well. When I came to England I took up with electricity; but where should I have been had I not been taught a little chemistry, sound, light, and heat? If you young men will come over to my works here in your own country you will find all the foremen are Germans or Swedes, or Swiss or French; but your countrymen draw the carts and do the hard work. The little which our boys learn in school gives them a start in learning other things when they leave school, but your young men do not know anything to begin with."

That was the opinion of a man admirably qualified to judge, both from his special acquaintance with science and manufactures, and with German education. But there was another consideration of great weight. It was a very unsatisfactory element in our education that evening schools were falling off. We did not succeed in interesting the children. The great faults of the present system were that it was too bookish and too dry. Surely it could not be said that literature was so uninteresting and nature so dull that properly trained children could find no pleasure in either one or the other. It was because he believed that the admirable recommendations of the Education Commission as regards the

instruction to be given in our schools would introduce more variety, and would open to our children the charms of literature and the interest of this beautiful world, that he hoped they would receive the support of the Vice President of the Council.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (Worcester, Evesham) said, that in offering a few general remarks to the House, he must remind them that there were two kinds of knowledge, one which came from studying statistics, reading Blue Books, and hearing evidence; in that he would not compete with hon. Members opposite. The other came from managing the finances, regulating the teaching, watching the incomings and outgoings, conducting the administration, and inspecting the poorest schools. Now the latter was a knowledge which from the exigencies of the position he held he was obliged to possess, and from that point of view only would he venture to address the few observations he intended to make to the Committee. He had been much impressed by all that had fallen from the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) who had just addressed the Committee. Whatever was said by the hon. Baronet in regard to mental culture must command the respect of all, and he ventured to say that if the test of the hon. Baronet were applied to the work of the School Board within the Metropolitan area, it would be found much more favourable than the result the hon. Baronet had foreshadowed in his observations regarding School Boards generally. In other words, he thought it would be found that most of the subjects mentioned had been of late taught, to a considerable extent, by the School Board teachers of London. He fully acknowledged the truth of all the hon. Baronet had said in regard to making all the instruction interesting. The Committee would be glad to hear that an important committee of the London School Board had lately been sitting for that very purpose, and that after a protracted inquiry it had submitted a series of recommendations which were eminently practical, and would, if carried out by the Board about to be elected by the Metropolitan ratepayers, effect the objects which the hon. Baronet had set before the House. With regard to the teaching of science, he could assure the hon. Baronet, on behalf of himself and many of his colleagues, that the London School Board did not yield even to him in their zeal for that most important matter. They had framed various schemes for that very purpose. There were obstacles in the way, and they were waiting for legislation, but with the support of the Members of the House and of public opinion they might hope, before long, to carry out a system of practical instruction in science within the Metropolitan area, which would be second to none in the world. With regard to evening, or continuation classes, that was a subject in which the London School Board had taken a very great interest. They did not undertake it on any grand scale. They were practical men, and desired to work by degrees from small beginnings. They took the matter up a very few years ago, and they had already made considerable progress; and he reckoned that about half the children who could possibly attend the continuation schools were attending—not, perhaps, to the extent the hon. Baronet desired, but still to an appreciable extent. If they got certain assistance from the Education Department, before long they would accomplish everything that could be be done. What was keeping them back in London was the want of certain changes in the curriculum. Hitherto they had not been able to get the authority of the Education Department to these changes. They had been told by the Department that they must wait until the Report of the Royal Commission was issued. That Report had now been issued, and he trusted the time was not far distant when the changes would be carried out. When those changes were granted, he ventured to say that within five years—without any grand scheme or large expense, or any trouble to the ratepayers or the public—at all events, in the Metropolitan area—they would have a system of continuation and evening classes not inferior to the system in operation in their day schools, which was so renowned. He was aware that many—nay, almost all—of the most important points connected with elementary education were put out of court by the necessity they were under of not alluding to the recommendations of the Royal Commission. But many hon. Members would have observed

that the Royal Commission thought voluntary schools ought to receive the same assistance from the Treasury as was given to board schools. At first sight it would appear that the voluntary schools did obtain grants on equal terms, but the equality was apparent, and not real. The board schools had what he must admit to be an unfair advantage over the voluntary schools. There was the regulation about the 17*s.* 6*d.* per head. That regulation did not affect the board schools, which had no difficulty in showing that their income was equal to 17*s.* 6*d.* per head, because they had the Board's treasury at their back, as well as the long purse of the London ratepayers to draw upon. But that was not the case with a voluntary school which was struggling in the midst of a poor district. He knew instances of voluntary schools of the highest efficiency which had had their grant docked, because they could not make up the fees and the subscriptions to 17*s.* 6*d.* per head owing to the poverty of the parents. Therefore, in the interests, not of his own board school people, but of the voluntary schools, he thought that the 17*s.* 6*d.* rule ought to be abolished. It affected the poor voluntary schools, and had no effect whatever upon the board schools. He had observed one or two seductive recommendations in the Report of the Royal Commission. One was that the grant should be increased to 10*s.* per child for average attendance; and another, that there should be a fixed grant of 10*s.* per child. If these recommendations were to be taken literally, they would mean a present increase of the grant; but he had no doubt reservations and limitations would be found; there would be redistribution —fatal word—and, therefore, even if these recommendations were adopted, they would never get the whole of the 10*s.* But all these things led on to the hope that they might succeed in wringing from his right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council something more than the £3,200,000 which they now received annually in grants from the Treasury. Out of this the London School Board only succeeded in extracting from his right hon. Friends a paltry £350,000 a-year, and he could assure the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who seemed to laugh at this, that with that they had the greatest difficulty in making both ends meet. He would ask his right hon. Friend, in reference to this seductive recommendation of the Royal Commission, whether the grant to the London School Board could not be made £450,000 or £500,000 a-year? It would be a great relief to the Board, and would just make the difference between comfort and narrowness. With something extra from the Treasury he might be able to do one or other of several good things. He could assure the House that whatever they did get from the Treasury was well applied and hardly earned. Few people knew the toil, worry, and anxiety, the heart-searching, the jaw-breaking, brow-sweating work they had to undergo in order to win the grants after examination. He must, however, express the satisfaction of the School Board that there had been a great change for the better within the last year or two under the administration of his right hon. Friend in regard to the relaxation of the rule of payment by results. That payment by results must, of course, depend upon examination and statistics to some extent. But it was most dangerous, with all respect to them, to offer such a temptation to the teachers by telling them that their livelihood, their promotion, and their professional prospects depended upon statistics and results of examinations alone. They ought not to subject the teachers to this temptation, and he said this with all deference to a body of men high-minded as well as competent. What we ought to do was to have a dual system—one a test by examination in figures, and one depending on general considerations. He was under no obligation to praise Her Majesty's Inspectors, who were naturally the inquisitors and torturers of the School Board; but he was bound to say that in conscientiousness of character, talents, acquirements, and efficiency, they were as good a body of officers as could be found. But within the Metropolitan area there was a double system of inspection. Besides Her Majesty's Inspectors, the Board had their own Inspectors, and he was sure that some of his hon. Friends on that side of the House who had seen the Inspectors of the London School Board would bear testimony to their high character. So that, what with Her Majesty's Inspectors and the Board Inspectors, there was a double test upon which reliance might be placed. He congratulated Her Majesty's

Government on having co-operated with the London School Board in securing that the grant should be given on general considerations as well as on figures. Something had been said in the debate about compulsion, in respect of school attendance, and much had been urged out-of-doors against the system pursued by the Board. He was afraid that if he were to enter into that subject properly, he would be called to Order by the Chairman for trespassing beyond the Vote. Nevertheless, much had been said against compulsion and he gathered from the remarks of his right hon. Friend that he expected the time might come when they could do without compulsion. He hoped the time might come, but it had not come yet. Were it not for the general support of public opinion in the Metropolis, it would have been impossible for the Board to maintain the compulsory system. In 99 cases out of 100 the facts were on the side of the Board, and the public had come to believe in the effectiveness of the present system of education. But there were a certain number of parents, who for the nonce were impenitent and incorrigible, and who must be compelled; but even with them the Board's system of compulsion was as mild and gradual as it could possibly be. He hoped that hon. Members would not suppose that the moment an unhappy mother failed to send her child to school she was dragged up at once before the magistrate by the police. Not at all. First of all she had notice given her, and if she did not attend to that she was cited before a Committee, who were members of the Board belonging to the district, who admonished her in regard to her duty. That was the second notice. After that, if the child did not attend, she was served with a summons and was liable to be prosecuted. Even then, while being haled before the Judge, she might still agree with her adversary on the way. He ventured to say that it was only where there was a certain amount of hardness and obstinacy that the charge was pressed, and once a mother was visited with the penalty she never offended again. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Yes; he said that in justice to the mothers of the children. On the whole the system of compulsion worked well, was successful, the results were satisfactory, and the system itself was in consonance with the spirit of the age. Something had been said about there being a semi-barbarous system of levying fees upon the parents of pauper children through the Guardians. There was nothing of the kind in the Metropolitan area. On the contrary, where the parents could not pay the matter was brought before the Board, and the fees were in most cases remitted. [An hon. MEMBER: Only in the board schools.] He was only speaking of board schools, and not on behalf of voluntary schools. From the nature of the case his remarks could apply only to board schools. He did not suppose that the voluntary schools had any means of exercising compulsion. They could not compel the children to pay the fees or to attend. As regarded the board schools, he might say that the fees for poor children were invariably remitted, when necessary, after proper inquiry. With regard to other parents, he submitted that payment of fees was the law. Some hon. Members might think that no fees should be paid; but that was not for the Board to judge. The Board was bound to obey the Legislature. It was for that House to say whether fees should be paid or not, and the House had said that they were. While they had fees, the Board, as trustees of the public, were bound to see that they were paid. Even then the London School Board got less than £200,000 a-year in fees, or about one-eighth of the cost of the education. The remaining seven-eighths were paid by the public. That, to say the least, was generous. Something had been said in the course of the debate about the Metropolitan poor. Many societies had been formed in connection with the School Board for the relief of distress among children of the poor. He could not deal with this for fear of travelling beyond the Vote. The School Board authorities were giving most effective co-operation to those charities by finding out who were the really deserving children, and the teachers gave certificates, on the faith of which relief was bestowed. No opportunity was omitted of bringing deserving cases before the charitable and well disposed. It was one of their objects to search out and discover all cases of real hardship and distress. Something had been said about cookery. He could assure the Committee that the subject of cookery, also, was receiving the most careful atten-

tion from the School Board of London. There was not a girl above 10 years of age who had not to undergo a course of instruction in cooking. That he thought must have a great effect upon the rising generation, and he was certain that if any of his hon. Friends on either side of the House would attend their several cookery centres at 1 o'clock in the day they would be greatly gratified. The articles cooked were not consumed in the schools, but disposed of in the neighbourhood, a fact which testified to the excellence of the cooking. He came now to the question of secondary education. He might say, for the satisfaction of some hon. Members opposite, that he sincerely hoped the system of State inspection and State co-operation, which had been so beneficial over the whole range of elementary education, might be so extended as to embrace the almost equally important matter of secondary education. In conclusion he would make one remark only in regard to the social aspect of the question. He must entreat the Committee, and especially the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London, to remember that the subject before them was one of elementary education. The School Board were not educationists in the higher sense of the term. They had primarily to deal with the simple education of the humbler and poorer classes of children. Besides all this instruction in special subjects, in science, in technical and industrial training, and so on, they had what he ventured to say was the still more important duty of taking care of the demeanour, the morality, and the social well-being of these children, who would otherwise be growing up in a state of ignorance, which would ultimately render them dangerous to society. It was their duty to look after the moral discipline, and to take care that the children were removed, at least during the daytime, from degrading and miserable homes, and introduced to humanity and civilization, and all the benign influences that existed within the four walls of the school-house. They had also to take care that the children were not only subjected to such influences as these, but that they were taught to recite prayers, to sing hymns, to practise music, and to follow other pursuits which tended to elevate them in the scale of society; they were also taught cleanliness and good manners. All these plain things were difficult to attain upon a gigantic scale such as had to be undertaken in London. Consequently there was much to be looked after besides what was commonly called elementary instruction. Apart altogether from the social statistics which had been so well presented by his right hon. Friend, he was certain, from their own information in the Metropolitan area, that our system of elementary education had already done worlds of good, that the neighbourhood of every one of our board schools was far more quiet and far better behaved than it used to be in former times, and that the general result must be a vast improvement in the social state of the rising generation of the people of England.

Mr. PICTON (Leicester) remarked, that the argument of the hon. Baronet who had just sat down would have been more consistent if he had used the phrase "we denominationalists" instead of "we school board people." The hon. Baronet had certainly spoken more from that point of view than in defence of board schools. Without alluding directly to the Report of the Royal Commission, the hon. Baronet certainly went so far as to support the Majority Report in regard to the demand for fresh assistance from the country and from the rates for denominational schools. He had urged the disadvantage under which such schools laboured, as compared with board schools; but it was quite open to them to get all the advantages which board schools enjoyed by submitting themselves to the same conditions. Let them come under the public authority and under the representatives of the ratepayers, and abandon denominational interests, and they would get all the advantages of the board schools. He did not think it was fair, therefore, to represent the present conditions as unreasonable; but he thought that scarcely sufficient reference had been made by the speakers who had preceded him to the very interesting facts and figures which had been given by the right hon. Baronet the Vice President of the Council. He was sure that they had all listened with the profoundest satisfaction to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that there was no intention on the part of the Government to make any onslaught upon the settlement of the Education Question in 1870. Being

satisfied with what the Vice President of the Council had said on that subject, he did not propose to allude to it further. The right hon. Gentleman gave them, with a single exception, which had been pointed out, figures that were in the highest degree satisfactory. The one exception was the comparative want of success in increasing the average attendance. The right hon. Gentleman had given some reasons for this, which might possibly have some force in them; but there was one thing on the subject of compulsion which had been referred to. It was said that compulsion required a great deal of tact to make it work well. It also required some vigour, and where the vigour was wanting it was altogether lacking. He had had some personal experience of the London School Board, and he could confirm what had been stated by the hon. Baronet the Member for Evesham (Sir Richard Temple), that after serving notices and ascertaining all the facts, the School Board proceeded very gently and gradually. But when they arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to bring a parent before the magistrate, the magistrate in a great number of instances set himself against the law, expressed hostility to it, and charged the School Board with acting unreasonably in refusing to allow another generation of British citizens to grow up in ignorance. Until there was a change of spirit on the Magisterial Bench, he was afraid there would be no really satisfactory result, and he did not believe that the compulsory bye-laws could now be as successfully administered as he hoped they might be in the future. There were other matters which might be urged. The children were of a lower class than formerly, and as this lower class was gradually elevated he hoped that some improvement might be made in that respect. There was one subject to which he felt bound to refer. The right hon. Baronet had spoken a few words upon it, but not as many as he should have liked to hear from him. He referred to the fee difficulty. The hon. Baronet who sat behind the Vice President of the Council knew a little about this fee difficulty in London. He should like to ask the hon. Baronet what had become of a great number of the children who had been turned out of the board schools in past years for the non-payment of fees. It had been publicly stated that 46,000 had been excluded because they could not bring their fees with them. The Chairman of the School Board did not deny that that was the case, but he said that in the course of time 32,000 came back and paid the fees. But how long was it before they came back? Some probably in the course of a week or a fortnight, but others not for months; and visitors had to go hunting for them for a considerable period before they came back. Eight thousand were admitted free, showing that they were the children of extremely poor parents; but even 32,000 and 8,000 did not make 46,000, and there were still between 5,000 and 6,000 who had been driven out of the board schools who were not accounted for.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must call the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that he is now travelling beyond the Vote. The examination the hon. Member is entering into of the discretion with which the School Board exercise their functions, does not apply to the aid given to the Board by this Vote.

MR. PICTON said, he apologised for being irregular, and he would endeavour to follow the direction of the Chair. He had been led away by the expression of opinion which had fallen from the hon. Baronet opposite; but he would not continue the same line further. He thought that the increase in the number of children in the upper Standards must be regarded as fairly satisfactory; but at the same time there were many hon. Members who would be of opinion that it ought to have been greater. But although it was not an adequate proportion, they would rejoice that it was approaching a right proportion. He trusted that he would not be considered out of Order if he turned now to another branch of the subject. The Vote certainly was one to defray the expenses of elementary education in England and Wales, and under the head of those expenses he presumed there might be included the various special Reports which were from time to time presented in regard to the progress of elementary education generally. Unhappily, this country had recently lost a most eminent and distinguished critic and writer, who, amongst his other services to the country, devoted the best years of his life to the study of the question of elementary education. He felt that he could not refer to the special Report of Mr. Matthew Arnold on "certain points

connected with elementary education in Germany, Switzerland and France" without remarking how deeply all must lament the premature loss of such a brilliant genius and such an ornament to his country. Perhaps the remarks of Mr. Arnold were now of more value to us because we had lost him. The report had apparently made an impression upon the Education Department itself, and it now spoke to them, as it were, from the grave. He would ask why the country should pay the expenses of an inquiry like this, and then take no notice of them? With the permission of the Committee, he would read a few quotations from Mr. Arnold's report, with the view of showing that in the opinion of that gentleman the teaching on the Continent of Europe was more human, intelligent and interesting than ours. Mr. Matthew Arnold said—

"Along with the fuller programme and longer course of German schools, I found, also, a higher state of instruction than in ours. I speak of what I saw and heard, and of the impressions which it made upon me after seeing English schools for more than 30 years. The methods of teaching in foreign schools are more gradual, more natural, more rational than in ours; and in speaking here of foreign schools I include Swiss and French schools as well as German. I often asked myself why, with such large classes, the order was in general so thoroughly good, and why, with such long hours, the children had in general so little look of exhaustion or fatigue; and the answer I could not help making to myself was that the cause lay in the children being taught less mechanically and more naturally than with us, and being more interested. In the teaching of arithmetic, geometry, and natural science, I was particularly struck with the patience, the clinging to oral question and answer, the avoidance of over-hurry, the being content to advance slowly, the securing of the ground."

Further on Mr. Matthew Arnold says in this Report—

"But the higher one rises in a German school the more is the superiority of the instruction over ours visible. Again and again I find written in my notes, *The children human.* They had been brought under teaching of a quality to touch and interest them, and were being formed by it. The fault of the teaching in our popular schools at home, as I have often said, is that it is so little formative; it gives the children the power to read the newspapers, to write a letter, to cast accounts, and gives them a certain number of pieces of knowledge, but it does little to touch their nature for good and to mould them. You hear often people of the richer class in England wishing that they and their children were as well educated as the children of an elementary school; they mean that they wish they wrote as good a hand, worked sums as rapidly and correctly, and had as many facts of geography at command; but they suppose themselves retaining all the while the fuller cultivation of taste and feeling which is their advantage and their children's advantage over the pupils of the elementary school at present, and they forget that it is within the power of the popular school, and should be its aim, to do much for this cultivation, although our schools accomplish for it so very little. The excellent maxim of that true friend of education, the German schoolmaster, John Comenius, 'The aim is to train generally all who are born men to all which is human,' does in some considerable degree govern the proceedings of popular schools in German countries, and now in France also, but in England hardly at all."

These were exceedingly grave words, coming from a man who had devoted 30 years, and those the best years of his life, to the promotion of elementary education in England. Mr. Arnold was one of the Chief Inspectors of the Government, one of the most illustrious—perhaps he might say, in the shadow of his death—the most illustrious the country possessed, and yet Mr. Arnold told us that this excellent practice of the German schoolmaster was rarely applied in England. In the Report of the Commission, voluminous as it was, the subject of method scarcely appeared at all. If they would look at the elaborate syllabus of the published Report which had been before the public for some time, they would not find any reference to methods of teaching. At page 186 there occurred a passage which to some extent explained this most strange absence. The majority of the Commission there take an opportunity to deprecate on the part of the Inspectors any interference with the methods of teaching; but the Royal Commissioners were not Inspectors, and they might have investigated and brought the light of a large number of witnesses to bear on the subject without any interference with any methods of teaching adopted. He did not advocate any interference of the kind; but what he did urge was that more effect ought to have been produced upon the Central Department by such testimony as that which he held in his hand. He would now give to the Committee one or two illustrations, which he would make as brief as he could, but he thought the subject a most important one for the future. He would illustrate what he meant by the case of the Kindergarten system in our infant schools, the difficulties experienced in teaching read-

ing and arithmetic. First with regard to the Kindergarten system. So far as he could perceive or remember—for the Report of the Royal Commission was so voluminous that he really could not pledge himself to extreme accuracy in the matter—so far as he could perceive or remember, the Kindergarten system as being of utility to infant schools was never once mentioned in the final Report of the majority. In one of the Minority Reports, at page 252, he found that the Kindergarten system was referred to as affording

"valuable moral training in habits of tidiness, order, and obedience, and the awakening of their intellects and development of their activity."

Then again, at page 305, they were properly warned

"against the error of supposing the Kindergarten was a definite subject of instruction, instead of regarding it as it was—namely, a method and spirit which should not be laid aside even in the higher departments."

These were all the references he could find in the Multifold Report of the Royal Commission. But this was not the first time the subject of the Kindergarten system had been mentioned to a Committee of the Whole House dealing with the Education Estimates. He had himself taken the liberty of insisting that unfair difficulties were thrown in the way of the employment of this system of instruction. He presumed that it was not necessary to inform hon. Members that the Kindergarten system originated in Germany, and its main principle was following the order of Nature. Froëbel's argument was that the true method of developing the intellect of a child was by means of play, and in the first years of life all that a teacher could do was so to direct the play as not only to develop the muscles and body but the organs of sense, awakening the mind to an intelligent apprehension, to some extent, of outward facts. At page 206 of the Report, the Commission deprecated any interference in this matter; but we did interfere, because we made the adoption of the Kindergarten system in our elementary schools absolutely impossible. As the Minority Report very truly said, the Kindergarten system was not a special subject of instruction. It was a method and a spirit that must be adopted throughout the teaching of the school, or it would do very little good at all. He desired to illustrate this by a reference to the work of a lady well known in connection with the School Board of London—Miss Lyschinska. After quoting the opinions of a considerable number of Inspectors who insisted on grinding reading, writing, and arithmetic into the young, she said—

"The prevalent view taken of the nature and functions of the infant school may be easily understood by the general reader from the above remarks and quotations. It is not considered as an institution in itself, containing greater differences of mental development than the girls' or boys' schools can possibly show. It is foreseen that children of a certain age will be asked certain questions. Why, then, it is argued, shall we not take time by the forelock, and begin to teach them their prescribed tasks a little sooner? Thus the infant school practically comes to be nothing more than the grand means for gaining time rehearsal. The tasks by reiteration must become a second nature to the children when they are legally called upon to repeat them."

If we were to carry out in our infant schools the principles of the Kindergarten they must not examine the children in the letters of the alphabet, or in calculating various sums of twos and threes. The thing could not be done. It was the order of Nature that must be followed, and not any arbitrarily imposed system of our own. In this book was given a syllabus for the examination of non-standard children in an infant school. In regard to children between three and four years of age, they were required in the case of reading to know the alphabet, and in writing to write elements with attention to lines. In arithmetic they were required to count, while children between four and five years of age were required to read small words; to know the power of letters and to be able to change the initial letter; to write small letters from a copy with attention to lines; to be able to add and to make simple calculations. Children from five to six years of age were expected to read a book of monosyllables; to write the alphabet from memory or from dictation; and to write numbers up to 20; to add and to subtract numbers up to 10, and by way of variety to count downwards. Every hon. Member must be aware that the reading of monosyllables was a difficult task for a child, seeing that monosyllables contained some of the most difficult words in the

language, in which the absurdity of English spelling was clearly manifested. He had urged these facts again and again upon the attention of the Education Department. But the Department would not even read the letters addressed to them on the subject. He thought it was rather hard that those who had at heart the lightening of educational drudgery and the beautifying of school life as much as possible should be unable to get a rational consideration for the insuperable obstacles which were opposed to the introduction of the Kindergarten system into the infant schools. He claimed the sympathy of his own Representative in that House, the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock), in regard to the only method by which a foundation could be laid for scientific training. The hon. Baronet said that in the infant schools object lessons began science teaching, but it was not carried on afterwards in the higher schools. The authority he would quote on this subject was Miss Lyschinska, than whom no one knew more about the matter. This lady said—

"The gentlemen who promoted this movement doubtless had the lower classes of boys' and girls' schools in view. But how does the matter stand in infant schools, including children of Standard I.? Here the object lesson represents the elementary science of the upper department, but it really forms no essential feature of the infant school, the whole business of this department being that of getting infants in all classes forward for the examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Now, from the Pestalozzi-Froëbelian point of view we cannot, in the infant school, rest satisfied with the modest share of attention claimed for the observation of Nature in the upper departments. Surely, if at any period of life, it is during the first years that immediate contact with living, growing things is of paramount importance; and in our plan we represent it not simply as 'valuable,' but as 'compulsory'; in fact, as has been noticed before, it gives what is too often wanting in Kindergartens—namely, unity of plan, coherence in their organization. All the occupations and gains are illustrative of a central organic idea. In the transition class following the Kindergarten proper, the exercises in languages (spoken and written) are strictly co-ordinate with these lessons on natural subjects. The reading books in the first stages are framed upon the children's experience, which is ever-widening. It forms the germ from which all the various subjects are gradually differentiated as the school years advance. This store of experience is eagerly acquired by a little child, and it becomes to him an education of the will, and their affections in the first instance serving afterwards as a basis for his instruction."

He was aware that it would be useless to attempt to justify in any detail the importance he attached to giving free scope to the Kindergarten system in schools; but anyone who knew how many young children there were among the better classes who enjoyed it, would be ready to say that it also ought to be given to the children of the poor. He urged that the hard and fast tests on little brains of three or four years, tests absolutely inconsistent with the Kindergarten, might be modified by the Department, and permission given to the managers to introduce the Kindergarten system if they chose. He was glad to see that the majority of the Commission very properly deprecated too much insistence upon spelling, and urged the desirability of learning to read with ease. He believed half the children of the country were made muddle-headed and haters of learning by the intolerable torture through which they went in learning to read according to the present dreary, monotonous road through which they passed, and which discouraged their progress. He was present a few months ago at an excellent school in Zürich, where the children were taught to read by the sound of letters. Beginning, for instance, with such words as "manful,"—to substitute English for German—the teacher would pronounce it by syllables, asking the children to say it after him; having exercised them in that, he instructed them in the elementary sounds of each syllable. The children found a great pleasure in that mode of teaching, and soon became able to recognize the sounds of which each syllable was composed; the teacher then surprised the children by showing them that the sounds could be drawn on the blackboard, and in this way the whole thing dawned upon them as the result of their curiosity being exercised. He would like to see this system extended; for what children could be expected to be interested in reading when they were instructed in the spelling of words by means of the monotonous chant which might be heard through the windows of our schoolrooms, and which had filled him with disgust when he was a member of the London School Board? He knew that some said that the phonic

system was inapplicable to the English language. That, however, was a mistake; and there were quite sufficient words in English which were regularly spelt, and with which children might make a beginning. He knew a young English boy who was taught to read on the phonic system in German, while he taught himself to read English without any further assistance. The thing was perfectly easy and reasonable, and he maintained that it was the duty of the Education Department to endeavour to get their Inspectors to introduce more rational modes of teaching to read, so that learning, instead of being a torture to children such as it was at present, might be made a foretaste of the joy which it would give them in after years. With reference to arithmetic, the Commission had the advantage of the evidence of Mr. Matthew Arnold, who, when asked concerning his experience of children working out sums too much in advance for their knowledge, replied that this was the result of teachers not being so well trained as the teachers abroad, and that "one constantly found children writing off advanced sums who had not been trained in an orderly and gradual method." That was exactly his (Mr. Picton's) contention with regard to this matter. Mr. Wild, in answer to a question on the same subject, said he thought that the lessons in arithmetic ought to be confined to numbers within the purview of the children themselves. He would have the numbers up to 10 thoroughly mastered first, and next he would have all operations performed with those figures in the four first rules. That was precisely what was done in the German schools to which he had referred, and he believed that if children were occupied entirely with the first nine numbers for one year at least, without attempting to go beyond them, they would reach the rest of the steps with great facility. He referred to this only by way of illustration of the difficulties which followed from the want of a properly graduated system of evolution for the minds and faculties of children, and he contended that it was the duty of the Education Department to try and do something to remedy the evils of the present practice. With regard to the system of payment by results, for a long time, when a member of the School Board, he had been under the impression that this system could not be dispensed with, but he had come now to believe that until it was abolished we should never have a rational or humanizing method of instruction in the schools. He had once induced a schoolmistress to introduce the phonic system, and the progress of the children was going on as happily as a marriage bell, until, on once going into the schoolroom, he found them grinding away at the old system. He asked the reason, and the schoolmistress replied, "Oh! Sir, the examination is coming on." In other words the results looked for were mechanical and required mechanical methods. So it would be seen that the mere fact of children doing a certain number of sums right, which they had learned in a book, was taken as a test of the value of the education given. We ought to follow the practice on the Continent, and insist that in general a certain line of evolution should be pursued; that there should be thoroughly well educated teachers; and that inspection of the school should take place from time to time to see how the teaching was being conducted, and if it was not properly given they should then get rid of the teachers. The teachers themselves were quite ready to take the responsibility, and he could see no difficulty in adopting that course. The hon. Member for the Evesham Division of Worcester (Sir Richard Temple) had referred, very justly, to the enormous importance of moral instruction. Beyond all things that ought to be secured, but he (Mr. Picton) contended that the present mode of giving moral instruction was liable to certain very obvious criticisms. Morality required that people should be thoroughly sincere and true, anything tending to promote hypocrisy being necessarily contrary to moral principle. He had received a pathetic letter from a teacher of the London School Board who had come to disbelieve in the historical reality of a large portion of the Old Testament, and who said that he was not allowed to teach it as he ought to do. An arrangement was made to excuse that master from giving that teaching, but he assured him that there was a considerable number of other masters in the same position. The Education Department took under its direction to a certain

extent the moral culture of the children, and if it tolerated a system under which hypocrisy and intolerance was incul cated, they would be doing what was detrimental to the morals of the whole population of the country as long as they allowed it to continue. Nor did he for a moment believe it could be contended that the moral progress made was an adequate result for the progress made in other respects or the number of schools that were built. Was the language of many persons in the streets of London as pure or free from profanity as they would like to hear it? He did not know whether he was giving an adequate reason, but he believed that the cause of what they often heard was that of all the branches of our education moral culture was most defective, and that the subject demanded that anxious attention which he hoped the Education Department would give it.

COLONEL HUGHES (Woolwich) said, there were some 2,000 adults attending evening classes in London, but that it was very doubtful whether the School Board would not be surcharged on account of it being outside its functions to provide evening classes for adults. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would take powers which would enable adults to attend the schools, because the education of these ignorant persons was just as much a matter of importance as that of ignorant children. He also desired to call attention to the harm done by compelling parents and sometimes their children to attend the Police Courts on summonses while criminal business was going on. He knew many cases in which hours had been spent by mothers and children waiting at the Police Courts for their cases to come on, during which time they were intermingled with the off-scourings of the town, and he was convinced that more harm was in this way done to children in a short time than weeks and months of efficient education could afterwards remedy. The School Board of London alone paid £1,000 a-year in respect of fees on summonses, and he thought that some arrangement ought to be made by which one magistrate should be appointed to deal with all such cases in a Court unassociated with criminal proceedings, or whereby these summonses should be taken at a fixed hour, so that women who had to walk a mile or a mile-and-a-half to the Court should not lose half-a-day's work and the children be brought into Court while criminal charges were being heard. He admitted that a certain amount of preliminary inquiry took place before prosecution, but such was the necessity of people earning their living that they did not attend those examinations and waited until they had a summons to go before the magistrate. He considered it a great scandal that the magistrates should have to take these children and parents into a Police Court in order to settle whether they had a good reason or otherwise for non-attendance. He felt rather warmly on this subject, because the efforts of the School Board in this respect were retarded by the resistance of the Home Department, who had absolutely refused to receive a deputation on the subject. Then there was a grievance with regard to the limit of 17*s.* 6*d.* He thought it most unfair that, although the results of an examination in a voluntary school entitled it to the same amount as a neighbouring board school would receive, that amount should be docked because the voluntary school subscriptions happened to fall short. If a child in a board school earning 22*s.* on examination, and a child in a voluntary school earned the same amount, why should there be a deduction made from the latter he knew not. The very poorest schools suffered in consequence of this arrangement, and the reduction of 4*s.* or 5*s.* was often made from a grant to children in voluntary schools simply because the managers had not been fortunate enough in obtaining a certain amount of subscriptions. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had referred to the pensions of teachers. No doubt the sum at the disposal of the Department was entirely inadequate for the purpose of providing sufficient provision for teachers by way of pensions; but he was quite sure his right hon. Friend would be only too glad if teachers who had broken down in the pursuit of their profession were secured a proper provision in their old age. A Bill had been lying in that House for two years, the object of which was to provide pensions for metropoiitan teachers.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must point out to the hon. and gallant Gentleman that the subject to which he was

now referring was outside the present Vote.

COLONEL HUGHES said, he would refer to the question in another way, of and say that the amount in the hands the Education Department for teachers' pensions was inadequate, and that any means by which that amount could be augmented, either by Parliamentary grant or otherwise, ought to receive the sympathy of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President. If, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman knew of any means by which that fund could be increased, he trusted he would give every facility in his power for such provision being made. The percentage of average attendance in the schools of the London School Board during the past year had not been so satisfactory, and this the Board believed to be the reeult of the poorer classes of children being now in school. That he regarded as a satisfactory explanation. The number of children requiring the board schools had only increased by something like 2,000 during the last nine months, which was due to the fact of parents going into the suburbs of Edmonton, Stratford, Croydon, and such places, owing to the increased facilities of locomotion now within their reach. This was a fact most important to bear in mind when they considered the applications that were constantly made for providing school board accommodation further and further. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had stated that the Department was fully alive to its responsibilities ; he could assure him also that the members of the London School Board were alive to their responsibilities. They had had a great difficulty with the Education Department for years and years. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give greater facilities for local government to School Boards in the large towns, and not insist upon their being bound by the cast-iron rules which were now acting detrimentally to the best interests of the child population.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said, he had not anticipated that the right hon. Gentleman would give the Committee much expectation of the Government taking action before next year ; but he had made one or two observations which hon. Members on that side of the House regarded with great satisfaction. He had pledged himself and the Government not to disturb the settlement of 1870 by adopting the proposals of the majority of the Commission in favour of giving aid from the rates to voluntary schools. He had also said that in future a choice with regard to class subjects should be given to the managers, and that it should not continue as in the past, that the grammar should be compulsorily forced by unwilling teachers on loathing children, but that freedom of choice should be given in this respect.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE : I said, that would be the practice with regard to class subjects, "due precaution being taken with regard to the teaching of English."

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said, that was the principle which many on that side of the House were advocating, and which those who signed the majority Report of the Royal Commission also recommended. He had had the honour of sitting for two-and-a-half years on the Commission ; and of having signed not the majority but the minority Report. He thought the right hon. Gentleman had given a very satisfactory account of the educational progress of the country during the last 20 years ; and he had been very much struck with his reference to the diminution of juvenile crime, and also to the considerable extension which had taken place in the age until which children now remained in school. To his (Mr. Sydney Buxton's) mind the most striking feature of the time was that while the last Royal Commission reported that the education of the country was in many respects very bad indeed, and recommended most radical reforms, the present Royal Commission was able to report that the present general state of education was highly satisfactory ; and although they made certain recommendations, they did not think it necessary to propose such sweeping reforms as the former Commissioners had done. If the entire 150 recommendations were carried out, they would not constitute anything like the change effected in 1862 and again in 1870. He agreed with his right hon. Friend in thinking that the satisfactory progress made was very much due to the settlement or compromise of 1870, which had led different sections of the community to devote themselves to

ducational purposes alone instead of fighting over their sectarian controversies. It was this which for too many years had prevented a system of national education being undertaken in this country, and it was only the re-opening of these sectarian jealousies which could possibly retard the progress which we were now year by year making. He was glad to hear that there was no prospect of re-opening this settlement, and the fear which some had entertained during the last few months must now be put aside, and they could proceed with their work without sectarian difficulties. No doubt there was a feeling in the mind of many persons that the voluntary system at present was in a parlous way, and that the School Board system which was intended to supplement the voluntary system in providing national education was tending to supplant it. ["Hear, hear!"] An hon. Gentleman opposite cheered that statement, but if the Committee would allow him to devote two or three minutes to that argument he believed he should be able to support the negative by facts and figures. Taking the case of the Church of England Schools, which belonged to the most powerful denomination, he thought it would be found on examination of the Blue Book that the opinion that the voluntary system of the Church of England was a diminishing quantity was absolutely without foundation. He found that while in 1870 the Church of England voluntary schools had accommodation for 1,365,000 children, last year they had accommodation for nearly 2,600,000, and that the Government grant and the fees received had increased in the same time by £1,479,000, while the amount received from voluntary subscriptions had only increased by £250,000. And this was not all. The chief complaints of competition had been of late years; and yet he found that, comparing 1880 with the present time, while the number of children in average attendance had increased by 162,000, and the income for grant and fee by £328,000 a-year, the actual burden on the managers had diminished by £6,300 a-year. The burden on the Church of England schools was less than it had been a few years before, while they were receiving a much larger amount of public money and educating a much larger number of children. He found that there was an increase in the rates in the last five years of £470,000, and the total number of subscribers to the voluntary schools supported by the Church of England only numbered 220,000, and that only about 100,000 of those gave subscriptions of £1. Therefore, he thought that the contention that the burden of education on that most powerful of all Corporations, the Church of England, was overwhelming, and that it was too heavy for them to bear, was not altogether founded on facts. As he had pointed out, the demand upon them was less than it was five years ago. If they took it in general terms, there was thus no case on the part of the voluntary schools for increased support. But he agreed with the hon. Member for Evesham that there was very much to be said for giving increased support to voluntary schools in certain particular circumstances. There were two sets of circumstances in which further relief, to his mind, might be freely given—namely, in the case of small schools in scattered country districts, and of schools in large towns where unfortunately, in consequence of the distribution of the masses and the classes, the fees must be necessarily very low, while there was very great difficulty indeed in obtaining any large amount of subscriptions. He did not think that anyone would deny the assertion, or object to the proposal of the Royal Commission on Education, both of the majority and minority, that in the case of these small country schools further educational grants ought to be given. And taking into account the peculiar circumstances in which they found themselves, he should certainly desire to see further aid given to the voluntary schools in the poorer parts of our large cities. But he would only do that on one condition, namely, that the grant should depend upon the amount of the fee charged in the school; the lower the fee, the higher the grant. If it were made clear that the reason that a sufficient grant could not be obtained on account of the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit was in consequence of the lowness of the fee in a particular district, he would be inclined to take the smallness of the fee into consideration and alter the limit to a certain extent, and not allow the schools to be mulcted for anything above that, if their fee was sufficiently low in the

opinion of the Education Department. But he was not prepared to extend that privilege to the richer voluntary schools in other parts of the country, because it would come to this, that under those circumstances rich schools where the fees were high would be able to obtain so large an amount of grant as to enable them to carry on their schools without any cost at all. If the voluntary system were to continue, it ought to imply some sacrifice on the part of those who maintained it; but, if they were to have such a large amount of grant and fees paid to the voluntary schools, and these were not to be called upon to sacrifice anything to their particular denomination, he thought the sooner the schools came under popular control the better, and he should not be disposed to support the continuation of the voluntary system on such terms; but he had no fear of such results following the suggestion which he was prepared to support. Upon the particular point in reference to the rates, the Royal Commission, both the majority and the minority, were diametrically divided in opinion; but he was glad to think that on so many other matters, they were heartily agreed in the desire that further efficiency should be required in elementary schools; and, as far as they possibly could, the minority accentuated their points of agreement of the majority, and minimised their points of differences. They desired to show the points on which they were agreed, so that these should receive the attention of the Department, coming, as they did, from the Commissioners as a whole. His hon. Friend the Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) had referred to the question of payment by results, and had said that his experience on the London School Board had brought him to the opinion that the present system must be largely modified, or otherwise that it would destroy the value of the education given. He (Mr. Sydney Buxton) had joined the Royal Commission very strongly of opinion that the evils of which so much had been heard were greatly exaggerated, and that it would be almost impossible to carry on any system of Government Grants unless there were also a system of individual examination to ensure the Department obtaining a proper result for their money. But the overwhelming and unanimous evidence given before the Commission had certainly converted him, as well as other Members of the Commission, to the belief that a very profound modification of the present system was absolutely necessary, unless they were in future to ruin their system of national education. It was very difficult to know what alternative could be suggested for this so-called system of payment by results. It seemed to him that they might do one or two things. They might very largely diminish the variable grant, and considerably increase the fixed grant paid to the schools. While continuing the inspection and examination, they ought to have more inspection and less examination, and such examination as there was ought to be more in the nature of class examination before Inspectors, and be recorded as the result of their visits to the schools. He believed it was not necessary now, as it was 30 years ago, that we should have such an absolute test of individual qualification as was constituted by individual examination, and that perhaps we might do more by giving a greater freedom to the teacher, and by allowing the Inspectors to take the whole performance of the school into account, than by any record of individual examination. He knew it was difficult to suggest an absolute remedy for the present state of things which would give a perfect guarantee to the State in connection with this matter, but the difficulty arose in connection merely with the voluntary schools. If we had all our schools under local management, it would be very easy if, instead of the present system, local grants in aid were made to different localities responsible, under Government inspection, for the way in which the money was expended; and, if we had all our schools under local management, there would be no difficulty in entirely abolishing the system of payment by results, the State paying over a certain sum to the localities, and making them responsible for the expenditure. We had, however, the voluntary system in existence, and we should, perhaps, have it always with us, and thus we must have still State inspection and State examinations, at all events, of the voluntary schools. He believed the evils of the present system might be much

mitigated in the direction he had indicated, and he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would consider whether or not some profound modification of the system of payment by results could not with advantage be undertaken, both in the case of voluntary and board schools. Reference had been made to the question of fees. The Chairman had ruled that this was not the occasion on which the question of fees of particular schools should be discussed; but, short of the question of free schools, as one converted to the belief of the absolute necessity of freeing at the earliest moment all our schools alike, he thought that there were certain matters in connection with the voluntary schools in which prompt action ought to be taken. It was one of the chief evils of the voluntary system that at present the managers were allowed almost absolute freedom in the matter of fees; and the evidence given before the Commission on which he sat, went to show that these fees were not as a rule graduated according to the means of the parents, but depended upon the age of the child or the Standard in which he was; and evidence was given that in many cases the fee was raised in the case of a particular child in order to exclude that child, or it was raised in the case of children in the higher Standards to a prohibitive amount in order that the children might be driven out of the school and their labour made available in the district. It was monstrous that such a system should be allowed to continue. As the hon. Gentleman the Member for Evesham (Sir Richard Temple) had said, in the case of board schools, the question of payment of fees by the Guardians did not arise; they decided the matter for themselves; but, unfortunately, in the case of other schools in which the fee had been asked for and not paid, the unfortunate parents had to plead their poverty before the Poor Law Guardians, and that he was sure was destructive of their self-respect. He believed that one of the causes of the increase which had taken place in the pauper returns was due to this cause. He apologised for detaining the Committee at length; but felt that, having taken part in the proceedings of the Commission, he would be allowed to make a few observations on the subject.

Mr. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) said, he extremely regretted that his hon. Friend had not laid before the Committee his views on the Report of the Commission, because it seemed to him that it formed a new era in the history of our educational system. He did not wish to minimize the benefit derived from the Act of 1870; on the contrary, he regarded it as one of the great land marks of National history, and he was extremely proud of having received a letter from the late Mr. Foster telling him that he had assisted him to pass the measure. He felt thoroughly that the result of the Act had been enormously to reduce crime amongst children; and the indirect benefits which had resulted from it could hardly, in his opinion, be overestimated. During the last 17 years however, people must have felt that the Education Act, although a very great step in the past, was still very deficient from a practical point of view. If this country was to compete on fair terms with foreigners, they must do something to make our educational system such as would put an artizan of this country in a position to do so. The first statement in the Report was that the moral instruction in our schools was "lamentably deficient." He did not say it was the case; but anyone who had looked at the Report must have read with surprise the remark of the Commissioners that they were strongly of opinion that much greater support could be given by the State to moral training in schools. The Report then defined what this moral training should be, and urged very strongly that the question should be settled by the Education Department. Inasmuch as the State had undertaken the education of the country, and that the Commission had made this unfavourable Report on our moral training, the Education Department were under an obligation to reform the present system; and he said, without any wish to weary the Committee, that it was absolutely necessary that the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council should, before next Session, say clearly and distinctly that some such amendments as were suggested should be proposed. With regard to secular education, the Commissioners laid down that the following subjects were essential portions of elementary instruction—writing, reading, arithmetic, needle-

work, drawing, English history, geography, singing and common objects. Those who had studied this Report would find that in every one of these subjects our education was practically deficient. This was a very serious matter, and one that should be looked into without delay and very carefully. The Report said "There is in the first place much complaint as to the quality of reading." He was not going to pursue this question into the minute detail which had been followed by the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton); but, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Vice-President of the Council, whether the Department were willing to allow this elementary branch of education to remain in its present unsatisfactory state? With regard to arithmetic, the Commissioners reported that much time had been occupied in practicing useless arithmetic and in unravelling arithmetical puzzles; that, although the children might pass in this subject, most of them could not make calculations of the smallest use, such as the payments into Post Office Savings' Banks, and of such accounts as were likely to be useful in every-day life. The Commissioners having distinctly reported in this sense, he asked whether it was not desirable that the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council should tell the Committee that the Department was going at once to set this matter right. With regard to drawing, that was also in a very unsatisfactory state, notwithstanding that all were agreed upon its use. The hon. Member for South Manchester (Sir Henry Roscoe) had given valuable evidence, and he said that drawing was the link between science and art and all industrial pursuits; and he went on to say, that although in many foreign countries it was the workman's own fault if he could not draw, in England it was exactly the reverse. In spite of the hundreds of thousands voted for drawing in elementary schools, such a Report was highly unsatisfactory. In the case of English, the same remark applied; that was not satisfactory. Was history being taught? The hon. Gentleman opposite said it was, but the Report said it was not. Then came the subject of common objects. These subjects had absolutely dropped out from all elementary classes. The general conclusion arrived at by the Commissioners was one that was worthy of deep attention. The Commissioners reported:—

"We are bound, however, to call attention to the fact that witnesses of all classes testify to the imperfect knowledge gained in elementary schools."

He (Mr. Bartley) asked the Committee, was it satisfied with the result of our elementary education on which they were now asked to vote £3,500,000? Secular subjects certainly showed that the results were not such as were anticipated and desired. Manual and technical education was held by the Commissioners to be of vital importance, and there was no one in the House who would not agree with him that these were subjects with which the welfare of the country was absolutely bound up. Indeed, from the Report it was clear that the Commissioners considered that unless we had manual and technical education in our schools our education could not possibly compete with foreign education. Elementary science, the Report said, was in its infancy; that was not a very satisfactory state of affairs. The Commissioners went on to say that technical training did not exist for our boys as much as cookery and needlework existed for our girls. Some witnesses even held that the amount of elementary science instruction was retrograding. He believed that that was quite correct. He thought the Committee was bound to say, having heard the opinion of these experts, that the state of things in regard to elementary science instruction, and also art instruction, was unsatisfactory. They were bound to ask the Education Department to revise the state of affairs, and to see that the difficulties were done with. Then came a question which, in his opinion, was just as important as any branch of elementary or other education—namely, the continuation schools for children above 13 years of age. We compelled children to be at school up to the age of 13, or they might even leave sooner if they had passed a low standard; but he candidly confessed, and he had spent more than 20 years of his life in the cause of education, that it was quite as, if not even more, important for children to be at school some evenings in the week after the age of 13 than it was for them to attend school before that age. Those who visited among the poor in the great cities knew that when at the age of 13 children left school, they had then but

very little knowledge. They knocked about the streets and forgot everything they had learned, and really the benefit of the education was very largely done away with. What was the practical result? As a matter of fact, if it had not been for the agitation of a few societies and persons keenly interested in the subject of evening schools, the evening school system would have died out altogether. Two years ago there were only 7,000 evening scholars in elementary schools in the whole of the Metropolis, and now it appeared there were only 36,000 in the evening schools of the whole country. This could not be considered satisfactory; they were bound to see that these children continued their education after they left school at 13 years of age, or whenever they had passed the necessary Standards. The reasons for the deficiencies in our system were very variable. People had different opinions as to the reason why the education system did not complete the work in the practical way desired. Personally, he thought there was too much centralization. He quite agreed with the remark made by certain hon. Members that they should allow greater elasticity, greater freedom and liberty to the various local School Boards throughout the country in their arrangements. He believed also that a good deal of the difficulty arose from there being two Educational Departments, one at Whitehall and the other at South Kensington. Then there was no doubt that the system was too cast-iron. It was the best system perhaps for all, but it did not meet individual cases. Finally, he was sure we should never have our educational system thoroughly satisfactory unless we had a permanent Educational Board which would look after the matter, and advise and lead public opinion. Such a Board should consist of educationalists, working men, and trades unionists interested in the subject. He did not propose that the Board should have the power of spending money, but he certainly thought it should have power to revise the Code, make suggestions, and adapt the Code to the practical wants and requirements of the people. If they had a Board of that sort he was sure it would lead public opinion in the right direction, and that it would put such pressure upon the Education Department that the present system would be rendered impossible. He hoped, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President would, during the next year, frame such a measure as would do away with the imperfections of our system, for, as the Commissioners stated, the future of our country must depend upon the way we educated the working classes.

SIR HENRY ROSCOE (Manchester, S.) said, he thought they must all have been pleased to learn that in some one or two respects, at any rate, the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council was prepared to carry out the suggestions which had been made for the improvement of our educational system. The right hon. Gentleman had told them that latitude was to be given to the class subjects provided that attention was paid to English. He would like to know whether English was still to be made a compulsory subject, because, if English was to be made compulsory in all schools, as at present, there would be no room for the other subjects to be brought forward. The right hon. Gentleman also told them that attention was to be paid to drawing, but he omitted to say whether the recommendations of the Royal Commission on this subject were to be followed out by making drawing compulsory.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, that he personally was in favour of drawing being made a compulsory subject; but as the matter was under consideration, it was hardly fair to press him further on such a point.

SIR HENRY ROSCOE was sure the House would be satisfied with the right hon. Gentleman's explanation. Now, the Code in respect to secular subjects required very great modification, and he agreed with the view expressed by the hon. Member for North Islington (Mr. Bartley)—namely, that all of the education up to the present time had been book work instead of practical work. We required to bring children in contact with nature rather than with books. It seemed to him that the education descended rather from the middle ages, that we had not brought the system of education into touch with the requirements of modern times. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) as to the advisability of teaching from the very beginning by means of object lessons, whether the system be called the Kinder-

garten or the Froëbel system, or what not. Teach children from the very beginning with lessons from the concrete, and carry it through up to the class subjects and up to the higher standards. There was no doubt that the recommendations of the Royal Commission on this subject were most important, and that if they were carried out, as he trusted they would be, we should completely revolutionize the whole system of elementary education in the country, and bring it into touch with modern ideas, and our children might be instructed in these matters which were so essential for their welfare. He was extremely glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President call attention to the question of ventilation. There was no matter more important, and it might interest the Committee to learn that experiments had recently been made in the North of England and in Scotland on the composition of air in ventilated and non-ventilated schools. By means of the application of the new principle of determination of the presence or absence and the quantity or mass of microbes and bacteria which existed in the atmosphere, it was found that these small organisms were present in a very much larger quantity in non-ventilated schools than in ventilated schools. A singular fact was also found —namely, that the average number of passes among children taken from the ventilated schools was greater than the average number of passes among children taken from non-ventilated schools, proving that a relation existed between the physical condition of children and their mental capacity for work. And even looking at the matter from a merely financial point of view, it has been shown that the expense of ventilating our schools properly would be more than repaid by the extra results obtained. The question had arisen as to the mode in which aid could be given under certain circumstances to the voluntary schools; and here he would like to say that the minority Report in some respects made a concession on the point — namely, that some of the instruction given by board schools, such as that of cookery, or collective instruction to pupil teachers, or the practical, scientific, artizan, technical, or manual training in centres, might possibly be thrown open, under a suitable arrangement, for the scholars or pupil teachers in voluntary schools. The subject of manual instruction and instruction in elementary science was necessarily somewhat expensive, and it seemed to him that the instruction given, to be of a satisfactory character and really useful, must be given by men who had a good and thorough knowledge of the subject. It could not at once be given by the teachers themselves, and hence, in this case, the expense was one which, perhaps, some of the voluntary schools might be unable to meet. It seemed to him, therefore, in view of the importance of getting these subjects taught, that the recommendation of the minority of the Commission in this respect might well be borne in mind. Much had been said on the question of the progress which had been made in the last 18 years in elementary instruction, and no one could rejoice more than he did at the figures which the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President had laid before them. It might be interesting, however, to the Committee if he drew their attention to a fact which was, perhaps, not generally known—namely, that the House of Commons, in the year 1807, had the subject of a national system of elementary instruction brought before it by Mr. Whitbread, the grandfather of the present hon. Member for Bedford. The proposition brought before the House on the 24th of April, 1807, was that everywhere where there was a number of poor who could not afford to pay for the education of their children, there should be established a school for their instruction. Mr. Whitbread proposed that free schools should be established throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom for the purpose of teaching spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic. His (Sir Henry Roscoe's) grandfather happened to be Member for the Borough of Liverpool at the time, and he seconded or supported the Resolution. A Bill was introduced, and read a second time on July 20th of the same year; but on August 11, on its going up to the House of Lords, it was thrown out upon the Motion of Lord Hawksbury without a division. The Bill was supported in the Lords by Lord Stanhope and Lord Holland, and opposed by Lord Hawksbury, Lord Redesdale, the Lord Chancellor, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The ground upon which the Primate opposed the

Bill was that it left little or no control to the minister in his parish. It seemed that in those days the same objections were raised as now. The Committee might be interested to hear that Lord Stanhope said he begged to differ from the Right Rev. Primate on what he might call the abominable principle that no part of the population ought to receive education unless in the tenets of the Established Church. Lord Stanhope also said that the Bill brought forward from the House of Commons to the Lords was merely for the purpose of teaching spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and he added the following words, which apply to the present time as much as to them—namely, that the superiority of the workmen with some education over those with none must be sensibly felt by all the great manufacturers in the country. This was what occurred no less than 81 years ago, and if the Committee could imagine what the condition of England would be if the reform made 18 years ago had been made 81 years ago—reversing the figures—he thought they would feel we might have now stood in the van of education instead of as at present lagging behind. Still we were making substantial progress; and he trusted that when next year arrived, and his right hon. Friend (Sir William Hart Dyke) had the task of bringing this subject again before them, they would hear that there were a great many amendments to be made, and that the recommendations made by the Royal Commission in which all the Members joined were to form part of those which the right hon. Gentleman, as Minister of Education, would advise the Government to adopt.

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire) said, he thought the debate had been characterized by a very general agreement with regard to the main recommendations of the Royal Commission. It was true that on one point there was a bone of contention, but he was happy to learn from the announcement made that night by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council that this bone of contention had been practically removed. He was glad to find such wonderful unanimity as to the importance of maintaining the Christian character of our schools. That was a matter of the highest importance to the country. The hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) spoke about the poor moral results of such teaching in the lives of the children. Of this he (Mr. S. Smith) was perfectly convinced, that it was absolutely impossible to separate morality from Christianity; the two things must go together, and just in proportion as the Christian character of our schools was maintained, the moral character of our schools would be maintained. He trusted that we would continue in the future as in the past to maintain the essentially Christian character of education in this country. Now, he desired to call attention to the recommendation of the Commission in regard to the relaxation of the very stringent rules for payment by results. He was one of those who had for several years, in and out of season, protested against the extreme severity with which the system of payment by results had been administered in the country. His belief was that it had produced a most unwholesome amount of cram in all our schools, and upon this subject he referred hon. Gentlemen to the interesting articles in *The Nineteenth Century* on the excessive development of competitive examinations in all branches of education, and the gradual deterioration it was causing in the character of English education. He rejoiced also at the recommendation to allow teachers liberty of classification, instead of the foolish attempt of trying to force on all children, bright or dull, strong or weak, exactly at the same pace. He also rejoiced at the recommendation in favour of giving much more prominence to the training of the hand and eye. He agreed with everything said upon that subject, and also with what was said as to the matter of music and gymnastics, and of, generally speaking, popularising schools and making education much more attractive than it had been hitherto. But he had risen to-night chiefly for the purpose of calling attention to the recommendations of the Commission about extending the age of education. The Commission proposed that in all cases 13 should be the minimum age of exemption from attendance at school, and that the age of half time should be raised from 10 to 11. He believed that to carry out these recommendations would do much to improve the whole character of English education. He had come to the conclusion, after much inquiry, that the average age at which children in our

towns left school was about 12 years, and that the average age at which children in the country districts left school was 11. He maintained it was altogether impossible to maintain any high standard of education when children left school at such an extremely early age. It was for that reason he was such a strong advocate for the establishment of evening continuation schools. The fact was that the great bulk of our children after leaving school forgot in two or three years most of what they had learned. What was the condition of English children of the poorer classes between 12 and 16 or 17 years of age? A great proportion of them were laying the foundations of a wasted and ruined life. They were found by tens of thousands in gin palaces, in low music halls, and in the low theatres. They were saturated with that poisonous literary trash which was circulated in such enormous quantities in the Metropolis. They were getting the education of the streets, an education in every respect vicious and low, and that was the reason why this country, beyond any civilized country in Europe, had to contend with a degraded *residuum* of population which constituted a great national danger. That was the reason of the bad morality which the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) spoke of. The teaching of the schools was excellent, but the deplorable thing was the bad teaching of the streets, where the children spent so much of their time at the most critical period of life. It had been his painful duty to investigated the literary *pabulum* supplied to the children of our large towns. He had obtained no less than 40 penny papers published in London, which circulated from 1,000,000 or more copies a week, and about the sole material of those papers was stories of crime. Our children feasted upon these stories, and all their moral ideas were confused and drugged by this education. Could it be wondered at that we had such a large proportion of our nation who were degraded and morally unfit for the duty of citizenship, and far below the level of the same classes in Germany, Scandinavia, or the United States? Child neglect was the shame and disgrace of this country. There was far more cruelty and neglect of children here than in any other civilized country in the world. He did not speak at random. He had visited most foreign countries which competed with us, and had made careful inquiries, and he had been astonished to find how far ahead most of them were of our own country. Last year he paid a visit to Germany for the express purpose of inquiring into the system of elementary education, and especially of continuation schools. He visited many schools, he saw the best authorities on education, and questioned them closely on social as well as educational questions, and he came home shocked to find how enormously behind the great Empire of Germany we were. What were the main points in which the German system surpassed ours? First of all, a German boy was kept at school until 14 years of age. Our children left school at 11 and 12; there were some towns in England where 97 per cent of the children left school at 11 years of age, as at Wolverhampton, for instance, and there were country districts where they left at 10. There were very few towns in which, on the average, children attended school after 12. London was an exception. Its School Board had done noble work. At Liverpool 12 was the average age, and generally over England 12 was the average in towns, and in rural districts perhaps 11. A German child attended school until he was 14, and the average attendance of German children in the schools he visited was 97 per cent, as against an average attendance of 76 per cent in England. In Germany education was universally popular; parents believed in it; the State believed in it; the children believed in it. There was no attempt whatever to obtain exemption from school attendance. Then again, in every city he went through he found a regular system of continuation schools, carrying the children on to the age of 17. In some of the remote cantons of Switzerland he found the young men attended evening classes in winter to the age of 19. Look at the effect of that, not only on the education, but on the morality of the people. In Berlin or Dresden you never see at night those hordes of miserable, squalid, and neglected children which swarm in English towns; that was a sight peculiar to our country, and it was the disgrace of our country. One might spend a month in travelling through Germany or Switzerland and not see the same amount of child misery that you can see in one hour in the East End of London

or in Manchester or Liverpool. He could not conceive anything of greater importance to the well-being of the Nation than to civilize and humanize and Christianize that wasted material which swarms in England to such a dangerous extent. The reason why he was so eager to see in our country a system of continued education was that he believed that in no other way would we ever make a serious impression on those terrible social problems which were so rife. The time when English children went wrong was between 12 and 16 or 17. It was then they ran wild, surrounded by temptations of every kind. It was then they read the abominable and depraving literature which soaked their minds with what was little better than poison; multitudes of them received no industrial training or acquired any means whereby they could make a proper livelihood afterwards. The consequence was that in all our cities we had an immense casual labour class; men who were not capable of following any useful trade. There was no such class in Germany. In that country, children got technical as well as mental training. Above all, they were kept under control up to the age of 16 or 17, with the result that they were tided over that most dangerous period when our children went all wrong simply because they were under no control whatever. He had no doubt it would be urged that the working classes of this country would not stand continuation schools. He had taken some trouble to ascertain the feelings of the English working classes on this subject. He had had a district in Liverpool, inhabited by the working classes, polled on the subject, and he had got a majority of about 90 per cent in favour of compulsory continuation schools. The men themselves knew that it was ruinous to the children to run wild in the streets; they saw the evil of it every day. It was a common thing in large towns for children of 13 or 14 to be brought home drunk. Little girls of that age were often found the worse for liquor. The parents had no control over these children, but they longed to have it. At Nottingham, the headquarters of this movement for evening schools, he had a conference with a representative committee of working men. They discussed the question fully. In Nottingham there were 49 working men managers of evening recreative schools, and these men, without exception, were in favour of a National compulsory system of evening continuation schools. His belief was that if the scheme were properly explained to the working classes, it would be found that all the intelligent men whose opinions were worth having approved of the plan. The kind of education proposed for those schools had been admirably described by the Royal Commission. This movement was greatly indebted to the Report of the Commission, especially to the minority Report. Nothing could be wiser or better conceived than the suggestions which the minority of the Commissioners made in regard to continuation schools. In their Report it was proposed that the schools should be largely technical and attractive; that they should depend upon attraction quite as much as upon compulsion. Unless this were done they would altogether fail. Music, gymnastics, handwork of various kinds must be a large part of the education training in evening schools. He readily accepted the suggestion of the Commissioners that unless children had passed Standard VI. at the age of 13 they should be under obligation to attend evening schools for two years longer. He hoped the time was not far distant when children would be required to attend school until they were 14. He, however, did not think the country was ripe for that yet, though he thought it was ripe for 13. After leaving the day schools, he trusted that ultimately it might become the rule that children should attend continuation schools until they were 16. Of course, there would have to be some restrictions put on the hours of child labour. In Germany children who had to attend school were under certain restrictions as to labour, and restrictions would have to be made in England under similar circumstances. He thanked the Committee for the patience with which they had listened to him. This was a subject very dear to him, and his convictions were the result of nearly 30 years' work amongst the poor, and of which he had an experience of 30 years. He believed we should never make any impression upon the abounding degradation of our large towns unless we took hold of the children, placed them under control, and kept up their education, moral as well as mental, until at least 15 or 16 years of age. He did not think that

Parliament could embark upon any reform more noble or glorious than to expand our educational system in the direction he had sought to indicate.

MR. SALT (Stafford) said, that the discussion showed how very largely Members on both sides of the House were agreed on educational subjects. They were all agreed, for instance, in supporting the present large expenditure on education on one condition—namely, that the expenditure was made in a way which should be most satisfactory to the feeling and needs of the country. Secondly, they were agreed upon supporting loyally the Act of 1870. They were all agreed that that Act was a most important Act, and was the foundation of an educational system which had produced untold good. They were also largely agreed that there should be some considerable modification in the present system of education—not a departure from the lines or basis of the settlement of 1870, but some modification which would rather extend than contract the principles on which material steps in advance were then made in the educational system. Then he found that in almost every part of the House there had grown up a feeling of discontent with the present system of payment by results. It was obvious that any large grant made from the public funds must be paid according to results; but the question to be considered was what was to be the test of those results? The present system was injurious to everyone concerned; it was extremely mischievous to the children; it was very hard, indeed, on the teachers, especially on the young teachers; and it was very bad for the managers, because it diverted their attention from their proper function of looking after the training of the children to the consideration of how much money might be gained from the Parliamentary grant. Again, a large number of Members had spoken in favour of moral or Christian training—he did not mean sectarian training. That, to him, was a matter of great satisfaction. There was another branch of the subject which he thought had not been sufficiently considered, and that was the health of the schools with regard to ventilation, washing arrangements, and so forth. That was a matter upon which he was very glad to support the opinion so well expressed by the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Manchester (Sir Henry Roscoe). Furthermore, he believed that it would be found that the children were better able to learn if a considerable part of their school life was spent in good healthy physical training. There was one other point upon which they seemed to be very largely agreed, and that was that there should be, in some way or other, help given to schools in poor and outlying districts. There were two or three other points upon which there had not been a general concurrence of opinion. With regard to the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit, he was obliged to confess it was rather hard that when a school had honestly earned a certain amount of money, that amount should be considerably reduced, simply because of the very peculiar 17*s.* 6*d.* limit. It seemed a rather curious thing for an Inspector to say to a school—"You have done so exceedingly well that I must fine you so many shillings," or pounds, as the case may be? The question of fees was a very difficult one. If they were not prepared for free schools he thought that whenever a Government grant was received a very low fee should be introduced. As to the matter of pensions he entirely agreed with what had fallen from an hon. Member opposite, that a large and general system of pensions, not entirely at the cost of the State, but in some way applicable to all teachers, should be introduced. He said that, for the reason that the peculiar kind of work which teachers were engaged in caused them to wear out early in life, and to incapacitate many of them for other work. He now came to the important question just raised by the hon. Gentleman opposite, and that was the age up to which children should be educated. It was a matter he had been interested in for some time; and he entirely supported the view that a system of continuation and night schools would not be disagreeable to the English workman. On a certain occasion he had met a large number of people, very many of whom belonged to the working class, and he had taken the opportunity of expressing the opinion that continuation schools of a compulsory character, at which

children could be educated for some years after they had left elementary schools, should be established similar to those in Germany. He had not had an opportunity of explaining this system fully; but he had been pleased to find his suggestion, on the occasion to which he referred, extremely well received by the working classes. He was glad to have that opportunity of supporting what had been said by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. S. Smith). He hoped the valuable Report of the Royal Commission which they had just received, and the very large consensus of opinion existing on many important points, would pave the way to enable his right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council to deal with the whole of this Education Question in a large and useful way before very long. He certainly thought that they required, not a change of principle, but a change in the manner in which they were working. They wanted much greater elasticity in their system—a much simpler method of payment, and some way of throwing responsibility on the Governing Bodies of schools. So much depended at the present moment on the Education Department, there was so much detail to be gone through, and there were so many Rules to be laid down—there was so much work to be done to obtain payments—that really Local Bodies who were engaged in the promotion of good education were almost entirely drawn out of any responsibility whatever. When he spoke of the responsibility of the local managers of schools, he thought the time might be approaching when they might put the management of voluntary schools on a much more definite footing. At present there was no particular definite knowledge in the Department as to the system under which the managers of voluntary schools met regularly or acted like other bodies engaged in business transactions. Those persons had to dispense a large amount of public money; and he believed it would be by no means impossible and very useful if regular Rules and Regulations were introduced for the management of voluntary schools to which public money was given. He sincerely trusted that after the good feeling expressed in the present debate, his right hon. Friend would be able, in the next Session, to do some good work and introduce valuable improvements.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.) said, he should only occupy the attention of the Committee for a few moments. He wished to ask the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council to a question which had been under his consideration for a long time, having reference to the Nottingham School Board, and connected with what was called the People's College Board School. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he had seen his way to come to a decision favourable to the majority of this Board? The policy which they were pursuing was, as the right hon. Gentleman had already been informed, supported by about nine of the members against six. The object of the movement was to enlarge the College School. At present its accommodation could only be certified for about 200 scholars, whilst there were about 425 scholars on the books, with an attendance of 390 on an average, or nearly 90 over the maximum accommodation. Now, that was really the only board school anywhere in the centre of the town. There were a great number of applications constantly being made for admission to the school, and the school was very successful, inasmuch as it paid its own way. The views he (Mr. Broadhurst) was expressing were supported by nearly all those who had a right to speak upon the subject in the district; and he was requested by the School Board Authorities—that was to say, by the great majority of the members of the School Board—to press the right hon. Gentleman to come to a decision in favour of the almost universal desire amongst those concerned. They sincerely trusted that in the reply which it was to be presumed the right hon. Gentleman would make to the various questions and suggestions addressed to him that night, he would find himself in a position to assure the Members for Nottingham that he had been able to meet the wishes of those connected with the People's College Board School. He (Mr. Broadhurst) trusted he would not be considered out of Order in addressing this question or appeal to the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, he regretted very much that he had not been present whilst the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President was making his valuable statement that day; but he had gathered from his Friends around him, and from observations which had been since made, the gist of the announcement which had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman—namely, that the Government had no intention whatever of altering or reforming the Act of 1870, or of doing anything in regard to the alleged claims of the voluntary schools of this country.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: No, no! I cannot allow that statement to pass; I think the hon. Gentleman has mistaken what I said. I said there was an assumption in certain quarters, and that there had been reports in the public Press declaring that it was the intention of the Government to make an onslaught all along the line on the settlement arrived at in 1870. What I said was that, so far as I was concerned, I should view with the deepest concern any attempt to overthrow that settlement. There is a very wide distinction between that statement and the one the hon. Gentleman opposite now attributes to me.

MR. MOLLOY said, that the point the right hon. Gentleman now raised was one he (Mr. Molloy) was coming to. Let the right hon. Gentleman put it as he would, his announcement amounted to this—that the settlement as regarded the difference between the School Boards and the voluntary schools in this country was not going to be changed in any way by the Government. The right hon. Gentleman, in making that announcement said he had come to that opinion after consultation with his Colleagues. It was, of course, the thin end of the wedge of a public announcement on behalf of Ministers; and that announcement on behalf of the Government he (Mr. Molloy) looked upon as exceedingly important. It appeared to him (Mr. Molloy) to be nothing more nor less than a hauling down of the flag which the Conservative Party and the Government had been waving in the country for some years, and an evacuation of the fort which they had declared years ago they never would leave. There was no use attempting to minimise it, or attempting to put any other interpretation upon the announcement, than that he (Mr. Molloy) would prove what he said. Some years ago he had appealed several times in the House for the appointment of a Royal Commission to investigate this subject. His appeal was listened to, and at his instigation the Royal Commission was appointed. It was understood by hon. Members on that (the Opposition) side of the House; and he appealed to his Colleagues on the Commission, some of whom he saw on the Benches opposite, whether it was not understood by them—and it was understood in the country generally, as well as by all who took a leading part in obtaining the Commission, that the object of the Commission was that either by a sharing of the rates, or in some other manner, the alleged grievances of the voluntary system in this country were to be relieved. He could give further proof that that was the meaning and intention of the Government in appointing a Commission. Since that appointment there had scarcely been a candidate for a seat on the Tory side of the House throughout the length and breadth of the land who had not put that point forward as a claim upon his (Mr. Molloy's) Catholic Coreligionists, who otherwise would have been inclined to vote for the Liberal candidates. Catholics were induced to vote for Government candidates on the ground that those candidates promised to do that for them which was nearest their hearts, and which to them appeared to be of most vital importance. Members of his (Mr. Molloy's) own Church had helped those candidates in their elections, and now they found that the Government, after reaping all the advantage that was to be reaped from the holding of this Commission, came to the House that night—and in a quiet and very simple fashion, he admitted—in a quiet and friendly way, announced that their policy was superior to their convictions, and that they hauled down their flag in front of those who were their enemies on this question. There was no getting out of this dilemma. He had discussed this matter with Gentlemen sitting near the Vice President of the Council over and over again; and he and his Friends had tried to see if some settlement could not be arrived at which, whilst it would be absolutely in the interests of education in this country, would allay the grievances which the

different denominational systems had complained of for so long a time. And now what were they to believe of a Government who appointed a Commission to investigate the matter, and appointed as its Chairman one of their own Ministers, and had their own Party largely represented upon it—what were they to believe of a Government who gave them the idea that the object of the Commission was to bring about a redress of their grievances, and who sought their help, but who, when the time for action came, struck their colours without firing a shot? He spoke with some warmth, because on this question of education for some years—strong Liberal, or rather Radical, as he was—he had supported the Tory Government. This was a question which had always appeared to him of most vital importance; and yet they were told that night that it had not entered into the mind of the Government who had appointed the Commission to do anything to upset the settlement of 1870. Well, he had had his suspicions of that for some time past, and had not been idle in the matter; but, before he came to that point, he should like to draw attention to the speech of the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken, but who had since left the House. It had been with the greatest astonishment that he (Mr. Molloy) had listened to the hon. Gentleman's speech. He had thought the hon. Member was a strong supporter of the Commission, and of the view that changes were necessary in the educational system of the country, in order to relieve voluntary schools. And yet the hon. Gentleman rose in the most pleasant manner, adopting the tone of the Minister for Education, and said what an agreeable thing it was to find that they were all agreed upon so many important points. Since when had the hon. Member been agreed upon those points? Why, within the last 24 hours, and no longer. Up to the time this announcement was made by the Vice President of the Council, the hon. Member (Mr. Salt), and those who sat around about him, were in favour of all that the Commission had reported. If the Commission had reported against any change in the present system, and had said—"We have examined into the subject of these alleged grievances, and we do not find there is any solid foundation for them," then he (Mr. Molloy) certainly should have said that Ministers had nothing else to do than accept the conclusion of the Royal Commission of their own appointment and their own nomination, which was composed of a majority of their own friends. What was the meaning of appointing this Commission? Did the Government mean that they appointed Commissions simply for the purpose of relegating the Commission to the back for two or three years in order to get rid of a difficult electioneering subject? They appointed that Commission solely and simply that they might have a basis on which they could build up a Bill for relieving the grievances of the denominational schools. They declared in that House that they would do so.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: Does the hon. Member say we declared that?

MR. MOLLOY said, the Government had said in that House—they or their own people, in their speeches—Members had made that declaration, and Ministers had given their assent to it. He did not mean to say that any Members of the Government had said so in as many words, and in such clear and distinct terms as he should have liked to hear; but Tory Members had risen and had declared that if the Commission reported in such and such a sense, the Conservative Party would do so and so. ["No, no!"] Hon. Members on the Conservative side had certainly led the House to believe that. This Royal Commission had devoted two and a-half years to work which was about as wearisome as any which could have been undertaken; and apparently with no result. What was the object of the Commission? Was it to settle petty details which could be settled by the Department itself without the intervention of anybody? Was it to settle details which the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President could easily settle himself? Last year appeals were made to hon. Members from the Treasury Bench. Hon. Members, when they wanted to deal with this subject, were asked to wait for the Report of the Royal Commission. Well, they had waited for that Report; and what did the Government do? They threw the Report of their own Commission into the waste paper basket—they cast aside

absolutely and entirely the one question, and the one question alone, to decide which the Commission was appointed. [*Dissent.*] It was no use for the Minister most interested in this subject to shake his head when he (Mr. Molloy) made that statement. He (Mr. Molloy) would undertake to say that he knew more about the appointment of the Royal Commission than the right hon. Gentleman did. The Commission was appointed upon his (Mr. Molloy's) instigation and appeal. He had seen all the authorities who could be seen upon the subject—all the authorities on the right hon. Gentleman's own side—all the authorities who had been advocating this measure for a long time; and he said distinctly that the real understanding upon which the Commission was appointed was such as he had described. There was one of his Colleagues upon the Royal Commission sitting near him, whom he called upon to deny the fact if it were not as he said. The understanding was this—that the question to be settled by the Royal Commission was the only question which could not be settled by the House of Commons — namely, the financial relations between the voluntary system and the board school system of this country. Well, hon. Members had experienced another disappointment. The Government, as he had said, had hauled down their flag; but he was happy to say that for some time past he had guessed that that was the course the Government would take; he had watched their conduct for some time, and he had seen that coming. He (Mr. Molloy) had supported the advocates of denominationalism belonging to other creeds than his own in this matter most loyally, and had given them all the assistance he could; but when he saw that for purposes which it would be better that he should not enter upon just now, the Report of the Royal Commission and the whole policy of the Commission was to be cast aside, he had looked round to see whether a settlement in the interests of education of all kinds, both moral and secular, could not be obtained by some other means; and he was happy to say that the differences which had existed between himself and his hon. Friends on that (the Opposition) side of the House no longer existed. The settlement which the Government could have made, and could have made with the greatest ease had they had the courage of their convictions, would now be made by somebody else. It would be made without their assistance, and those who had deserted their Colleagues and hauled down their flag must not complain if they were defeated and left in the rear, for the fault would be their own and nobody else's. He (Mr. Molloy) and his Friends saw how this matter could be settled, and how, upon the differences which had hitherto separated them, they could all be brought into accord; and he, for one, could no longer give any support to the Government on this question of education; but he thought it would be found that those who were of his creed, and who agreed with him in this matter, and many not belonging to the same Church, would refuse to give the support in the future to Tory Members on the ground of their educational policy, which they had bestowed upon them for the last two or three years. They would give their support where it would be more useful to them, and where he certainly believed the support would be more honestly utilized.

MR. C. T. D. ACLAND (Cornwall, Launceston) said, he was very glad to have heard the remarks of the last speaker. He confessed he sympathized most heartily with the hon. Member in the feelings he had expressed at the beginning of his speech with reference to the maintenance of the voluntary system. There was one remark he (Mr. Acland) was anxious to make with reference to the point which he knew would not be received with favour by this Government. His proposal would be regarded by their supporters throughout the country as fatal to their policy. He desired to see a provision introduced into their educational system by which every voluntary school in the country would have upon it representatives of the parents of the children and of the subscribers. In order to bring that about, it would, no doubt, be necessary to lay down some rule by which subscriptions must bear a certain proportion to the total expenditure before subvention could be granted. He had not sufficient acquaintance with the subject to say definitely what the proportion should be which should be provided by subscription; but he

should think that 5*s.* or 6*s.* per head would be about the amount which should be subscribed in order to entitle subscribers to a subvention. He should like to see the Government grant withheld from all schools on the management of which parents sending children to the school and subscribers of not less than a definite amount were not represented by elected representatives. He said that distinctly on behalf of voluntary schools. He did not believe that this country would much longer stand the voluntary system as it was at present. He was certain that as education increased, and as the necessity for a small amount of technical knowledge became more appreciated, the interest taken by parents and residents in rural districts in the schools would also increase considerably; and he thought that in the interest of voluntary schools the Government would be wise to do their best by whatever measures they thought right, to induce managers of all voluntary schools to insure an adequate representation of both parents and subscribers. Such was the character, he was sorry to say, of many managers of voluntary schools, and such was their anxiety to maintain exclusive control over the schools, that he did not think they would willingly do this; and he was afraid that such compulsory measures as he had suggested —namely, the withholding of the Parliamentary grant—would have to be resorted to in order to insure that result. Now, this proposal was open to the objection that many schools were bound by the trust deeds of the National Society; but that, he apprehended, might be dealt with by legislation. He knew very well that without legislation this particular hindrance was not likely to be removed; but he believed that if that hindrance could be removed the voluntary system would be endowed with a vitality in this country which at present, in his eyes, it did not possess. Now, he wanted to say one word on a different subject, to which no allusion had been made that night, although he had thought something would have been said with regard to it in the opening address of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council. During last Session they heard a great deal about the institution of an Agricultural Department. That Department had not yet been appointed; consequently, they could not look to anyone else than the right hon. Gentleman who had charge of education for any information as to what was to be done, if anything, with reference to instruction in agriculture in elementary schools. Proposals had been made, he knew, to the effect that land should be attached to elementary schools. He himself would not believe that that was a practical way of securing the result which he desired to see attained; but he was anxious that, on behalf of technical instruction in agriculture, the Government should do their very best to induce Local Educational Authorities to raise both the age and the standard which entitled children to exemption from school attendance. As the matter stood at present, in the West of England—which was the district he knew most about—he was afraid that 10 was the age at which most children left school; and by the time they reached 13 they had practically forgotten all they had learned. He did not think it unreasonable—on the contrary, he thought in the interest of the labourers themselves it was wise, almost necessary—to compel the children to attend school until they were 13 years old, or at least until they had reached the highest Standard open to them. He said this with reference to technical instruction in agriculture, for the reason that he was rather inclined to believe that a certain amount of the elements chemistry, mechanics, botany, and anatomy could be got into the heads of children if they were kept at school for the longer period, after the age of 10 and up to the age of 13. He would, therefore, urge the Government to do their best to induce the School Attendance Committees and the School Boards in the country to raise the age up to which children should remain at school. He knew of a case where in a certain parish children had been required to attend school up to the age of 13. The authorities, however, required uniformity to be established in that parish with the rest of the district, and reduced the age from 13 to 10, to the great injury of the educational advancement of the children of that very large parish. He knew this was not the occasion upon which to discuss the South Kensington system —this was not the Vote on which to do it. But without discussing that system

he wished to draw the right hon. Gentleman's attention to this point. At present it was a fact that in populous districts—he believed actually in some of our large towns—children were being taught the principles of agriculture, as it was called, simply because it was one of the easiest subjects in which a grant could be earned. He supposed that this ease was caused by the extremely vague character of the instruction which could be apprehended by children of tender years. He could hardly imagine a more ridiculous waste of time and money than the teaching of the principles of agriculture to children in large towns, who, perhaps, had never seen a field or a leaf in their lives, and were never destined to make any subsequent use of agricultural training.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, there was a stringent regulation laid down, to the effect that instruction in the principles of agriculture should only be given to children whom it was intended to employ in that pursuit.

MR. C. T. D. ACLAND said, that he had been studying the Agricultural Educational Report, and had not noticed that Regulation there mentioned; but, however that might be, as an agriculturist, living chiefly in the country, he trusted that in future consideration of this great subject of education the Government would bear in mind, especially in reference to the prospects they now had of County and District Councils being established, the great importance of giving the District Authority in each part of the country the utmost possible influence in determining the character of the education in that locality. They knew that in different parts of England different kinds of agricultural training would be better for the children, just as different education in trades was essential in different towns, and as he had said, as an agriculturist, he was extremely anxious that the District Authority should have some influence in directing the character of the education of the children.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) said, the country was spending an enormous amount of money on Education, and speaking on behalf of the people generally, he believed they would not grudge the expenditure of any amount upon that object provided they received for it their money's worth. But having listened to the discussion of that evening, he thought there was considerable doubt that the country was receiving the return they had a right to expect from the £5,200,000 asked for. They had, in the first place, the statement of the Commissioners, that to a large extent the moral training of the children was neglected. It seemed, therefore, that the voluntary schools, which were established to give religious instruction to children, were to blame for this deficiency in respect of moral training. Our sectarian views were very largely responsible for the comparatively meagre results reached by this educational system, and he believed that, having come to a parting of ways, the voluntary and the School Board system could not long continue to co-exist. One system would be swallowed up, and he did not think it would be that of the board schools which had now covered the whole face of the country, and this view received confirmation from the opinion of the Bishop of Manchester, who said a short time ago that the whole system of voluntary education would have to give way to a broader system. Another authority had also stated that it was perfectly clear that board schools which had been so planted in the country would have to furnish the solution of the Educational Question. We should have to look more and more to that system because, outside all our machinery, there were nearly 1,000,000 children who were neglected in the matter of Education. It was those children on the verge of crime that they wanted to get at, and for that purpose free education and some mild form of compulsion was necessary. He appealed to the Committee to support him in saying that this could not be effected except by means of the board schools, who were popularly elected bodies, because the people would never allow compulsory power of this kind to be exercised by a non-elected authority. They had to look to a free system of education, and he thought that must be entirely of an unsectarian character. If they could get rid of sectarianism in the training of children, then he believed that the problem of life for them would have been solved. One of the great works to which the County Councils would have to devote their attention was the educational problem. ["No ,

no!"] He thought so, at any rate; they would have to look after the voluntary schools for the reason that he believed they were not safe in the hands of sectarian bodies; and the treatment of the children of Nonconformists in village schools, and the use of these schools for sectarian purposes, was a state of things to which the people objected and would not submit to long. It would come to this—that if money was to be given year by year for purposes of voluntary schools, some elected representative would have to be upon the managing bodies to look after this expenditure of public funds. He believed that the great principle to be drawn from that night's discussion was that the solution of the educational difficulty lay not in the extension of the sectarian system but in the development of the system of School Boards.

Mr. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) said, he desired to make some remarks on the very gratifying Report which the Vice President of the Council of Education had presented to the Committee. The right hon. Gentleman had told the Committee that the increase of school rates was 2·87 per cent, the increase of population being only 1·35; so that more than one-half of the total increase on the school registers for the past year was due to other causes than to the increase of population. There was no evidence whatever that a single child more was receiving instruction in England this year than before, although the idea prevailed with some, in the same way as in the first instance it had pervaded the Scotch Education Department. But the middle class, who once sent their children to non-State-aided schools were now sending them to board schools; and that was what was taking place also in Scotland. The Education Department said there was a great increase in the schools, whereas it could be shown to be due to the transfer from the class of schools mentioned. The Education Department had charge of all the children; their duty was to see all the children of England educated; but why did not they, in virtue of their duty, make up a statement showing the number of children in both denominations of schools? If this were done they could then compare the total number of children receiving instruction of all kinds in one year with the number receiving instruction of all kinds in other years; and until they did this there would be no fair comparison in respect of the real progress of education in England; for as board schools increased, the children of the middle class would be driven into them for cheaper education, and the result would be the belief that the education of the country was extending, while probably nothing more was being done than the putting down of good non-State-aided schools. With regard to school accommodation, the Report stated that there was school accommodation for 5,278,892 children, but when they looked at the average attendance they found it was represented by the figures 3,527,381. Thus there existed an enormous difference between the accommodation and the average number of children for whom they had to provide; and, further, they found that whereas the school accommodation had increased by 134,000 seats, last year the average attendance had only increased by 89,000; so that the disproportion was annually increasing. It seemed to him, therefore, that there ought to be some legislative provision—such as existed in Scotland—for a check upon School Boards in matters of this kind. They were in Scotland as sensitive on the subject of local management as anyone in England; nevertheless the ratepayers would have no check on the School Board unless there was a representative body to whom they might appeal. It was, therefore, a salutary provision that the English Education Department should have the power of checking any inordinate expenditure on schools; but there was, as far as he knew, no such provision; and he thought the Vice President of the Council would do well to turn the matter over, with a view to supplying the deficiency. Attention had been called to the fact that the average attendance was so low as 76 per cent of the number of children on the register; but English Members might take heart here, for they were not far behind Scotland, whereas the proportion was 77·79 per cent. But it must be taken into consideration that in England children went earlier to school than in Scotland, and it was to be expected older children would be more regular in their attendance. Reference had been made by a previous speaker to the fact that children in the board schools would leave

very much about 10 years of age. It was easy to make that statement, but he had looked into the facts, and found that there were no less than 1,379,727 on the register above 10 years of age, and 793,750 above 13 years; and the gratifying result would be found on comparison that, whereas 66 per cent of the children above 10 years were presented in Standard IV. and upwards, the number presented in Scotland was only 62·34. It was no doubt very important that the school age should be extended in England. In 1870 there was probably some reason why there should be some difference between the two countries in the matter of compulsory education. It was felt that the Scotch people had had a good educational system, and were quite able, without inconvenience, to comply with the requirement of a greater restriction on the children; but education had advanced so much since then as to place the two countries very much upon an equality, and there was, therefore, no reason for keeping up one system in England and another in Scotland in the matter of compulsory education. There was, for instance, no reason why Standard V. should not be made compulsory in both countries, and therefore, bearing in mind that children in England went earlier to school than in Scotland, and would in consequence pass the Standard at an earlier age, he thought the time was come for extending the limit of school age to very much what it was in Scotland. Again, he did not see why the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit should be maintained in the case of the voluntary schools. It made no difference whether a board school cost £150 and a voluntary school £100—the educational result must be equally good, and he did not think that large expenditure necessarily produced the best educational result. Reference had been made by the last speaker to the fact that he would not give compulsory powers of education to voluntary schools. But that was not the question; voluntary schools had no compulsory powers of education; that power was for the School Board to exercise, and it was for the parents to send their children to voluntary or board schools, as they thought proper. [An hon. MEMBER: There are 1,000 parishes where there are no second schools.] If the ratepayers did not provide them it did not affect his argument. The parent was entitled to select the school to which he would send his child, and if the school provided educational conditions which were certified as sufficient, he could not see that there was any right of interference in the matter. Then with regard to payment, it was not a case of handing over £3,000,000 to the voluntary schools without supervision; Parliament never granted money without supervision; the Educational Department did not pay a penny without exercising the control of seeing that what was given was fairly earned; so that it was not necessary that a voluntary school should be under local representatives in order to warrant their receiving money. It was sufficient that the school was under Government Inspection and that, as he had said, no money was given to it that was not fairly earned. Speaking from his own experience it was not the fact that voluntary schools burdened the ratepayers. The less teaching there was in the board schools the cheaper it was for the ratepayers, because the voluntary schools provided school accommodation at their own expense and received no aid on that account, but in the board schools accommodation must be provided at the public expense; and so it would be found that, as the board schools were increased in number, so also was the taxation of the ratepayers. The effect of the voluntary schools was therefore to aid the rates, while that of the board schools was necessarily to burden them, and if a parent sent his child to a denominational school he did not see that the State was the loser, or that, as a matter of sentiment, there was any ground for complaint. With regard to the sectarian character of the schools referred to by previous speakers, the same view had prevailed in Scotland in 1870, when Parliament legislated on the subject of religious teaching; it was left as a compromise, and decided that parents might withdraw their children from the religious teaching of the schools if they chose to do so. But at the last election hardly a single Member was returned under the cry of "secular education," and there was scarcely a school at the present time in Scotland in which religious education was not given. The people of Scotland would not tolerate the cry of secular education; but not

only was that the case, for the leaders of the United Presbyterian Church were now on the Committees and were in favour of religious instruction in the schools, although, curiously enough, they thought there should be Disestablishment of a religion of the people still more advanced in years than their own. And it would be also found that the people of England, Wales, and Scotland had the same regard for training up their children with something more than secular education. He, therefore, thought that voluntary schools in the matter of the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit at any rate should be placed on an equal footing with board schools. But the real test was "Do they comply with the requirements of the Education Code?" If so, then they were entitled to the payment; the test was inspection and that being on their side they were entitled to and ought to receive it whether they charged smaller fees or not.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) said, he had to say a few words on the subject in connection with education, which, although it had never yet been before the House of Commons in a definite form, would in the near future form the subject of keen discussion. He did not entirely agree with his hon. Colleague the Member for the St. Rollox Division of Glasgow (Mr. Caldwell) that National Education was distinctly and solely a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. He did not look upon National Education from that point of view; he thought that a nation could not pay too dearly for its education, and that everything laid out upon that would be returned to it in the advantages which resulted from the increased intelligence of its citizens. They were all pretty well agreed that mental *pabulum* was administered to the children in the schools in sufficient quantities, but he did not believe in stuffing their brains and leaving their stomachs empty. His idea was that a certain amount of beef and bread was necessary before the efficient training of the young could take place; that in order to make an omelet, eggs must be broken; and sooner or later there would be heard a call from the poorer classes of the country for one good meal at least being provided for the children at the expense of the ratepayers. He knew that in Paris there was a Government grant of £12,000 for this purpose. The hon. Baronet opposite had made their mouths water by his description of the way the children connected with the board schools cooked, but another spectacle, which brought water to his eyes, arose before his mind at the time, of the wizened, miserable, and wasted children in the board schools of the East of London without food. This matter, as he had said, would form the subject of keen debate, and he was certain that the House would come at last to see the wisdom, as they would eventually reap the benefit, of making some provision for the physical necessities of the children.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, this question of Education, with perhaps the question of governing India, was the most important which the country had to consider, and he was glad that, having had time to study the Report of the Royal Commission, the right hon. Gentleman had made a statement with regard to their most important recommendation. The Commission, which was appointed two years ago, was made up of men of eminence in certain ranks of life. Many of his hon. Friends had been under the apprehension that the Commission at the time was appointed with the foregone conclusion that it should produce a Report upon which the Government might proceed to alter the existing relationship between the voluntary and board school systems of the country. The Government had now, however, thrown over the main recommendation of the Commission, and he could not imagine that they had been allowed to take the course followed to-night of their own accord. Amongst the mysteries of the present political situation this one was the greatest. Was it that the "crutch" had failed the Government? It might on examination be found that their action was due to the intervention of the noble Lord the Member for Rossendale (The Marquis of Hartington) or of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain); but he believed the Government had been saved from very serious disaster which would have overtaken them had they persevered in following the recommendation in question. He was prepared to say that not only had every reasonable consideration been shown, but the greatest tenderness also towards the voluntary and denomina-

tional system of Education. He was amazed that a gentleman occupying the position of Permanent Secretary to the Education Department and an ex-Secretary should be found lending the countenance they had to this system, which might be expected merely to meet with approval from narrow-minded ecclesiastics; and the revelations made by the evidence given before the Commission would come with surprise on the country, and tend to lessen the confidence in the impartiality of that body. He would only repeat what had been already said on that side of the House, and would be perhaps received with favour on the other side—that whatever sum was necessary for the real education of the people of the country would not be grudged by Parliament. With the object of frightening hon. Gentlemen they were told that £5,000,000 were annually expended in the various departments of the Education Office, but when all was said and done this was not more than one-sixth of what was spent on the Army and Navy. However necessary it was to maintain the expenditure for the defences of the country, and the experiments in which we indulged every year and month, no one could doubt that it was of infinitely higher importance for the permanent welfare of the country that ignorance should be dispelled from the minds of the people and that they should have the means of earning an honest livelihood and leading a respectable life. He would look for curtailment of expenditure, therefore, in every other direction before he would consent to any cheeseparing policy in connection with education. Some hon. Members had sought to impress on the Committee the feeling that there was harmony on this great question of education and with regard to its future progress. He wished that was the case. But there was no peace at the present moment—no unity and no harmony. They were within a few days of a great contest in all parts of the country for the election and re-election of men who had charge of popular education. His own town was no exception in this respect; and around what did the struggle centre? It was wholly around sectarianism. Fifteen members had been appointed upon the Bradford School Board, and eight one side and seven on the other would determine the policy of the board. It had been said of the Vice President of the Council that he was tongue-tied in regard to the Report of the Commission, but he thought the right hon. Gentleman had shown that this was not the case. He was anything but tongue-tied; but instead of giving the Committee to understand that it was not the time to consider the Report, the right hon. Gentleman had bludgeoned it and kicked overboard all the Commissioners' recommendations. It had been said on that side of the House that all the subsidiary recommendations of the Commission had been agreed to. This was perfectly accurate, and Gentlemen on that side accepted everything that went plainly and simply in favour of the education of the country. If it were the case that there were alien force in the School Boards of the country, he thought people would begin to see that it was necessary that some change should be made. He would say, let the voluntary schools live and flourish, but let them do that on their own merits. Let there be a genuine choice of schools; but he confessed that he did not anticipate that the two systems could run on parallel lines very much longer; and in his opinion, if it were not for a few ecclesiastics, a great number of the denominational schools would be handed over to the School Board system. The condition of the denominational schools was now as favourable as Parliament was likely to make it. There was one fact of the greatest importance which had to be considered—namely, the difficulty under which masses of the parents of the children lie in providing the school fees. What was the fact in regard to the so-called voluntary schools of the country? Since 1870 the fees had increased to the extent of 50 per cent. Instead of making it easier for children to go to school, managers of voluntary schools had made it much more difficult. Upon the whole the House and the country had occasion to be satisfied with the turn things had taken. In all probability things would not rest now that this great controversy had been raised again. He certainly listened with amazement to the comments of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the St. Rollox Division of Glasgow (Mr. Caldwell) upon the English Education Question. In Scotland there was a system of universal School Board. That

was the true system of popular representation, and there was no department of our municipal and social life in which it was of more importance that the people who paid and sent their children to school should have the commanding power than in the Educational Department.

MR. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University) said, he did not think the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) had altogether carried out the amicable spirit with which some of his Friends had spoken to-night. It would certainly not be the hon. Gentleman's fault if the debate closed in the same tone in which it began. The hon. Gentleman appeared to assume for himself and his Party all the credit for conscientious conviction in the matter of education, and would not admit that others might have convictions equally conscientious.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he did not wish to make any charge which was unfair. He only stated that the avowal of the National Society was to have control of the education of the people of the country, in order that the children might be brought up in the principles of the Church of England.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, it was because he and his Friends believed in the principles of the Church of England, that they desired to have schools in which those principles were taught. As a member of the Church of England he believed its doctrines were right; and, therefore, he claimed to have the right to have schools in which those doctrines were taught. All he asked was that his conscientious convictions should be as much respected as those of the hon. Gentleman. But he was not going to rely on his own conviction only. Something had been said about the settlement of 1870, and they had been told that nothing was to be done now that would upset the basis of the settlement of 1870. He was quite willing to subscribe to that doctrine, but he must remind hon. Gentlemen what that settlement was. In order to impress the matter on the minds of some hon. Members who might not, perhaps, remember all that was said and done in 1870, he intended to quote a few words of a right hon. Gentleman, who was beyond suspicion, opposite—namely, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). That right hon. Gentleman was reported to have said in 1870—

> "It was with us an absolute necessity of honour and policy to respect and favour the educational establishments and machinery we found existing in the country. It was impossible for us to join in the language or to adopt the tone which was conscientiously and consistently taken by some members of the House, who look upon these voluntary schools, having generally a denominational character, as admirable passing expedients; fit, indeed, to be tolerated for a time, deserving all credit on account of the motives which led to their foundation; but wholly unsatisfactory as to their main purpose, and, therefore, to be supplanted by something they think better. That is a perfectly fair and intelligible theory for any gentleman to entertain; but I am quite sure it will be felt that it has never been the theory of the Government."

That was part of the settlement of 1870. He and his Friends had just as much right to demand that that part of the settlement should be adhered to as any other part. They demanded that if the board school system was not to be disturbed the compact with the voluntary schools should not be disturbed. Now, some sneers had been expressed against the Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) because, as it was said, he had hauled down their flag. Where was the flag, and how was it hauled down? It seemed to be supposed that the Education Commission had been started in order to elicit aid from the rates for voluntary schools. Who had a right to say that? Where was that ever stated? Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) would tell them where such an announcement was made. Those who supported the denominational system—and in this he thought he would be borne out by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy)—agreed it was desirable that a Commission should be appointed in order to see how the voluntary schools should be assisted to preserve their existence. They did not anticipate any particular form in which that assistance was to come, and to say that because they did not get one form of assistance, they got none, seemed to be an exceedingly fallacious statement. Now, the hon. Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) complained that geography and history were not taught; but if the hon. Baronet

were to refer to the real facts he would find that these subjects were often taught in the shape of reading lessons. The hon. Baronet must remember that more instruction meant more cost. He did not know whether the hon. Baronet was willing to give a larger sum for the instruction both in board and voluntary schools; but unless he was he could hardly expect that his wishes would be carried out. There was one suggestion made both by the hon. Baronet and by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith), with which he cordially agreed, and that was that what were called continuation schools should be more widely encouraged. But the Commissioners found, after taking evidence, that there was very great doubt whether we should be able to insist upon children being sent to such schools. That such schools should exist was most desirable, and that we should encourage them in all ways was quite right; but that we should be able to insist on children of both sexes being sent to the schools seemed to him, from a practical point of view, extremely doubtful. He would be unwilling, therefore, though most anxious to see the schools liberally supported, to commit himself to the policy of compelling children, certainly girls, to attend such schools. The hon. and learned Member for King's County said he was convinced that the Conservative Government and Party had struck their flag and departed from the understanding with respect to the subject of voluntary schools. At the same time the hon. and learned Gentleman said he and his Friends now understood that the Liberal Party were prepared to give them what they wanted. If so, what became of the somewhat strong language used by Liberal Members about the retrograde recommendations of the Royal Commission and the protests against demoninational schools? What were the schools which the hon. and learned Member was interested in if they were not denominational schools? He should have thought they were the most denominational of all schools, and if the hon. and learned Member and his Friends expected to get aid from the Liberal Party for those schools, how was that aid to be obtained except on the lines of the settlement of 1870? If hon. Gentlemen could approach the subject in a somewhat calmer speech than was displayed by the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth), they would find there was a great deal in the Report of the Commission which could be accepted on both sides of the House. There were various ways in which assistance could be given to voluntary schools quite independent of aid from the rates. Take the case of an increase of the fixed grants. That was a great addition to the resources of voluntary schools. Then there was the removal of the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit, which was imposed at a time when education cost less than now. And a point on which the Commissioners were unanimous was the relieving of school buildings from rates. That again was a practical remedy which would very greatly relieve voluntary schools. As an attack had been made on the Government, perhaps it was well he should remind hon. Members that an important conference of clergymen and laymen had been held this week at the offices of the National Society, and that the first resolution passed was as follows:—

> "With regard to the important proposal that voluntary schools should be aided by rates levied locally, this conference is of opinion that such a practice would be inexpedient, provided the other measures for their relief suggested by the Commission are adopted."

One happy result of the Royal Commission was that those who entered it with very discordent feelings left it with feelings much more in accord. He might say there was a *rapprochement* and a very singular bringing together of people with discordant views on the subject of National Education which he thought was alone a justification for the appointment of the Commission. Of this he was fully persuaded, that during the proceedings of the Commission one conviction forced itself on the minds of many, and that conviction was that, whereas the whole of the education of the country had for long rested upon a religious basis, unless it continued to rest on that basis it would be of little or no value at all. The Commissioners had a most important and interesting report given to them by Mr. Cunynghame, a well-known official of the Charity Commission, on the state of Education in Paris, which Report produced a great impression on his mind and on the minds of other Members of the Commission. Mr. Cunynghame, in his

visits to the schools of Paris, came upon a school taught as a great many were taught in Paris, by a secularist teacher, and the teacher said that in the course of a very few years Christianity would be, except as a matter of history, unknown to the children of Paris. The teacher added that although a Secularist himself he looked with fear and apprehension to the time when Secularism would be the religion of France. He (Mr. J. G. Talbot) was convinced that unless the education of this country was based on religion it would be worth little or nothing in contending against the forces of vice, immorality and Secularism which were so rampant.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) said, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. G. Talbot) had quoted to the Committee the evidence of Mr. Cunynghame with respect to the state of the French schools, and to the godless character of those schools, and to the fact that if the education was continued on the present lines, in another generation or two Christianity would be unknown to the French people. Why did the hon. Gentleman introduce that statement to the Committee? Was there any parallel to such a state of things in our English schools? Did the hon. Gentleman mean to say that our board schools were godless schools? Did he wish it to be implied that there was any lax of religious teaching in our board schools?

MR. J. G. TALBOT said that what he did imply, and what the right hon. Gentleman could not deny, was that on the chance majority on the School Board depended the question whether there should be any, and what religious teaching.

MR. MUNDELLA begged the hon. Gentleman's pardon; it depended upon nothing of the kind. He appealed to the Leader of the House (Mr. W. H. Smith), who moved the first Resolution with respect to the religious teaching in the board schools of the Metropolis, whether there had been any change in consequence of the alteration of the majority on the Board. Was there any religious teaching in the Metropolis that was better than the religious teaching in the board schools? He was bound to say, after a critical and careful examination of the religious teaching in some of the best voluntary schools in the Metropolis and a comparison of it with that in the best board schools, that, on the whole, the religious instruction given in the board schools was more regularly given, more carefully given, more critically given, and more critically examined than that which was given in the voluntary schools. The same remark applied to the schools throughout England. Nay, more, since the passing of the Act of 1870, since the general spread of board schools, the religious teaching of the children of England had been better than it had ever been in the history of the country. He was an old Sunday school teacher, and he knew what a drudgery it used to be to get overgrown boys and girls to put a few letters together to form a word or text of Scripture. He knew the difficulty there was, in the first place, to get children into the school, and then to get them to understand the lessons. He knew what a different state of things there was in the board schools to-day. What had we in our day schools? Instead of 1,600,000 children we had 4,600,000, but instead of 1,600,000 imperfectly taught children we had 4,600,000 children that were being better taught every year. The numbers which were attaining something like a high standard of education were increasing year by year in marvellous ratio. He had just left the town of Birmingham, where he inquired as to the progress made in the higher Standards of the board schools. The number of children now passing the sixth and seventh Standards every year in Birmingham was 10 times what it was 10 years ago. Such progress he could hardly believe; it certainly exceeded what he had anticipated. What had been the effect of the day schools on the religious teaching in the Sunday schools? When he was Vice President he took great pains to inform himself as to the number of children in Sunday schools. In 1856, Mr. Baines, a member of the House, got a return, showing that there were over 2,000,000 children attending the Sunday schools of England and Wales. By the aid of the statistical Secretary of the Sunday School Union —and from no one did he (Mr. Mundella) receive more assistance than from the Secretary to the Church of England Sunday School Association—he ascertained when he was in Office that the number of children attending Sunday schools was larger in proportion than

the number attending the day schools. When children had been saved from the streets and been brought into the day schools, the parents had too much respect for them to let them run about the streets on Sunday. The parents desired that their children should be religiously taught. As a rule, the most abandoned fathers and mothers had some desire that their children should have some religious teaching. Moreover, instead of coming into Sunday school ignorant, unable to read a simple text of Scripture, children now came in from the hands of the experienced and trained teachers of the day schools, with receptive minds, and with a good knowledge of the whole of the Scriptural history. As to the higher Standards of religious teaching in the London board schools, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Evesham (Sir Richard Temple) would bear him out when he said that the examinations were exceedingly stiff. If the teaching erred at all it erred on the side of asking too much from the children. When at this moment the country was ringing with the most uncharitable and most disgraceful attacks on the board schools that one could not go to church on the Sunday without finding in his pew documents so false and libellous and uncharitable against the board schools that he blushed with shame and indignation, when one found the clergy in their pulpits denouncing the board schools, when he found in the parish magazines statements about the awful alliance between Dissenters and the infidels and the desire to extinguish religious teaching, and when he found the Conservative Associations going down to Wolverhampton and protesting against the suppression and extinction of voluntary schools, it was time to speak out and say this was mere hypocrisy, that there was no sincerity about it, that it was only resorted to with a view of keeping up voluntary schools as against board schools. He was thankful for the statement they had heard that night from the Vice President. He hoped they were going to get rid of a controversy, or a threatened controversy, which would only fill the country with sectarian strife and hinder the progress of education. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman must be satisfactory to everybody. Instead of trying to depress the board schools and bring them down to the level of the poorest voluntary schools, let them try to raise the board schools still higher and bring the voluntary schools up to the best of them. When the right hon. Gentleman spoke of the compact of 1870 he would do well to read to Mr. Forster's speeches in 1876 on that compact. The right hon. Gentleman wished to remove the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit. Mr. Forster said that by having raised the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit they had been guilty of a breach of the compact of 1870, they had done great harm to denominational schools, and for his part he felt himself free to take any course he thought fit. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) was very much stronger than Mr. Forster. The right hon. Gentleman insisted upon dividing against the third reading of the Bill, and he concluded a powerful speech by expressing the belief that in the long run popular feeling would declare itself against the compulsory attendance of children at denominational schools, and, furthermore, against the support of such schools by public money. He (Mr. Mundella) had never expressed such an opinion as that, and he sincerely hoped that after the announcement which had been made by the Vice President, in which he completely threw overboard the objectionable parts of the Report of the Royal Commission, and declared his intention of standing by the settlement of 1870, they would have peace between both sides of the House on the question, and make some real progress in the next three years in the matter of education, instead of standing still as they had done for some time. On the whole the statement of the Vice President was very satisfactory. It indicated considerable progress, and if matters were only left where they were, just the kind of progress which he had stated would be made. He agreed with many of the recommendations, both of the majority and the minority, of the Royal Commission. If the recommendations concerning structural improvements in the schools, better ventilation, better lighting, the improvement of the teaching, the improvement in the staff, and the raising of the age for half time and full time, were embodied in a Bill, they would find very hearty support on the Opposition side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman claimed an increase of the number of children on the

registrar of 129,000. That was a very satisfactory statement. But, said the hon. Gentleman the Member for the St. Rollox Division (Mr. Caldwell)—"Oh, but how do you know. These children have came probably from schools which were not State-aided?" The hon. Gentleman might know Scotland, but he certainly did not know much about England. There were very few non-State-aided schools in England, and the satisfaction was that there were now one-sixth of the population on the registers of the public elementary schools. The hon. Gentleman said—"Oh, you may have got some of the middle classes there." They wished they had them all there. Nothing would do so much to raise the people, to produce that true equality between man and man, as to get all classes of the population in the same school. He had been in German towns, where he was told that every class, the son of the banker and the son of the banker's clerk, and the son of the porter who swept out the bank, sat side by side in the same public elementary school. What an enormous advantage that was to all the people of those towns and of the country. He only wished we had a little more of it in our own schools. He congratulated the Vice President on the accuracy of the forecast he made last year. There was one point, however, in regard to which the right hon. Gentleman confessed we had retrograded, and that was average attendance. The average attendance had slightly diminished in the last three years, and the right hon. Gentleman was puzzled to know how to account for the falling off. An average attendance of 76 per cent was not satisfactory. It would have been thought 10 or 15 years ago a marvellous achievement, but to day it was not a satisfactory result. The right hon. Gentleman thought that perhaps we had got in the dregs or residuum of the population, and that that might have something to do with it. Did the Vice President not think the fee had a good deal to do with it? Was not the fee question very much at the bottom of the attendance? He found that in Birmingham, where the fees were 5s. a-year, the average attendance was 86 per cent. He found that at the Jews' Free School, at Spitalfields, where there were between 3,000 and 4,000 children of the very poorest of the London population, the average attendance was 94 per cent. He believed that free schools, or even a limited number of free schools, would do a great deal to get rid of the bad average attendance. It was said that School Boards could not set up free schools; that the Education Department made the laws with respect to fees. But the London School Board had never applied for a free school. If they had asked for one, or 20, when he was at the Department, they would have had them. He believed that if the School Board would set up a number of free schools in the poorest districts of London, the Lord President or the Vice President of to-day would sanction them. Why did they not try and see how far free schools would solve the difficulty? He congratulated the right hon. Gentleman on the excellent figures he placed before the Committee with respect to the educational results. There was hardly any crime amongst children under 12 years of age, and the statement with respect to juveniles under 16 was marvellous, for whereas in 1869, with a population of 21,000,000, there were 10,314 committals, in 1886, with a population of 27,000,000, there were only 4,922 committals. Nothing could be more satisfactory than that. This was an annual result. There was a steady diminution of the criminal classes every year. That was worth some of the expenditure which we made in order to fit our children for citizenship. With respect to the payment of the fees for pauper children, the Government promised, when the Local Government Bill was before the House, that they would take measures in that Bill to get rid of the payment of fees for pauper children.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) said, the right hon. Gentleman must be aware that that proposition was made in connection with the District Councils, the portion of the Local Government Bill which was dropped.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he was aware that that was so; but he did not know why the County Councils could not exercise power in respect to the payment of the fees of pauper children, acting on the representations of the local Com-

mittees. He regretted very much that such power was not given to the County Councils, because, while we were raising our children with one hand by means of education, we were lowering them with the other by bringing them in contact with pauperism. The hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) made some excellent criticisms upon the curriculum of the schools, and the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) made a most interesting speech upon the methods adopted in our schools. He should be most rejoiced if we could set about improved methods; but what were we trying to do? It seemed to him that until we made a complete change we were trying to put a quart in a pint pot. The hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) was quite right when he said that so long as the school life of our children was so short and limited as it was, it was no use talking about improved methods or improved curriculum or anything else. So long as a child could go into the factory as a half-timer at 10 years of age, so long as a child could leave school, as he could in 8,000 or 10,000 parishes in England on passing the Fourth Standard, it did not matter what the curriculum, methods, or appliances were, we could not have good results. We might bring the best teachers from Germany, we might use the best apparatus in the world, but we could not compulsorily put subjects into a child who was going to leave school before he was 11. In the home counties, in Hertford and Essex, for instance, the School Attendance Committees had fixed the Fourth as the leaving Standard. In consequence of good teaching, children passed the Fourth Standard earlier every year. In some of the London schools children passed that Standard at nine, but they could pass it very easily at 10. In some counties, as soon as a child was 10, and he had passed the Fourth Standard, out he must go. The Government said—"We are not going to pay for you any more. You have passed your Standard; you must go." The Chancellor of the Exchequer would agree with him that there could not be a greater waste of money than to educate a child up to 10 years of age at the expense of the State, then turn him out, and find that at 13 he had forgotten all he had learnt. It was simply an educational waste. We would not make the sacrifice which was so necessary. What did Mr. Matthew Arnold say about the curriculum in the Hamburg schools? He said—

"The fixed matters of the school course are religion, German language, English language, object lessons, history, geography, natural history, arithmetic and algebra, geometry, writing, drawing and gymnastics. This school course is of special interest for English people in that it includes the English language as one of the fixed matters of instruction."

The English language! He (Mr. Mundella) wondered what would happen if the hon. Baronet (Sir Richard Temple) were to propose to make a foreign language matter of instruction in the London Board Schools. In Russia no child left school until he was 14; it was impossible for him to do so. And when he left school, unless he could satisfy the school authorities, he must attend a continuation school until he was 16 or 17. It was the same in Switzerland. Throughout Switzerland all schools were free, and in Berlin every elementary school was free. Matthew Arnold said—

"That any wise statesmen would take free education out of the domain of public agitation and deal with it;"

but he added—

"You must, at the same time, deal with secondary education so as to give the middle classes some access to secondary education."

He (Mr. Mundella) thought the English working classes were sufficiently fair to know that the middle classes must have their fair share of education. We had done nothing for three years. We had rather gone back in some respects. Whenever anything had been asked, what had been the answer? "Oh, the Royal Commission is sitting; we can do nothing until we have got the Report of the Royal Commission." He trusted that now we were going to do some solid work. He trusted the Government intended we should do the work on which we were all agreed in respect to elementary education. We had the Reports of two Royal Commissions and of a Committee of the House on Technical Education. We had had two Bills introduced in respect to technical education and both had been dropped. We had a Report on Welsh Intermediate Education. It had been promised by the right hon. Gentleman and his Predecessors for three years that that subject should

be dealt with. It was yet untouched, and the condition of intermediate education in Wales was worse than that in any country in Europe. Then there was the pledge of the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) with respect to Endowed Schools and Secondary Schools. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would fulfil that pledge, and that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would some day or other find time to give the House his reply with respect to our Colleges. He trusted the Government would do what they could to equip our people in the educational race, in the battle of life, in the great struggle now going on in commerce and industry among the foremost nations of the world.

MR. WADDY (Lincolnshire, Brigg) said, he would give to the hon. Members upon the Government Benches credit for the most earnest anxiety thoroughly and fairly to educate the children of the country, but he could not help feeling that those hon. Gentlemen were prone to give way to the temptation to superadd sectarianism to the education. He and his hon. Friends did not complain of the desire on the part of anyone to give a religious education. He for one believed that education which was not religious was pretty nearly as bad as bad could be. So far, he entirely agreed with the most earnest views as to religious education which could be expressed from the opposite Benches. The difficulty, however, was that there were so many belonging to that section of the Church represented by those who had been speaking from the Ministerial Benches who thought there was no religion in the world except their own form of religion. The result was that if they once divided—bigotry on the one hand and religion on the other—they would find there was not so much anxiety for religious education as for education which he and his hon. Friends suggested; it was not so much religion after all as it was bigotry. Now, he did not wish to speak as the representative of the Church to which he belonged but as a member of it. He did so because he was aware that the statement had been promulgated through the length and breadth of the land, that because a certain member of the Church had signed the majority Report, the majority Report represented the general opinion of Wesleyan Methodists. It did nothing of the sort. He desired to speak with the most perfect respect of the rev. gentleman in question, but the Wesleyan Methodists had no Minister of Education in their body. They did not mean to have, and if they had, he believed that the gentleman in question would have no chance whatever of being elected to the post. Neither he nor anybody else was entitled to represent that Church, and it was sufficient to say that the great body of testimony and of objection and protest that had come from every part—or almost every part—of the Kingdom against the Report, showed what was the general feeling of this particular Church. This was not a matter which should be brought on the floor of the House under ordinary circumstances. He did not want to fight this as a matter of Roman Catholics, Methodists, or Baptists on the one hand and Church people on the other. What he and his hon. Friends earnestly thought was this, that a religious education was necessary. He did not agree with some very good friends of his not far from him who thought that an education altogether without any religious flavour would be a satisfactory thing. He did not go that length; but he believed that in the board schools properly worked with an adequate Conscience Clause, fairly and loyally applied, they could get as much religious training as they could reasonably expect to get into the minds of the children so as to prepare them both for this life and the next. The Government had indicated what they were prepared to do. He did not want to put a fly at the bottom of the cup, and to say anything unpleasant on this matter; but some hon. Gentlemen spoke in this kind of way—"We believe in religious education." Well, so did he (Mr. Waddy) and his hon. Friends. But they went on to say—"And we believe the education which should be given is that of the Church to which we belong, and we are very proud of our opinion." Very good; if those people were so anxious to see children educated in the principles of their Church, let them pay for that education. He had not the slightest objection to their doing so, but what he and his hon. Friends believed was this — no doubt the Establishment possessed some earnest men, noble and pure, and ornaments to the Church;

but he and those who believed as he did, very meekly, but still very earnestly, held the same view with regard to their Church. They also were proud to maintain the principles of the Church to which they belonged. Let that, however, pass. Over and over again in that House they had had complaint made of the way in which the schools of the country were worked. These complaints, he knew, were not with regard to what happened in the towns, for the school authorities dared not abuse their powers there; but in the country districts, in very many cases, the schools were worked for purely sectarian purposes. It was done constantly. He said deliberately that in the county, one division of which he represented, he firmly believed that every fairly taken Census would show that Nonconformity was decidedly in the ascendant. That might be the misfortune or the good fortune of the county—he would not inquire which—but he was convinced that if at that moment a poll was taken in Lincolnshire it would be found that of the people who frequented the House of God on the Sunday, Nonconformists, putting all sects together, by far outnumbered the members of the Established Church. What was the fact as to the schools, however. From one end of the county to the other they were entirely, or almost entirely, in the grip —or rather, to avoid offence, he would say under the kindly care and management—of one denomination, and one denomination alone. Although there were many Church clergymen in that county who used their power with admirable justice, fairness and loyalty, yet it was perfectly well known—and he was confident it would be difficult to find anyone on the other side of the House who would seriously question it—that in many quiet country villages where there was no one to oppose them the Church clergy were using the school as an engine for purely sectarian purposes. That was what he (Mr. Waddy), and those who thought with him, protested against, and wanted to have altered; and he ventured to think that they ought to have it altered. But how were they to have it altered? They knew the usual formula in these matters. Complaint was made to the Home Secretary in such and such a case, and he was asked to make inquiries. Subsequently the right hon. Gentleman got up in his place and said—"I am sorry to say there is a certain amount of truth in the statement which has been made, and I very much regret that there should have been a want of proper feeling on the part of this clergyman;" but the clergyman was never punished by his Bishop or by the Home Secretary. The clergyman could not be punished; and the consequence was that the same thing went on over and over again, and the School Board was made an engine in a way that a great many people did not like and very earnestly resented. Nothing on earth could be more wretched than the idea that there should be squabbling in this House over the bodies of these children for their religious training, but they could not get rid of this unseemly contest in any way but that suggested by the right hon. Gentleman who just sat down. Independents, Baptists and Methodists were quite as good as members of the Church of England, and do let hon. Members opposite try to believe it. The Nonconformists were trying as earnestly as Churchmen to make their children Christians, and he would say—"Let men of all denominations strive on equal terms to do all the good they could to the minds and souls of the children." He believed the happy time was coming when that would be done, and when the Education Act would be fairly worked without the necessity for a Conscience Clause.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: I will only detain the Committee for a very few minutes, because I find the difficulty I had to face at starting on the somewhat lengthened speech I made at the commencement of the evening would be still more intensified if I ventured to reply to the various statements which have been made in the course of the debate this evening by so many different speakers. I think, however, I may be allowed to thank the Committee for the very interesting debate we have had, and to assure all hon. Members on both sides that, although some serious points of controversy have been raised since I have been in Office, this is the first serious debate on elementary education that I have had the honour of listening to.

An hon. MEMBER: Do not close it to night.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: I can assure the Committee that the debate has been of great value to me. It appears from the statement of the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) that he thinks I have not given sufficient attention to the point he raised—namely, class subjects; and subsequently the hon. Gentleman the Member for Launceston (Mr. C. T. D. Acland), speaking in a very thin House, urged the vital importance of some kind of agricultural education being given in elementary schools. It is said that we should have instruction of an elementary kind as to animals and plants with particular reference to agriculture. Well, that is a suggestion which I think worthy of the consideration of the House and of all educationalists; and Her Majesty's Government have taken steps to bring about a higher class of training in the subject of agriculture. As the Committee must be aware, there are dairy schools in operation, and the education here implanted has been to some extent amplified by the measures recently adopted. I am sorry that I omitted to mention in my opening statement—having fully intended to do so—that the sooner some change takes place in this respect the better. I think that, however young a child may be, he is never too young to receive some sort of education on agricultural matters, even if you only begin by instructing him as to the habits and characteristics of animals and plants, and particularly the insects noxious to plant life. As I said before, it would be utterly impossible for me to traverse the whole of this debate, which has gone on to such great length, and which had dealt so considerably with the matters referred to in the Report of the Commission. At the present moment, as I said at an earlier period, I am absolutely tongued-tied on the subject of the Commission. With regard to many of the subjects which have been touched upon on both sides of the House—such, for instance, as payment by results—although I sympathize with a great deal that has been said, yet, if I were to attempt to go into these matters at this late hour, I should very likely find myself hereafter involved in difficulty in handling them. These matters are not easy ones to deal with, involving, as they do, an enormous amount of consideration and detail. At an earlier period of the evening I listened with attention to the remarks of the hon. and learned Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy)—to the historical survey with which he favoured the Committee of the circumstances attending the appointment of the Royal Commission; and I am bound to say that, so far as my own experience goes, that historical survey was utterly incorrect. I know absolutely nothing whatever of the circumstances mentioned in the hon. and learned Gentleman's statement as to the appointment of that Commission. I feel bound also to say that, although I was not in my present Office when the Commission was appointed and knew nothing of the circumstances, I have been in communication with the officials of the Department and with most of the Members of the Commission, and have never heard anything which would tend in any way to corroborate the hon. and learned Gentleman's remarks. Furthermore, I cannot accept the interpretation which the hon. and learned Member puts upon the observations I made at the commencement of the debate—and which he puts upon them, by the way, without having heard my statement. I will not further detain the Committee. I can only repeat what I stated earlier in the evening—namely, that Her Majesty's Government are fully aware of the heavy responsibility which rests upon them as to these educational questions—whether with regard to elementary education, continuation schools, or any of the other important matters that have been raised—and that I hope and trust that during next Session of Parliament we may be able to propose some kind of scheme which will not only meet with the approval of the House, but be of lasting benefit to the country.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he wished to remind the right hon. Gentleman of the question addressed to him by the hon. Member for West Nottingham (Mr. Broadhurst) with reference to the People's College Board at Nottingham. He (Mr. Mundella) trusted the right hon. Gentleman would give the Committee some statement with regard to this institution, the subject in question having been for some three years before the public.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: I have to say this with regard to the matter. On arriving in town I had but the shortest notice that these Votes would be taken to-day, and, therefore, was not able to prepare myself for the discussion as carefully as I should like to have done. However, I have heard of some change to be made with regard to this school building, and from all I gathered I hope that the new proposal will lead to satisfactory results. If the hon. Member for West Nottingham will ask me for further information on Tuesday next, I hope to be able to give it to him.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, that though he had the misfortune to rise after the right hon. Gentleman had answered the criticism which had been offered upon his statement, he yet trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would give him that sympathetic reply which he had promised on a previous evening. On two previous occasions he (Mr. Conybeare) had abstained from bringing the Education Estimates under the notice of the Government at the express desire of the Government, and in order to accommodate them. Though he did not propose on that occasion to introduce any remarks upon the controversial matters arising out of the Report of the Royal Commission which the right hon. Gentleman had—and perhaps very properly—intimated a desire that the Committee should not go into, and as some of those matters, which on other occasions he should have been ready to go into, would now be somewhat out of Order, he would confine himself almost exclusively to one point, having reference to one of the most important branches of education—namely, the supply of elementary teachers to our national schools. Now, the proposition he desired to bring before the Committee, and which he thought he should be able to prove, was that the proportion of untrained teachers to the teachers who were trained in the Training Colleges was so great as first of all to reduce the standard of efficiency; and secondly, to reduce the scale of salaries which they were paid, so that many of the elementary teachers were now receiving what could only be called starvation wages. The importance of this position if—as he thought he should be able to do—he could substantiate, it would be seen at once, when it was recollected that although the majority of these Training Colleges were belonging to one sect—that was to say, to the Church of England, yet 72 per cent of the expense of the pupils was borne by the public. He did not wish to stray into a controversy as to whether that was right or not, but was merely assuming that some portion of the cost of these Training Colleges was borne by the public purse; and if that was the case he maintained that they should do all they could to promote the success of these institutions by finding employment for students who were trained in these Colleges at such great expense. But, so far from that being the case, they were running in competition with men and women of inferior stamp, so far as education was concerned. He believed that he was right in saying that at the present moment there were hundreds of these students who had passed through an expensive course of training who were without employment, and who must be years before obtaining it. The number of certificated teachers was 43,628, and according to official calculations there was a waste of 6 per cent per year, or 2,600, which had to be supplied from some source or other. This, he maintained, was a very small percentage. Well, there were some 1,600 students turned out of these Training Colleges each year, which left about 1,000 additional places to be supplied by untrained teachers. But last year 1,665 certificates over and above the 1,600 College teachers were granted to untrained teachers—teachers—that was to say, who, from being pupil teachers, passed through some very slight examinations indeed and obtained certificates. He submitted that these untrained teachers passed their examinations and came into competition with the more extensively trained College students under more favourable circumstances, with a view to employment, than were possessed by the College trained teachers, because, in the first place the untrained teachers were already in situations, and were not turned out in order to make room for the students, who, instead of being at work in schools, had been in Colleges passing through this expensive training. In the next place, not having had the experience of College training, these untrained

teachers were able to work for smaller salaries, and, consequently, were more in demand, especially by the smaller School Boards, than was the case with the expensively trained teachers. The facts to which he referred were abundantly proved in the Reports of Inspectors Oakley, Fitch, and others. It was furthermore clear, from the Reports, that the standard of efficiency of teachers generally was to a very great extent reduced, owing to the system to which he was referring. Ample corroboration of that statement could be found in the Report of the Royal Commission. The burden of the surplus or overplus of teachers, amounting to some 700 or 800, fell upon the trained teachers, who, on leaving College, were unable to find employment. Now he desired to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council whether he could supply the Committee with statistics showing how many of these 700 or 800 teachers who passed out of College last Christmas had since been able to obtain employment? He was told that 400 or 500 of these failed to get any employment whatever. What he would urge the Government to do would be, in the first place, to see that the teachers turned out of the Training Colleges should have the preference for posts in the board schools. The present anomalous condition of things had arisen through the great demand for teachers when the Education Act of 1870 came into operation. It had been necessary to get as many teachers as possible in the shortest possible time; but, as the Inspectors pointed out in the Reports, the exceptional conditions of 1870 no longer existed, therefore it was desirable that the supply of untrained teachers should be curtailed as far as possible, and that could be effected by making the examinations which these pupil teachers had to pass more difficult. They were getting year after year a higher class of intelligence amongst the children in the schools; and from that he argued that they ought to take measures to improve the intellectual capacity of the people who had to teach them. The Government might easily introduce machinery to supersede the present worn-out system, which was adopted only in the case of special emergency. He need hardly remind the Government that in all Continental countries—certainly in Austria and Germany—they had nothing comparable to the slipshed way in which the teaching body was supplied to the schools in this country. In Austria there was a most careful and elaborate system of theoretical as well as practical training, without which no teachers were allowed to take charge of any schools whatever. He had not wished to elaborate this matter, and would merely content himself with saying that he had not been made the mouthpiece of the teachers, but had ventured to make these observations in consequence of the manner in which the subject had been brought before him. It did not seem to him a question upon which they need wait for legislation; but he believed it to be in the power of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Department to remedy the state of things of which he complained. On another matter he should like to ask whether something could not be effected in the interest of the teachers, as to the endorsement of their certificates by Inspectors? Lastly, he wished to point out that it would tend very much to the good and easy working of Education Codes from year to year if, when they were under consideration, and alterations were being suggested, the Department would see its way to putting itself into communication with the representatives of teachers; he did not mean to say that the Department should take the teachers into their confidence, but a strong feeling existed among the teachers that it would be very beneficial if those who had the practical working of the Code were, at any rate, consulted before any changes were made. He did not think that was itself a subject upon which the Department need stand upon its dignity. In conclusion, he would merely say that he cordially approved of what had fallen from the Government that evening, and that he congratulated the right hon. Gentleman for the statement he had been able to lay before them. He was sincerely desirous of seeing higher and better education introduced into the country than that which it already possessed, especially in the matter of foreign languages, which was a matter in which we were very largely behind Continental competitors.

MR. CONWAY (Leitrim, N.) said, he must confess that he was astonished

to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Vice-President of the Council that the Government were determined to climb down from the position they had taken up in regard to the settlement of 1870. He (Mr. Conway) was sure that his co-religionists would be greatly surprised to-morrow morning when they read the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. Their votes had been obtained upon a certain representation, and upon promises which, it now appeared, were to remain unfulfilled. Practically, the Vice President of the Council that night had repudiated the suffrages of the people, or, at any rate, of the Roman Catholics of the country, simply because he was afraid to face the opposition of a certain section of the House. He (Mr. Conway) should certainly use what influence he had with his co-religionists to convince them that no confidence could henceforth be placed in any announcement of the Ministerial Party. With regard to manual training in elementary schools, to which reference had been made by the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock), he did not think it would be advisable to introduce it; but he did think that it would be well to train the bodies and develop the physical health of the pupils by means of gymnasia. He submitted that it was a valuable thing to train the eye and the hand of pupils in the play-yard, and supplement it by having drawing, and so forth, taught in the schools. The London School Board had instituted a Committee of Inquiry to ascertain the extent to which manual training was adopted in elementary and primary schools on the Continent; and he believed that the Commissioners who investigated the matter came to the conclusion that it would not be desirable to initiate such training in this country. There were a number of important subjects, however, in the 4th Schedule of the Code which might easily be taken up if the Government would only give the necessary instructions. Why were those subjects not encouraged? It was because of the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit. He would not dwell on the point, but he held that the alternative was to train boys in the gymnasia. Some of the most competent witnesses examined by the London School Board Commission spoke about workshop instruction, and said they disapproved of giving it in elementary schools. If regarded from the point of view of training the hands and eyes and body generally, he thought that top-spinning, playing at marbles, hoop-trundling, and so forth, would yield far better results. If a boy in after-life was intended for a cabinet maker, the manual training he would be likely to get in a school workshop would unfit him for doing anything in a real trade workshop. He (Mr. Conway) believed in the Kindergarten system, and would suggest that they should do away with the cast-iron system of payment by results. Boys should certainly be taught the use of trade appliances and tools; they should be trained intelligently in the schools, and should be allowed to go into the school yard and practise such exercises as increasing the velocity of a cricket-ball. Witnesses examined before the London School Board Commission had spoken very depreciatingly of the manual training system in use at the La Villette School in France. One witness—a member of the Charity Commission—stated that boys trained in this school certainly had a good idea of drawing, but they made by no means efficient workmen, our own aprentices making far better journeymen. What was wanted were opportunities to the children to develop the muscles as well as the eye, and that could best be effected in the play-ground. He did not agree with the present system under which passing in reading was dependent on efficiency in spelling; and he would propose that instead of this they should make it conditional that the boys should have some idea of elementary drawing. In that way, and by the adoption of the sort of physical training which he advocated, they would render boys fit to go into our workshops and to use their natural faculties and abilities. Under these conditions our workmen and mechanics would be more than able to hold their own with the workmen and mechanics of the Continent. To talk about the British workman being inferior to the foreigner was all moonshine. Under the Merchandize Marks Act it was well known that they had sought security for the labour of the British workman. They knew that goods had been brought from foreign countries to this country to have the British mark put on them, in order

to fetch higher prices in foreign markets; and that certainly did not look as if the work of our own people was inferior to that of the foreigner. They found that the work of the British workman was superior to that of the foreign workman; for if such were not the case the foreign workman would depend more on the quality of his own work, and would not come here to have the English mark put upon it. He admitted that design was taught in foreign countries more than it was in England, and advocated the training of our boys in the principles of design; but, he held that, even under present circumstances, the British workman could hold his own with the foreigner, and that if made capable of rendering his work more attractive to the eye, the superior quality of that work would recommend it all over the world as above anything of the kind which could be produced elsewhere. As to the Merit Grant, he complained that the subject had been treated in a superficial manner that evening. Then, with regard to pensions; without speaking about the general question of pensions he would just point out that teachers were encouraged to enter the profession up to 1862 as pupil teachers, but yet all who entered from 1858 to 1862 were left out of the scheme of pensions. Pupil teachers were attracted to the profession by the prospect of a pension after years of service, and he thought the right hon. Gentleman ought to take into account those who failed from health or other reasons between 1858 and 1862, and who had been attracted by the hope of pensions. Inspectorships, also, ought to be open to schoolmasters. The initiative he was glad to see had been taken. Sub-inspectors had been appointed from the profession, and there were Assistant Inspectors appointed from the profession, and there would be no hardship but a gain to the service if, when Inspectorships became vacant under the ordinary law of Nature, they were filled by promotion of Sub-inspectors, so that the best masters in the profession might look forward to becoming Inspectors. These were considerations that should compel the attention of the right hon. Gentleman and the Department, for they were much agitated among the teachers throughout the country.

Mr. Conway

Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he found some difficulty in fully following the remarks of the hon. Member, and he hoped to be excused if he only replied that they should all receive consideration by the Department. When in the earlier part of the evening he touched upon pensions, alluding to them as causing an increase in the Vote, he thought he had showed no want of sympathy with teachers, and could only add that it was a question that required to be carefully considered. The same remark applied to masters becoming Inspectors. If in his reference to the Merit Grants he appeared to slur over the statistics, he could assure the Committee it was an inadvertence on his part, and the figures were actually on the paper he held in his hand. As to what had been said by the hon. Member for Camborne (Mr. Conybeare), he was perfectly ready to admit that if it was a proved fact that 1,665 certificates had been given to untrained teachers while a vast number of trained teachers were without employment, that certainly required investigation. If he could gather statistics as to the number of teachers who, passing through Training Colleges, had failed to find employment, he would be glad to place them in the hands of the hon. Member. Further, he could only say that most of the questions raised had been dealt with at enormous length by the Royal Commission, and with a great deal of evidence, and he could promise that they should receive the very fullest attention at the hands of the Education Department.

Vote *agreed to.*

Mr. MUNDELLA asked what Votes would next be proceeded with?

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, it was proposed to revert to Classes II. and III.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next.

Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

SUPPLY—REPORT.

Resolutions [8th November] *reported.*

Resolution 1 *agreed to.*

2. "That a sum, not exceeding £8,314, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the

Salaries and Expenses of the Office of Her Majesty's Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, and of the Office of Land Revenue Records and Inrolments."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he did not wish to oppose the Resolution now, but before it was finally disposed of he desired to express an earnest hope that in the promised inquiry the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have full regard to the very great gravity of the question involved in reference to the management by the Commissioners of Crown Rights in Scotland. Nobody who had travelled among the fishermen in Scotland could doubt that this was a very serious matter, and he could tell the Chancellor of the Exchequer there was reason to fear an unfortunate outbreak of popular feeling in Scotland in connection with this subject. There was no finer race of men than the fishermen of Scotland, but they had been sorely tried; things had gone badly with them, and a grievance of this kind was apt to breed mischief. He wished the right hon. Gentleman to appreciate the serious character of the grievance and the gravity of the situation when these men found themselves suddenly deprived of popular rights they had enjoyed from time immemorial. Whatever they might be technically, they were in the eyes of the people of the nature of common rights, and it was a serious thing to deprive them of those rights behind their backs by the technical process of devolution of authority by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. It constituted a serious and material injury; and in these days, when sporting rights were enlarged, and when so many serious questions arose between landlord and tenant, it was calculated to inflame popular resentment to find that after secret arrangement had been made with landlords' agents, the Commissioners, by the transfer of rights and on consideration of small payments, gave landlords the power to deprive fishermen of foreshore and other rights they had always considered theirs. The discontent engendered was even more serious than attended the agitation of crofter grievances, for crofter rights were stolen away many years ago, whereas this other appropriation only seriously began about 1883-4. Foreshore and sea salmon fishing hitherto enjoyed had been made away with to landlords for small sums of money, and under circumstances that gave grave reasons to suspect jobbery and collusion between land proprietors and the Commissioners. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer would treat this as a very serious question, and have in view not only stopping further alienation of Crown rights, but also the intervention of Parliament in cases where the circumstances would justify it.

Resolution *agreed to.*

Resolution 3 *agreed to.*

METROPOLITAN STREETS REGULATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Atherley Jones, Bill to repeal certain parts of the Act of the fifty-seventh George the Third, chapter twenty-nine (Local), intituled "An Act for better paving, improving, and regulating the streets of the Metropolis, and removing and preventing nuisances and obstructions thereon," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Atherley Jones, Mr. Forrest Fulton, Mr. Bradlaugh, Sir John Colomb, Mr. Pickersgill, and Mr. Octavius V. Morgan.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 380.]

House adjourned at ten minutes after Twelve o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 12*th November*, 1888.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Four o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 12*th November*, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* — CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS II. — SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS, Vote 5; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Votes 1 to 3.

Resolutions [November 9] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Preferential Payment of Wages (No. 2) * [381].

Second Reading—Augmentation o Benefices Act Amendment [308], *debate adjourned.*

Committee—Suffragans' Nomination [363]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Considered—Third Reading—Public Health Acts Amendment (Buildings in Streets) (*re-comm.*)* [255], and *passed.*
Withdrawn—Preferential Payment of Wages * [234].

QUESTIONS.

—o—

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—RIOT AT ARTHURSTOWN.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention had been called to the fact that on September 6, at Arthurstown, after the adjournment of the Court, upon the trial of the defenders of Somers' Fort, the New Ross brass band was playing in a wagonette, which was proceeding in the direction of Ramsgrange, and was stopped and attacked by the Constabulary, by the direction of one of their officers, who surrounded the wagonette, took some of the instruments by force, and knocked them against the sides of the wagonette in such a way as to render them useless, and rammed a rifle through the drum; whether he is aware that some of the members of the band were dragged by the constables from the wagonette, in some cases cut and bleeding, and five of them were arrested and taken into the barracks, but afterwards released, and that one of those arrested, John O'Neill, was, while inside the barracks and bleeding from a baton wound, knocked and stoned in the yard by constables; whether he is aware that a disturbance in the village ensued, and that in one of the baton charges an old man of 73, named Patrick Kennedy, who was standing at a corner, was struck by a constable's rifle on his head, causing a wound of three inches in length, and fracturing the skull; and, whether he will make inquiries as to the alleged reason for attacking the band and the people, and furnish the name of the officer who gave the order for the attack?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Inspector General of Constabulary reports that it is not the case that the police attacked the band; on the contrary, an attack was made by the bandsmen on the police. On the occasion in question a large demonstration was organised in the town in connection with the trial of certain prisoners, and it became necessary, in the opinion of the local authority responsible for the preservation of the peace, to take the precaution of prohibiting band-playing in the streets. Notwithstanding this prohibition the band referred to proceeded through the town playing, and the crowd which surrounded it commenced to stone the police, who, upon their stopping the wagonette in which the band was and ordering the playing to cease, were attacked by the bandsmen. Any injury sustained by the instruments was due to the fact that they were used by the band as weapons in their attack on the police. The three principal members of the band, not five (as stated in the Question) were arrested, and subsequently released, to be prosecuted at the next Petty Sessions, where they pleaded guilty and were fined. There is no foundation for the allegation in regard to the treatment of John O'Neill, who was one of the three arrested, nor was any complaint made as to a man of the name of Kennedy having been struck by the police. There is no foundation for the statement that the police struck any person with a rifle.

MR. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.): Seeing that there is a direct conflict of testimony on this subject, will not the Government order an independent inquiry into the facts of the case?

MR. MADDEN: I think that in this case there is less ground than in any other for taking such a course, inasmuch as the persons charged pleaded guilty.

LABOURERS' ALLOTMENTS ACT, 1887—RESTRICTIONS IN CULTIVATION.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether any Sanitary Authorities have submitted for the confirmation of the Board, under "The Labourers' Allotments Act, 1887," a Regulation restricting the cultivation to spade labour and prohibiting the use of the plough; whether the model Regulations issued by the Local Government Board suggest any such restriction or prohibition; whether any Sanitary Authorities have submitted for confirmation a Regulation providing that no person shall hold more than one acre of land altogether, including the acreage of any allotment already held by such person; whether sub-section 3 of section

8 of the Act allows a Sanitary Authority to let to any one person one acre of land in addition to the acreage of any allotment already held by such person; and, whether the Local Government Board will refuse to confirm such restrictive Regulations.

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): In some instances Sanitary Authorities have submitted Regulations under the Labourers' Allotments Act, 1887, which would restrict the cultivation of the allotments provided by them to spade labour. The model Regulations issued by the Local Government Board do not suggest such a restriction. In some cases Sanitary Authorities have submitted Regulations which provide that a person who, at the time of applying to the Sanitary Authority for an allotment, already holds an allotment, either from the Sanitary Authority or otherwise, shall not be tenant of an allotment the area of which, together with the area of any allotments already held by him, would exceed one acre in extent. Sub-section 3 of section 7 of the Act provides that a person shall not hold any allotment or allotments acquired under the Act exceeding one acre; and it would be competent for the Sanitary Authority so to frame their Regulations that a person might hold from them one acre of land in addition to the acreage of any allotments otherwise held by him. The Board do not consider, however, that, under ordinary circumstances, such a restriction as that referred to would be unreasonable; but before confirming any such Regulation they will, of course, consider any objections which may be made by persons locally interested.

EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES TO WORKMEN BILL.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When he will be in a position to inform the House what proposals the Government are prepared to make with regard to the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, that when the Bill came before the House again he would be prepared to inform the House what course the Government intended to take with regard to it.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) asked when the Bill was likely to come before the House again?

MR. MATTHEWS said, it was impossible to state the time with any precision.

MR. FENWICK: Is it likely to come before the House this week?

MR. MATTHEWS: I think not.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—THE RIVER BANN.

MR. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any expenditure, apart from the ordinary salaries, has been incurred in maintaining the navigation on the Lower Bann since the Report of the Royal Commission upon the drainage schemes was published; and, if so, what is the amount, if any, of such expenditure; what proportion of such expenditure has been incurred since the introduction of the Bann Drainage Bill; what is the amount of the fees received since the commencement of this expenditure, and who is responsible for it; and, whether the Trustees of the Bann Navigation are prepared to state that during the expenditure the navigation of the Lower Bann has been kept free?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Secretary to the Trustees of the Bann Navigation states that, inasmuch as the Trust is for Navigation in connection with drainage, no separate account for each has been kept; and he is, therefore, obliged to furnish the following Return, which embraces works executed for the purpose of drainage as well as of navigation. Since July 1, 1886, the expenditure (apart from the ordinary salaries) and the receipts have been as follows:—Half-year to December 31, 1886, expenditure £509; receipts from Grand Jury £400, from tolls, &c. £27; June 30, 1887, expenditure £240; receipts from Grand Jury £200, from tolls, &c. £16; December 31, 1887, expenditure £410; receipts from Grand Jury £400, from tolls, &c. £21; June 30, 1888, expenditure £86; receipts from Grand Jury £400, from tolls, &c. £23; period to November 10, 1888, expenditure £69; receipts from Grand

Jury £200, from tolls, &c. £17. The Trustees have accounted for these tolls to the respective Grand Juries of the counties of Antrim and Londonderry, except as regards those received during the last mentioned period, which are standing to their credit in the bank account of the Trustees. The Secretary further adds that the navigation has been kept free during the expenditure.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION — FAIR RENTS, CARRICK-ON-SHANNON AND BOYLE.

MR. COX (Clare, E.) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If he can state the number of applications to have fair rents fixed awaiting adjudication in the unions of Carrick-on-Shannon and Boyle; and, if he can state when the Sub-Commissioners will hold their next sittings in these unions?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): The Land Commissioners report that the numbers of fair-rent applications referred to are—in the union of Carrick-on-Shannon, 552; and in the union of Boyle, 848. Lists of cases for hearing are at present being printed for that portion of the union of Carrick-on-Shannon which is in the County of Leitrim. No dates have yet been fixed for Sub-Commission sittings for the other portion of this union, or for Boyle; but they will be held as soon as possible.

RAILWAYS (INDIA)—CHITTAGONG TO DIBRUGARH.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Government of India has before it a proposal for the construction of a railway from Chittagong to Dibrugarh; whether one of the conditions of the proposal is the concession of land and of certain coal and petroleum rights; and, whether he can state the full particulars of the proposal, and by whom such proposal is made?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Secretary of State has received two such proposals, which have been sent to the Government of India for consideration and report. Until a reply has been received, it is undesirable that the particulars should be made public.

METROPOLITAN POLICE—ARREST OF FRIEDRICH SCHUMACHER.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he can state by whom, and on what charge, Friedrich Schumacher was arrested, on the 13th of September last, at Leman Street, East, Police Station; whether complaints have reached him that, after being arrested and locked up in a cell, a written paper, and, if so, to what tenor, was presented for signature to the said Friedrich Schumacher, and that he was told that he would be released if he signed the paper, and on his signing the paper was thereupon released; whether the charge against the said Friedrich Schumacher was duly entered in the charge-sheet of the day, and submitted to the magistrate in ordinary course; if so, what was the magistrate's decision thereon; and, if not, what reason has been given; and, whether a private inquiry into this case was conducted at Scotland Yard, and by whom; if so, on what date, and what, if any, action has since been taken in the matter?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Commissioner of Police that Schumacher was arrested by an Inspector, and charged with being a suspected person, found on the premises of the local Inspector at Leman Street Police Station. I have received no complaint on the matter; but am informed that the Inspector, in consequence of what Schumacher said, removed him to the Inspector's office, where he made a statement, which was reduced to writing, in which he satisfactorily explained the circumstances which led to his being found on the premises. He was not told that if he signed the statement he would be released; but he did so voluntarily, and was released. The charge had been entered on the sheet in the usual way; but was not submitted to the magistrate. The matter was inquired into at Scotland Yard on the 8th instant by the Assistant Commissioner and the Chief Constable; and the Inspector was reprimanded for the irregularities of his conduct, and a sergeant who had not acted properly in this matter has been reduced in rank.

BRITISH NEW GUINEA.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, What are the limits of the "certain British territory" in New Guinea which has been erected into a separate Possession and Government by the name of British New Guinea; whether the whole of that territory is really in the effective possession of Her Majesty; and, how it was acquired, whether by conquest, cession, or how; if by cession, by whom it was ceded? The hon. Gentleman also asked, Whether the creation of British New Guinea to a separate Government meant that it was separate from Queensland, or remained under that Colony to the same extent as before?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The boundaries are those of the Protectorate, which have already been laid before Parliament. They will be found in the new Letters Patent which have just been printed for Parliament, and will be distributed to-morrow or Wednesday. The answer to the second paragraph of the hon. Member's Question is in the affirmative. In reply to the last paragraph of the Question, I have to state that Her Majesty's Government are advised that the territory must be regarded as acquired by settlement. With regard to the hon. Member's supplementary Question without Notice, I can only repeat the statement that there has been an Administrator appointed for New Guinea.

THE INDIAN POLICE—APPOINTMENT OF EUROPEANS—THE HON. A. HAY.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether there are any Rules regarding the appointment of Europeans to the Indian Police, and if the appointment of the Honourable A. Hay to be Superintendent of Police is in accordance with those Rules; also whether it is entirely contrary to the Rules proposed by the Civil Service Commissioners; and, if he will ascertain from India whether the Honourable A. Hay was subjected to any test of his knowledge of the Native language, of Police Law, and of Native manners and customs, before he was appointed Superintendent of Police?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): There are Rules regarding the appointment of Europeans to the police in the various Provinces. The Secretary of State has no reason to doubt that the appointment of Mr. Hay as an Assistant Superintendent has been made in accordance with them. No Rules proposed by the Civil Service Commissioners are anywhere in force. There is no preliminary examination for admission to the Burmah police; but an officer would lose his appointment if he failed to pass certain examinations in the Burmese language and Criminal Law within a prescribed time.

IRELAND—STATE OF THE COUNTRY—POTATO CROP, &c., IN CO. DONEGAL.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the attention of the Government has yet been directed to the fact that in large districts of County Donegal, especially the coast and in the mountainous inland parishes, the potato crop averages less than half the usual yield, in many places the return supplying little more than bad seed for next spring, and that the people have, in consequence, been compelled to sell their pigs at serious loss because unable to feed them, while the small farmers have nothing to depend upon for food for themselves except a little oats; whether, if not fully informed, the Government will make immediate and careful inquiry into the condition of the district, and take adequate steps to meet any impending calamity; and, whether it is the intention of the Government to proceed at once with any public works in any, and, if so, which, of the districts referred to?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: Inquiries are being made into the whole matter. It will, however, necessarily take some days before they are completed, and therefore I will ask the hon. Gentleman to defer the Question until Thursday, for which day a Question of a similar nature has been put upon the Paper by the hon. Member for South Donegal (Mr. Mac Neill).

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SITTINGS AT STRABANE.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can state at what time the Land Commissioners will sit to hear the cases listed for hearing in October of last year in the union of Strabane?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that as regards the portion of Strabane Union which is situate within the County Donegal no date has yet been fixed for the sitting of a Sub-Commission; but that it is probable there will be a sitting therein early in the ensuing year. As regards the County Tyrone portion of the union, the cases listed up to October 29, 1887, have just been heard.

THE BAHAMA ISLANDS—THE SUPERIOR COURT OF JUSTICE—THOMAS TAYLOR.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, on or about the 31st of July last, the Chief Justice of Her Majesty's Superior Court of Justice in the Bahama Islands adjudged that Thomas Taylor, for contempt of Court, should receive 30 lashes, and suffer a term of penal servitude, the said contempt consisting in an assault committed on the Justice whilst sitting on the Bench; whether the sentence of whipping was carried out; and what course Her Majesty's Government propose to take in the matter?

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury, Lancashire) also asked, Whether any information has been received as to a sentence of penal servitude for life and flogging passed by the Chief Justice of the Bahamas on a man named Thomas Taylor; whether it is correct that Taylor, having been sentenced to seven years' penal servitude, committed an assault upon the Chief Justice, who thereupon increased the sentence to one of penal servitude for life, and ordered the man to be flogged; if this be so, was the sentence inflicted after any trial for the assault; was such increased sentence imposed in respect of the original offence, or as a punishment for the assault; and, is there any record of the infliction of such sentence being passed?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): On the 27th of July Thomas Taylor, having been sentenced by the Chief Justice of the Bahamas to seven years' penal servitude for burglary, committed an assault upon the Chief Justice in Court, and on the 31st of July the Chief Justice sentenced him to penal servitude for life, and ordered him to receive 30 lashes. The increased sentence appears to have been inflicted as a punishment for the assault as a contempt of Court without any trial. The Secretary of State has not been informed whether the sentence of whipping was carried out. A report of the sentence, which is stated to be a correct copy of the record, is contained in *The Nassau Guardian* newspaper of August 1. The Secretary of State has given instructions that Taylor is to be released after serving the sentence inflicted on him for the burglary; and that the Chief Justice has been informed that should any such grave miscarriage of justice occur again, it may have very serious consequences for him.

MR. PICKERSGILL: Will the hon. Gentleman inquire whether the sentence of whipping was carried out?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I will.

LAW AND POLICE—DEMORALIZING AND INDECENT PUBLICATIONS.

MR. JENNINGS (Stockport) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Government will take into consideration the necessity of adopting more stringent measures for the suppression of the thieves' literature, and other demoralizing and indecent publications, which are now so extensively circulated among the young, and which led to the Tunbridge Wells murder and so many other crimes?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Government are as anxious as my hon. Friend to suppress demoralizing and indecent publications, and the recent prosecution of the publisher of M. Zola's works, by the direction of the Attorney General, is an instance of their action in this direction. It must be borne in mind that prosecutions sometimes do

more harm than good, by making obscure publications more widely known; and that it is desirable not to prosecute unless it is tolerably certain that a jury will convict. Subject to these considerations the Government are prepared to take all the measures that the law permits.

RAILWAYS—ACCIDENTS TO EMPLOYES.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention had been called to the very serious loss of life among platelayers and other permanent waymen the last year, and especially during the winter months; whether his attention had been called to the evidence at the recent inquest on two platelayers killed near Syston Station on the Midland Railway; and, whether, having regard to the increased danger to these men in foggy and stormy weather, the Board of Trade will make representations to the Railway Companies both as to stricter observance of their existing Regulations for the protection of platelayers in their work, and as to the desirability of employing additional men or boys to watch for the approach of trains, and of giving some practical trial to automatic fog signals and other mechanical appliances for warning the men?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.) in reply, said, that during the last eight years official Returns showed each year a material and steady decrease in the number of fatal accidents to platelayers and other permanent waymen. The decrease was considerable in the first two months of the current year.

HOME OFFICE — CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Who is at present the Head of the Criminal Investigation Department; whether the Home Office communicates with him directly, or through the Chief Commissioner of Metropolitan Police; and, whether arrangements have been made at the Home Office for the investigation of Crime apart from Scotland Yard?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Mr. Anderson is, at present, the Head of the Criminal Investigation Department. The practice at the Home Office has been to communicate directly with him on matters relating specially to his Department. Where more than Departmental interests are involved, communications are made through the Commissioner. The answer to the third Question is in the negative. The investigation of crimes committed in the Metropolis is entirely in the hands of the Department in Scotland Yard.

MR. PICKERSGILL: Will the right hon. Gentleman now take the opportunity of giving the House some definite information with regard to the position of Mr. Monro?

MR. GENT-DAVIS (Lambeth, Kennington): I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman a Question of which I gave him private Notice on Friday—namely, whether the reason given by Mr. James Monro for his resignation of his office of Assistant Commissioner of Police was, that under the system pursued by the Chief Commissioner, he could no longer be responsible for the administration of the Criminal Investigation Department; and whether the Papers on the subject are to be laid on the Table of the House?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have given the hon. Member for Bethnal Green information on which he has put a Question with regard to Mr. Monro. I informed the hon. Gentleman that I was enjoying the benefit of the advice of Mr. Monro on matters relating to crime. Among these matters I may mention that I have had a consultation with him on the whole subject of the organization of the Criminal Investigation Department, with which he is more familiar than any other man in the country, and I need hardly say that his advice is most valuable on the subject. As to the Question put to me by the hon. Member for Kennington, I have stated to the hon. Member for Bethnal Green that Mr. Monro resigned because of differences of opinion which had arisen between himself and the Commissioner on questions of police administration.

MR. GENT-DAVIS: If that is the case, will the Home Secretary lay on the Table of the House the important documents which will show exactly the position in which Mr. Monro stands at present, and the absolute reasons which

caused his resignation of a most important public position?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have quoted with literal accuracy the terms of Mr. Monro's resignation. It is not the custom to lay Papers of that sort before the House.

MR. GENT-DAVIS: Then I am afraid, Sir, we must get them to-night.

THE REGISTER HOUSE, EDINBURGH—THE DEEDS OFFICE.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether in the Remit by the Secretary for Scotland to a Committee of Inquiry now sitting on the Sasine Office, and other Departments of the Register House, Edinburgh, the Register of Deeds Office had been included; and, if not, whether he will state the reasons for its exclusion?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): The Register of Deeds Office is not included in the Reference to the Committee. The Committee was appointed to inquire into the establishment and cost of the Sasine Office, and the establishment and cost of the Office of the Director of Chancery. The Reference was not intended to be of a general description, but was appointed with specific regard to the Departments named.

THE FINANCIAL RESOLUTIONS—RELIEF OF LOCAL TAXATION—THE PROBATE DUTIES.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the amount arising from a portion of the Probate Duty and sundry licences which are to be paid into the "Exchequer Contribution Account" of the Bank of England, in aid of local taxation, may and will be applied to the relief of the local and poor rates levied during the financial year, March, 1888, to March, 1889?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): Yes, Sir. The proceeds of the licences mentioned in the 121st section of the Local Government Act and of one-third of the Probate Duties during the financial year, 1888-9, will be applied, in accordance with the provisions of that section, to the relief of local rates for that same year.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—ELECTION OF COUNTY COUNCILLORS — THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX.

MR. ATHERLEY-JONES (Durham, N.W.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, If the election of County Councillors in the County of Middlesex are not to be conducted on the system of single member electoral districts; and, if so, what is the ground for departure from the requirements of the Act; and, whether he is in a position to direct that the requirements of the Statute shall be complied with?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The Court of Quarter Sessions for the County of Middlesex have formed single-member electoral districts for the election of County Councillors throughout the administrative county; and where an electoral division is co-extensive with an area for which a separate list of voters has been made, one County Councillor will be elected for such division at the first as well as at future elections. Owing, however, to the large population of several of the urban sanitary districts and parishes, the Justices have found it necessary to divide some of them into two or more electoral divisions, which are not co-extensive with areas for which there are separate lists of voters. In such cases, the electoral divisions within the area for which there is such a list must be combined for the purpose of the first election, and must return more than one County Councillor. The Local Government Act provides for this. A separate list of voters will, in future, be made for each electoral division; and one County Councillor will be elected for each division at all elections held after this has been done.

THE TRUCK ACTS—DEDUCTION OF WAGES.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Chief Inspector of Factories has recently, in more than one case, refused to prosecute under the Truck Acts where the employer has claimed to make deductions from wages on account of fines; and, if so, whether, having regard to the 1 & 2 *Will.* IV., c. 37, s. 3, and 50 & 51 *Vict.* c. 46, s. 13, such refusal to prosecute

was made with the consent of the Government?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Truck Acts, as the hon. Member is aware, are silent on the subject of fines for negligence or misconduct of the workmen; and a clause on the subject proposed by the hon. Member for West Nottingham (Mr. Broadhurst) was not embodied in the Act. My own view, after careful consideration of the point, has been that where the contract for hiring provides for fines and for their deduction from wages, such deduction is not within the Truck Acts, and it is with my consent that the Chief Inspector has refused to prosecute in recent cases. It is, of course, open to anyone to raise the question for judicial decision.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (SCOTLAND)—THE TOWN COUNCIL OF HAMILTON.

MR. PHILIPPS (Lanark, Mid) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that no Councillor of the burgh of Hamilton is allowed to take his seat till he has paid two guineas for a burgess ticket, which practice tends to prevent working men from coming forward as candidates for the Town Council; whether the charge is a legal one; and, whether he will endeavour to get it reduced or abolished?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): By the 20th section of 3 & 4 *Will.* IV., c. 77, no person is entitled to be received and inducted as Councillor who shall not previous to his induction be entered a burgess of the burgh; but a person elected Councillor is entitled to be entered burgess on payment of the ordinances to the common good of the burgh. Those fees in the case of Hamilton amount to two guineas. I am informed that a gentleman recently elected a Councillor at Hamilton has refused to admit the legality of a demand for payment by him of this sum, and has paid under protest. I presume that his contention is based on the provisions of the Act 39 *Vict.* c. 12. As a dispute has thus arisen falling to be determined by a Court of Law, it would be improper that I should prejudge it; and, for the same reason, it is premature to consider whether legislation is necessary.

METROPOLITAN POLICE—THE CANONBURY MURDER—ARREST OF HENRY GLENNIE.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, By whose authority Henry Glennie, after having been arrested on Wednesday, September 19, at 10 p.m., on suspicion of being concerned in the murder of Mrs. Wright at Canonbury, was kept in custody without being brought before a Court of summary jurisdiction until Friday, September 21; and, by whose authority the prisoner, in the interval between his apprehension and the examination before a magistrate, was, upon three separate occasions, questioned by a police officer—namely, about 11 a.m. on September 20, about 10 p.m. on the same day, and about 11 a.m on September 21?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Henry Glennie was detained during the time named by the local Inspector in charge of the case while the necessary inquiries were being made for the purpose of ascertaining whether the prisoner ought to be sent before a magistrate or ought to be released. The case was a very serious one, and 14 persons had to be found and brought to the station, in order to complete the identification of Glennie. It was not until late on the night of the 20th that the identification was completed. He was brought before a magistrate on the following morning. Glennie was questioned on three occasions on the authority of the local Inspector who was present. He was asked whether he could refer to any persons who could prove where he was on the night in question; and whether he had any explanation to make regarding a plumber's bag which had been already identified as belonging to him.

MR. PICKERSGILL: Do I understand that the right hon. Gentleman approves of the practice of police officers putting questions to prisoners in custody for the purpose of using the information obtained against them afterwards?

MR. MATTHEWS: In that general form I should certainly not approve of it; but I think it is only fair to a man charged with crime to offer him the earliest possible opportunity of excul-

pating himself. That, I understand, is what took place.

MR. PICKERSGILL: Is the right hon. Gentleman not aware that the most eminent Judges have again and again condemned the practice of questioning prisoners by police officers?

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes, certainly, if questions are put with a view to prove them guilty; but if with a view of affording a prisoner an opportunity of giving an explanation to exonerate him from the charge against him that does not seem to me to be the same question.

MR. PICKERSGILL: In consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of the answer I have received I shall call further attention to the subject.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—THE BOUNDARY COMMISSION—REPORTS AND MAPS.

MR. H. GARDNER (Essex, Saffron Walden) asked the President of the Local Government Board, When the Reports and maps of the Boundary Commissioners, which were laid upon the Table of the House in July, will be distributed to Members?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's), in reply, said, he hoped they would be ready for distribution to Members on Wednesday or Thursday next.

METROPOLITAN POLICE—DETECTIVE DEPARTMENT—RESIGNATION OF SIR CHARLES WARREN.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he can state the exact reason why the late Head of the Detective Department in the Metropolitan Police resigned his position; whether it is the fact that Sir Charles Warren has now practically the direct control of the Detective Department; and, whether, in view of the constant recurrence of atrocious murders, and the failure of the new organization and methods to detect the murderer, he will consider the propriety of making some change in the arrangements of Scotland Yard. The hon. Member also wished to know, whether it was true, as reported in the newspapers that afternoon, that Sir Charles Warren had tendered his resignation, and that it had been accepted?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have already stated the reason why Mr. Monro resigned in answer to a Question from the hon. Member for Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill) on the 6th instant, to which I beg to refer the hon. Member. I have not got the document with me; but I have no objection to read to the House the letter. [Mr. GENT-DAVIS: Some time this evening?] With regard to the remainder of the Question of the hon. Member, I have to say that Mr. Anderson has now the direct control of the Criminal Investigation Department, but under the superintendence and control of the Chief Commissioner, as provided by statute. The failure of the police, so far, to detect the persons guilty of the Whitechapel murders is due, not to any new organization, or to any defect in the existing system, but to the extraordinary cunning and secrecy which characterize these atrocious crimes. I have already, for some time, had under consideration the whole system of the Criminal Investigation Department, with a view to introducing any improvements that experience may suggest. With regard to the final Question of the hon. Member, I have to say that Sir Charles Warren did, on the 8th instant, tender his resignation to Her Majesty's Government, and that it has been accepted.

REGISTRATION OF MINERS—THE COUNTY FRANCHISE.

MR. PAULTON (Durham, Bishop Auckland) asked the President of the Local Government Board, If he is aware that a Revising Barrister, Mr. Yarborough Anderson, has recently disqualified for the county franchise workmen who occupy their houses rent free during employment, and whether this decision is in accordance with the provisions of "The Local Government Act, 1888;" and, if not, whether, inasmuch as this decision so injuriously affects the great majority of the miners in the Bishop Auckland Division and other districts of Durham, the Government will take steps or facilitate an endeavour to remedy the injustice, especially in view of the fact that, during the Committee stage of the Bill, Ministers gave positive and distinct assurances that the wording and intention of the Bill obviated all danger of any doubt being cast on the

validity of the miners' claim in this respect?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The law which applies to the registration of miners occupying houses rent free during their employment is set forth in the decision of the High Court in the case of "Smith *v.* Overseers of Seghill," which will be found in *The Law Reports*, 10 Q.B.D. I have no information as to the facts of the cases which are referred to in the Question which would enable me to express any opinion as to whether the action of the Revising Barrister was in accordance with the decision of the High Court in the case alluded to. If, however, there was any ground for dissatisfaction with his decision, there might have been an appeal to the High Court. The Government clearly have no power to interfere as regards the decision of the Revising Barrister in particular cases.

ARMY CONTRACTS—MESSRS. ALMOND.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether an order for Government work that was given to Messrs. Almond, of Willow Walk, Bermondsey, was being manufactured on the premises of Messrs. Ross and Co., who were struck off the list of contractors in March last; whether the Government had to countermand the work being done at Messrs. Ross and Co.; and, whether he is aware that Messrs. Ross and Co. are getting orders for Government work under cover of others?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE)(Lincolnshire, Horncastle), in reply, said, that it had been found that some Cavalry accoutrements ordered in May last from Messrs Almond were produced by Messrs. Ross and Co. Messrs. Almond had been informed that this could not be permitted, and they had promised that it should not recur. He was not aware that Messrs. Ross and Co. were doing any work whatever for the War Office.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—COUNTY COUNCILS AND ELECTIONS.

COMMANDER BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether a county elector can vote for more than one member of a County Council; and whether he has reason to believe that any doubts have arisen on the subject?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): There has been some difference of opinion as to whether a county elector can vote for more than one member of a County Council. I am of opinion that Section 51 of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882, which provides that no person shall vote in more than one ward, is applied to the electoral divisions in a county; and that, therefore, at the same general election for the county no person can vote in more than one electoral division of that county.

MR. FIRTH (Dundee): In an electoral division of London an elector may vote for two members.

MR. RITCHIE: Clearly.

CRIMINAL LAW—THE WHITECHAPEL MURDERS—OFFER OF REWARD.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he contemplates offering any additional reward for the capture of the Whitechapel murderer? The hon. Member explained that he did not ask this Question from any desire to embarrass the Government; but simply because considerable excitement prevailed in the East End of London.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.): Before the right hon. Gentleman answers that Question, I wish to ask whether he has taken into consideration the propriety of extending a free pardon—which, as I understand, applies only to the last murder—to the preceding murders, especially having regard to the fact that in the case of the first murder, committed last Christmas, according to the dying testimony of the woman, several persons were concerned in the murder?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Owing to the public interest taken in this question, I hope the House will allow me at greater length than is usual in answering a Question to state why I have hitherto refrained from offering a reward in the Whitechapel cases. Before 1884 it was the frequent practice of the Home Office to offer rewards, sometimes of a very large amount, in serious cases. In 1883, in particular, several

rewards, ranging from £200 to £2,000, were offered in such cases as the murder of Police Constable Bowles and the dynamite explosions in Charles Street and at various Railway Stations. These rewards, like the reward of £10,000 in the Phœnix Park murders, proved ineffectual, and produced no evidence of any value. In 1884 there was a change of policy. Early in that year a remarkable case occurred. A conspiracy was formed to effect an explosion at the German Embassy; to "plant" papers upon an innocent person; and to accuse him of the crime in order to obtain the reward which was expected. The revelation of this conspiracy led the then Secretary of State (Sir William Harcourt) to reconsider the whole question of rewards. He consulted the Police Authorities both in England and in Ireland; and the conclusions he arrived at were—that the practice of offering large and sensational rewards in cases of serious crime is not only ineffectual, but mischievous; that rewards produced, generally speaking, no practical result beyond satisfying a public demand for conspicuous action; that they operate prejudicially by relaxing the exertions of the police; and that they tend to produce false, rather than reliable testimony. He decided, therefore, in all cases to abandon the practice of offering rewards, as they had been found by experience to be a hindrance, rather than an aid in the detection of crime. These conclusions were publicly announced, and acted upon in two important cases in 1884—one, a shocking murder and violation of a little girl at Middlesbrough; the other, the dynamite outrage at London Bridge, in which case the City authorities offered a reward of £5,000. The principle thus established has since been adhered to, I believe, without exception at the Home Office. The whole subject was reconsidered in 1885 by Sir Richard Cross in a remarkable case of infanticide at Plymouth; and again in 1886 by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) in the notorious case of "The Queen *v.* Louisa Hart." On both occasions, after careful consideration, and with the concurrence of the best authorities, the principle of offering no reward was maintained, and rewards were refused. Since I have been at the Home Office I have followed the Rule thus deliberately laid down by my Predecessors. I do not mean that the Rule may not be subject to exceptions—as, for instance, where it is known who the criminal is, and information is wanted only as to his hiding place, or on account of other circumstances of the crime itself. In the Whitechapel murders, not only are these conditions wanting at present, but the danger of a false charge is intensified by the excited state of public feeling. I know how desirable it is to allay that public feeling; and I should have been glad if the circumstances had justified me in giving visible proof that the authorities are not heedless or indifferent. I beg to assure the hon. Member and the House that neither the Home Office nor Scotland Yard will leave a stone unturned in order to bring to justice the perpetrator of these abominable crimes, which have outraged the feelings of the entire community. With regard to the Question of the hon. Member below the Gangway (Mr. Hunter), it is not proper that I should give an answer on the sudden. I will, however, carefully consider the question.

Mr. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: I beg to thank the right hon. Gentleman for his explanation, and to say that I agree with him entirely.

Mr. MONTAGU (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel) said, he wished to explain why he offered a reward in the case of the last murder.

Mr. SPEAKER said, that the hon. Gentleman would be out of Order in making any explanation at that time.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—CONSTITUTION HILL.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the First Commissioner of Works, How the right of individuals to drive along Constitution Hill is given, whether it is arbitrarily given, or whether it is regarded as an appanage inherent in the past or actual tenure of certain offices; and, if the latter, what are the offices to which it is an appanage; and, whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a list of those enjoying this privilege?

The FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. Plunket) (Dublin University): At present all foot passengers and persons riding on horseback can pass up Con-

stitution Hill; but special permission must be given through the Home Office for carriages; and I am informed by the authorities at the Home Office that this privilege is enjoyed, among others, by certain high officers of State—such as Cabinet Ministers and Ministers from Foreign Courts—and that Cabinet Ministers are granted the privilege on quitting Office. I am informed that it is also granted during tenure of office to Lords of the Treasury and Admiralty, Under Secretaries of State, and officers attached to the Headquarters Staff of the Army, and that no public purpose will be served by laying a list on the Table of the House.

THE MAURITIUS—SIR JOHN POPE HENNESSY.

MR. BAUMANN (Camberwell, Peckham) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Why Sir John Pope Hennessy has not returned to Mauritius; and whether he has been granted extension of leave, and for what reason; and when he is going back?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): It had been arranged that Sir John Pope Hennessy should return on the 30th of October; but he has been granted an extension of leave, on the ground that his presence is necessary at the trial of an action at law to which he is a party, and which has been set down for trial in this month. He is going back by the mail steamer which leaves Marseilles on the 1st of December.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—THE TOWN COUNCIL OF HAVERFORDWEST.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether he is aware that the clerk to the magistrates for the borough of Haverfordwest was appointed as such clerk when a member of the Town Council, and has since been continued as such clerk whilst a member of such Town Council; and that, at the recent municipal election, such clerk was nominated and elected Town Councillor, and is now nominated as Mayor, in direct contravention of the 45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 50, s. 159, sub-section 2; and, whether the Government will take any action in the matter?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I have inquired into the matter mentioned in the Question of the hon. Member. I am informed that the clerk to the magistrates was not nominated or elected Mayor. It is true that he was appointed clerk when a member of the Town Council, and has since continued to act as such clerk. I am informed, however, that there is a Private Act of Parliament relating to Haverfordwest, and that its position is quite unique; and, further, that prior to his appointment the opinion of counsel was taken, who advised that his appointment would not be a breach of the Municipal Corporations Act, 1882. I will look further into the matter; and should I have any reason to doubt the correctness of the opinion given I will communicate with the hon. Member and the clerk to the magistrates.

THE TWEED ACTS 1857, 1859.

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will consent to the appointment of a Royal Commission, or of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, to inquire into the general efficiency and working of the Tweed Acts of 1857 and 1859, and into any grievances arising from the operation of the said Acts?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Government do not think it necessary to appoint either a Royal Commission or a Select Committee to inquire into the working of the Tweed Acts of 1857 and 1859, as the whole subject will be dealt with in the forthcoming Salmon Fisheries Bill. In order to give the right hon. Gentleman and the House full information as to the substance and matter of the Bill, the Government propose to lay it on the Table of Parliament before the close of this present Session.

MR. MARJORIBANKS: Is it the intention of the Government to include the Tweed under the general laws of the country, instead of being governed by its own Acts?

MR. W. H. SMITH: The right hon. Gentleman asks a Question on which I can give him no accurate information. If he will repeat it on a future day I will give him the information he desires.

STANDING ORDERS—MORTMAIN AND CHARITABLE USES ACT—LORDS' AMENDMENTS.

MR. WARMINGTON (Monmouth, W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the fact that, to the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Bill, there had in the House of Lords been introduced Amendments previously negatived by this House, and which had been, without Notice, considered and agreed to by this House, it is the intention of the Government to propose such alterations in the Standing Orders as will prevent the consideration of Lords' Amendments being brought on in this House without the matter appearing in the Orders of the Day, or without previous Notice?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he agreed that the House should be informed of any material changes made in a Bill in the other House before asking assent to them. He would consider, during the Recess, whether Rules should be framed to secure that object.

STATE COLONIZATION—APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE.

MR. KIMBER (Wandsworth) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, When it is his intention to move the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the question of State Colonization, which he was good enough to promise on the part of the Government on the 9th of August last?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he hoped that the matter would come before the House in a few days. Undoubtedly an opportunity for debate would arise on the Votes. He by no means wished to convey that there might not also be a debate on the Motion for a Committee, if the House generally desired to prolong the Session for the purpose.

PUBLIC BUSINESS—IRISH LEGISLATION.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is contemplated to introduce any new Government measures during the present Session in connection with Ireland?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It is my intention, on Thursday, to make a statement with regard to the legislative intentions of Her Majesty's Government during the present Session.

THE SPECIAL COMMISSION—THE EXPENSES.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) asked the First Lord of the Treasurer, Whether it is contemplated to present a Supplementary Estimate in respect to the expenses of the Royal Commission now sitting to inquire into the allegations of *The Times* against certain Members of the House and others; and, if not, how the expenses which have been, and are being, incurred are to be met; whether any sum of money from the "Secret Service" is, or has been, expended in aiding *The Times*, directly or indirectly, to secure witnesses or other evidence; whether any money expended (if so expended) in procuring or in arranging evidence for *The Times* will be carried to the current expenditure of the year; and, if so, under what head it will appear in the Estimates; and, whether *The Times*, or those representing *The Times*, have had access to any sources of information in the possession of the Government, but not in possession of the House, and not accessible to the Members accused, or to their representatives?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The hon. Gentleman asks me four Questions. With regard to the first, a Supplementary Estimate will, if necessary, be presented at the commencement of the next Session of Parliament, to meet the expenses of the Royal Commission referred to. Pending the presentation of that Estimate, the expenses will be, and are, defrayed in the ordinary course from the Temporary Commission Vote, Sub-head K, "Commissions not specifically provided for." As to the second and third Questions, no sum has been expended from the Secret Service Vote in aiding *The Times*, directly or indirectly, to secure witnesses or other evidence. I will state to the House what the attitude of the Government is with regard to the last part of the Question. An application was made to the Irish Government on behalf of *The Times* for access to specific sources of

information and for specific information, and this application was granted, unless where, in the opinion of the Law Officers, the information sought was privileged from disclosure in the interests of the Public Service. Where a similar application was made on behalf of the other side the same course was followed. The Government propose to act to all parties in the spirit of a letter written by the Chief Secretary for Ireland to Messrs. Lewis and Lewis on the 7th instant, an extract from which is as follows:—

"I shall have great pleasure in allowing you to see, and, as far as you think desirable, to copy, any transcripts of speeches in the possession of the Irish Government which you may apply for; and shall, further, be glad to give you any information, not of a confidential character, upon any specific point respecting which you may ask for it in the interest of those you represent."

That is the attitude of the Government to both the parties interested.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): Arising out of this Question, I would ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether he will inquire into the allegations of a certain newspaper, that Mr. Justice A. L. Smith is a landlord in County Tyrone, Ireland, whose rents had been largely reduced by the Land Court; and, if so informed, whether the Government will take means to have him relieved from his duties on the Commission now sitting?

MR. SPEAKER: Order! order!

[No reply.]

AUSTRALIA—QUEENSLAND—APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR—SIR HENRY A. BLAKE.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): I rise to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies a Question of which I have given him private Notice. I may, perhaps, say that on Friday, without previous Notice, I asked the hon. Gentleman whether the Colonial Office had received a telegram from the Prime Minister of Queensland and the Leader of the Opposition there about the appointment of a successor to Governor Musgrave? The hon. Gentleman at once replied that the telegram, a copy of which appeared in the newspapers, had been received and forwarded to the Secretary of State. I now wish to ask him whether he is yet able to inform the House what answer has been, or will be, sent to this message?

THE UNDER SECRETARY of STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): Her Majesty's Government have considered this question, and have decided that the Colonial Ministers should be called upon to state their objections to the appointment of Sir Henry Blake. I cannot do better than read to the House the telegram which has been despatched to the Colony—

"Inform your Ministers that Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to take any action upon the telegram communicated by the Agent General, and previously made public, respecting the Governor. They prefer that any communication on so serious a subject should be made in the usual formal manner to the officer administering the Government. Request your Ministers to state to you the specific reasons for which they object to the appointment of a gentleman of high character who has administered responsible government with great discretion and success."

As the telegram published in the Press referred to the letter addressed to the Agent General in reply to the request that the Colonial Ministers might be consulted as to the new Governor, it seems desirable to read that letter to the House. It was in the following terms:—

"Downing Street, Oct. 19, 1888.

"Sir,—I am directed by Lord Knutsford to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant, respecting the telegram which you had received from the Government of Queensland, desiring that the name of the proposed Governor should be submitted to them before a definite decision was arrived at. In reply, I am desired to acquaint you that this is a request which, in previous cases, it has been decided that Her Majesty's Government cannot comply with. It is obvious that the officer charged with the duty of conducting the foreign relations of the Crown and of advising the Crown when any question of Imperial, as distinct from Colonial, interests arises, must be selected by the Secretary of State for the Queen's approval, and must owe his appointment, and be responsible, to the Crown alone. It is not possible, therefore, for the responsible Ministers of the Colony to share the responsibility of nominating the Governor, or to have a veto on the selection. Lord Knutsford trusts, nevertheless, that the Colonial Ministers will understand that he has been deeply sensible of the importance of selecting a gentleman of high character and proved capacity for the very important post of Governor of Queensland, and trusts very confidently that when he is in a position to make known the name of the person selected it will be acknowledged that a satisfactory appointment has been made.

"I am, &c.,

"R. G. W. HERBERT.

"The Agent General for Queensland."

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury): Would the hon. Gentleman give us the exact words of the Prime Minister of Queensland's telegram—whether the demand was that we should "submit" the name of the Governor to them; or whether the suggestion was that it would be expedient to "communicate the name of the new Governor before his actual appointment"?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, he had read the words of the telegram to the House. Those words were correct; but he did not see that it made any difference in the sense.

MR. CHILDERS asked, if the answer which had been sent to the Colony was by telegraph; and if the reply to it would also be by telegraph, or would be deferred till the despatches?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: This is by telegraph. The answer will probably be by despatch.

NAVY—THE NAVAL POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—THE NAVY ESTIMATES.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling, &c.): Sir, I desire to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty a Question of which I have not been able to give him private Notice, but which, no doubt, he will be able to answer. He has, on more than one occasion recently, and especially at the banquet at the Guildhall last Friday, stated that Her Majesty's Government have decided to make a further expenditure on the Navy. I would ask him when does he propose to give the House of Commons any information on that subject; and will he take the opportunity afforded by the approaching discussion of the Navy Estimates to make a statement to the House?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The right hon. Gentleman was Chairman of a Select Committee upon the Navy Estimates which made certain recommendations; and I have publicly announced that, when the time arrives, the Government will be prepared to give effect to those recommendations. I think it will be more convenient when the Navy Estimates come on that the discussion should, in accordance with the Rules of the House, be confined to the individual Votes under consideration; but, of course, it is in the power of hon. Gentlemen to put to me any Questions, which I will answer to the best of my ability.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The matter to which I refer is quite outside any recommendation made by the Committee. The noble Lord stated that a few years ago a great shipbuilding programme was entered upon; that the financial operations involved in it had now ceased; and that the Government had resolved to call upon the country to make a fresh and further effort in that direction. I submit, the House of Commons is entitled to know as early as anyone what is to be done; and I should have thought the Government would have been prepared to explain the matter to the House of Commons at the first opportunity.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I do not think that the right hon. Gentleman has accurately quoted my words. What I did say was this—that a large shipbuilding programme had been originated three years ago, and that programme was now practically completed. For the future the hands of the Government were financially free, and therefore I hoped that next year a fresh and bolder start—a more sustained effort—would be made to bring the Navy up to the state of strength and efficiency which Her Majesty's Government consider to be necessary in the interests of the country.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington S.): May I ask my noble Friend if the House may take it for granted that no special proposal for extra expenditure on account of the Navy will this year be made by the Government to the House?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: We do not propose to ask for any additional sums this year. Our proposals have strict reference to the Estimates of next year.

MR. HANBURY (Preston): Are the Army and Navy Estimates to be taken this week?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I am afraid not.

LAW AND JUSTICE—SALARIES OF THE LAW OFFICERS OF THE CROWN.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.): Before the Adjournment of August a Return was promised relative to the emoluments of the Attorney and Solicitor Generals. I would ask

the First Lord of the Treasury why this Return, which does not occupy two foolscap pages, is not yet printed and in the hands of hon. Members?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I exceedingly regret that the Return has been so long delayed; but, as the right hon. Gentleman is very well aware, the Government are not responsible for the delay. The information is available for the House, and is literally on the Table of the House; and if the House desires to proceed with the Vote there is no reason why it should not do so.

EXCISE DUTIES (LOCAL PURPOSES) BILL—THE VAN AND WHEEL TAX.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention had been drawn to a paragraph in *The Observer* of Sunday, to the effect that arrangements had been made for a deputation of Conservative Members of Parliament to wait on the Chancellor of the Exchequer to lay before him statements of objections to the proposed Wheel and Van Tax Bill; that the proceedings would be private, but that it was believed that they would be immediately followed by the withdrawal of the measure? He would further ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, considering the great loss and inconvenience being suffered in all parts of the country through the indecision of the Government on this question, he could not now make an announcement?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am always very glad to take what rest I can, and therefore I did not read the paper in question on Sunday. The hon. Member will not be surprised, therefore, to hear that I have not heard of the paragraph nor of the deputation, nor of any of the other consequential movements to which he refers. I have already stated that I propose to make a statement with regard to Public Business on Thursday, and that is all I can say now.

SUPPLY—THE IRISH ESTIMATES.

In reply to Mr. CLANCY (Dublin Co., N.),

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, that he feared there was no chance of taking the Irish Estimates this week.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

(1.) £5,000, to complete the sum for the Mercantile Marine Fund (Grant in Aid).

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he wished to call the attention of the Committee to this very unsatisfactory grant, and to suggest to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) the desirability of placing the Mercantile Marine Fund altogether under the Board of Trade. This was one of the cases in which a deficiency had been going on increasing for years; it was a Department that was not under the Treasury, nor was it under the control of the Board of Trade. In looking over the accounts he found that the fees from surveys produced in 1885-6 £55,000, while the receipts from surveys were only £33,000. The surveys consequently cost £30,000 more than the fees brought in. In 1886-7 the survey fees amounted to £24,000, while the cost of maintaining was £57,000. He thought the proper thing to do in a case of this kind was that when public work was being done by a Government Department, such fees should be charged as would defray all the expenses without necessitating an appeal to Parliament for a Vote of this nature owing to the expenses having largely exceeded the fees. The Vote itself did not show the total expenditure, although he saw that a deficiency, which amounted to £9,700 in 1886-7, had been increased this year to £13,700. Now there was another point which he wished to raise again, and he was glad that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was in his place, because in regard to the question he desired to raise he could not help feeling that the Board of Trade had acted like a dog in the manger. He referred to the case of distressed seamen who were sent home from distant parts

abroad. Time after time various Governments of India had called the attention of the Board of Trade to the fact that distressed seamen were paid off in India at the rate of 2*s.* to the rupee. The Board of Trade were quite aware that in the articles that were signed between the seamen and the shipowners there were clauses by which the seamen agreed to be paid off in India under certain circumstances at the rate of 2*s.* to the rupee. Of course, the seamen knew nothing about the operation of the articles they signed, and even if they did know they would not trouble themselves about the matter, because they intended to go out in a particular ship and return in her, not calculating that anything might happen to them before they returned home; but when they got to India it was possible that they might be attacked by dysentery, fever, or something or other arising from the influences of the climate, which necessitated their being sent to the hospital. The result was that they were unable to return home in the ship, and they were paid off in the shipping office in India, which meant that they were deprived of one-third of their wages. It took a ship three months to go out, and a seaman received one month's wages in advance, so that they would not have more than six weeks or two months wages to draw in India; by being paid in rupees at the rate of 2*s.* to the rupee they were actually defrauded of one-third of their entire salary. Having been so swindled out of their earnings they naturally became distressed seamen, and required to be sent home at the cost of the Indian Government. Parliament was now asked to contribute a sum of money to make up a sum of £20,000 a year to be expended on distressed seamen, but a great deal of the necessity of this contribution would be removed if the Board of Trade would pay attention to the representations and protests of the Indian Government. If the Board of Trade would interfere and prevent the shipowners from taking this advantage of the seamen there would be no distressed seamen to be relieved, and it would not be necessary to have this Vote. The Board of Trade were practically responsible for the Vote, and for having it brought before Parliament in this form. Unfortunately hon. Members knew very little about it, although it was one of those Votes upon which they had a constant increase. He noticed that there was one item of decrease; it was the case of a well-paid policeman in Liverpool who had been in the receipt of £120 a-year for acting as policeman of the Merchant Shipping Department of the Board of Trade there. This year the amount of that salary was deducted from the Vote, so that the Board of Trade was richer by the sum of £120 a-year. He thought the Committee ought to have more facts upon these matters, not only in regard to the surveys and the grant to distressed seamen, but as to the reason why the fees of the engineers were continually augmented. He certainly hoped to hear from the right hon. Baronet the President of the Board of Trade why the old method of manufacturing distressed seamen, by which they were defrauded of one-third of their wages, was continued, and whether he was prepared to take any step to correct the evil?

MR. C. T. D. ACLAND (Cornwall, Launceston) said, the Committee would observe that although the estimated receipts amounted to nearly £6,000 more than they were the last year given in the Vote—namely, in 1886-7, yet the Grant in Aid remained precisely the same — £40,000. He regretted that the Committee had so very little explanation about the Vote, and he thought they would derive none from the Appropriation Act which would be presented at the end of the Session. For a long time it had been known that this Fund was not upon a very satisfactory footing; but, nevertheless, there was no information before Parliament on the subject. He thought it would only be fair to the Committee that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, in asking for this Grant in Aid, which was certainly not justified upon any statement now before the Committee, should give them some information as to the actual state of the Fund, which for a long time had not been in a satisfactory position.

MR. CRAIG (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) said, he also thought that the Committee was entitled to have something beyond the scanty information contained in the Estimate, which was altogether inadequate, and in some cases absolutely misleading. This was a sum which the

Board of Trade seemingly put before the House as a matter of duty by a certain Act of Parliament, and the 45 & 46 *Vict.*, c. 55, required the Department to deposit its accounts year by year. He would read to the Committee what the Auditor General said upon this matter in his Report upon the state of the Accounts for 1886-7, the last statement with which Parliament had been favoured. The Auditor General pointed out that under the Act 45 & 46 *Vict.*, c. 55, a certain sum of money—namely, £40,000, was to be annually voted by Parliament for five years; but that period of five years expired on the 1st of April, 1888, and it would be possible then, according to the Comptroller and Auditor General, to review the operations under the authority of the Act. Notwithstanding that statement of the Auditor General, notwithstanding the debate which took place on this very question in August, 1887, and notwithstanding still more the promise given by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in answer to a Question from himself (Mr. Craig), the Mercantile Marine Fund was still in a most unsatisfactory position. "The question of the Mercantile Marine Fund," said the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer—

"Is a matter which was brought under my attention some weeks ago, and I think that these accounts require to be most thoroughly examined."—(3 *Hansard*, [318] 1664.)

He (Mr. Craig) certainly failed to see any symptoms of a thorough examination in the present Estimates. It was quite the reverse. The right hon. Gentleman, however, in continuing his remarks, gave an undertaking that the subject should be thoroughly examined, and intimated that it was possible a very important decision might be come to with regard to it. "There can be no doubt," added the right hon. Gentleman, "that the Mercantile Marine Fund is in a very unsatisfactory position." He would ask what had been done in consequence of that statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer? What was the examination which had taken place? Where was the Statement of Accounts? The Statement put before the House dealt only with a very scanty and paltry portion of the Mercantile Marine Fund. The hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) seemed to think that this Fund referred only to surveys; but it referred to all the payments for lights, for maintenance of new buildings, and a variety of other subjects connected therewith, the survey being only a small portion of the Fund. The entire question of the light dues and the lighting of our coasts was solely bound up with the Mercantile Marine Fund. Last year the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the Fund was in a very unsatisfactory position, and the then Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade read a Paper which professed to explain the condition of the Fund. It appeared from that Paper, singular as it might be regarded by the Committee, that the Board of Trade had actually engaged in a large loan transaction for the purpose of lending money borrowed at a not very reasonable rate of interest—namely, $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent per annum, in order to fill up the void in the Fund. The expenditure of the Fund for 1886-7 was something like £600,000, while the income was only £400,000, and a difference of £200,000 was made up partly by a loan of £150,000, or a portion of a loan to that extent, partly by selling the property of the Fund, and partly by spending the balance taken over from previous years. It did seem to him a most extraordinary thing for the Board of Trade, after what occurred last year, to present these accounts again in the same unsatisfactory and almost misleading form. Under the Act of Parliament he had already cited, the details of the accounts were required to be given to the Auditor General, so that they might be examined and audited. Had they been examined and audited? [Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Yes.] The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade said that the accounts had been examined and audited; but what did the Auditor General say? That gentleman reported that they had not been examined at all. Perhaps it was necessary to explain that under this Fund came the expenditure on lights. The expenditure by the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House for English lights amounted to £262,000, and the expenditure on the Irish lights was £96,000 more. What did the Auditor General say in regard to that expenditure? That officer said that no

due and adequate details had been furnished to him of the expenditure of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, or the Commissioners of Irish Lights, nor was he in any way cognizant of the distribution of the considerable sums expended by those Bodies. Now, if the accounts were audited and examined, as the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade seemed to think they were, why did the Auditor General make such a remark as that? Then, again, why was there not a detailed account of the expenditure in connection with the Mercantile Marine Fund set before the Committee on this Vote? Were the lights of this country—the greatest mercantile country in the world—to be entirely withdrawn from the purview of the House of Commons? Had Parliament no duty to discharge in respect of the efficient lighting of our coasts, and also in regard to the economical manner in which the work was done? Were the Mercantile Marine to be saddled with the burden of these lights in perpetuity without having any right to exercise control over the expenditure? Where was the proof of economy in these matters? Parliament did not know what this money was spent for or what it went for, except under a short and narrow head. Last year, when they dealt with the subject, there was a great outcry about some trifling expenditure on the part of the Northern Lights Commissioners, who appeared to have spent some portion of their money upon a dinner. They were found out only because they sent in detailed accounts. Apparently the other Commissioners did not, and therefore nothing was known of the doings of the Commissioners of Irish Lights or of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, although it might be perfectly well believed that the Elder Brethren occasionally banqueted and entertained Her Majesty's Ministers and distinguished guests. If that were so, he wanted to know from the right hon. Gentleman why the accounts of those Bodies had not been examined, because it would appear from the Report of the Auditor General that they had not been dealt with at all. It was all very well to be told that there was no finer Body in the world than the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, and that their lights were perfect and efficient. What he wanted to know was whether the funds were economically administered and the maintenance of the lights properly provided for? For his own part he did not think they were. A friend of his, a practical shipowner, told him that the expense of the English lights, light for light, having regard to the quality, was about four times as much as the lights on the French coast. Why should that be? Would the Board of Trade say that we got value for our money? It was all very well to say that we had raised the light dues. Yes; but had they secured the economical administration of the Fund? Certainly he did not think that we got full value for our money, and he thought the time had come when we ought to deal with the question from a national point of view and insist on the perfect lighting of our coasts and the proper maintenance of the lights, together with the erection of new lights. His own opinion was that the whole of those matters should be administered by some Government Department, or by some other body directly responsible to the House of Commons. He did not propose to make any Motion at the present moment, but he would await anxiously the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, in order to ascertain why the promise of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year had not been fulfilled. When that explanation had been given he should be prepared to take such course of action as he might think fit.

MR. J. O'CONNOR (Tipperary, S.) said, he desired to ask for an explanation of an item of £156,000, which appeared in the Vote at page 176, in reference to Queenstown.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.) said, the item in question appeared, through a misprint, as if it had been on the Estimates for the year 1887-8; but that was not the fact. The item referred to the year in which certain charges were first put on the Mercantile Marine Fund, and did not refer to the last year. In regard to the remarks of the hon. Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. Craig), he thought the hon. Member was perfectly justified in asking him to give the Committee some account of the administration of the Mercantile Marine Fund,

and in referring to the promise which was made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer last year in regard to it. In the discussion which took place on this subject last year, the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) brought the condition of the Mercantile Marine Fund under the notice of the Committee. It was then pointed out that the Fund was practically in a state of bankruptcy, and the Government were asked to look into the matter, and to take some steps, either by lessening the expenditure or increasing the receipts, to restore it to a state of solvency. That was the point he thought to which the promise of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer referred. The Mercantile Marine Fund was only incidentally touched by the Vote now before the House. Under the Act 45 and 46 *Vict.* c. 55, certain charges, formerly borne by the Votes of that House, were imposed on the Mercantile Marine Fund, which was mainly derived, as the hon. Member opposite stated, from light dues. In return for the imposition of those charges a grant of £40,000 a-year was promised by the Treasury for five years, to recoup the Fund for the expenditure charged upon it. He might say upon that point, in passing, that the result had been anything but satisfactory to the Mercantile Marine Fund; the charges then imposed upon it were under-estimated by a considerable amount, and the Mercantile Marine Fund had lost £9,000 a-year by the arrangement. He should be glad if the Committee could assist him in persuading his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) to look into the matter, with a view, if possible, of placing the Vote on the footing it was intended to occupy when the legislation of the 45 & 46 *Vict.* c. 55 was passed. He came now to the question of the financial condition of the Mercantile Marine Fund. In the year 1884 a reduction of no less than one-fourth of the amount of light dues paid was made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), who was then President of the Board of Trade. The Fund was then considerably in credit, and it was anticipated that the light dues would increase. He did not think, however, that sufficient allowance was made for the increase in the expenditure which subsequently arose. The result of that diminution of light dues was that in the subsequent years the Fund got heavily into debt. It appeared, from a statement he had before him, that in 1886-7 there was an excess of expenditure over income of £157,000. When he came into Office at the close of February last he found that in 1887-8 there was an excess of expenditure over income of £98,000, and that the defficiency of 1888-9 was estimated at the same sum. The deficits incurred had been made up by borrowing £250,000 from the Trustees of Greenwich Hospital, and a large portion of that money had been expended in making up the deficiency of the years 1886-7 and 1887-8. He did not wish to go back on the policy of his Predecessors. No doubt, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Mundella), who would be able to speak for himself, had felt that, in spite of the condition of the Mercantile Marine Fund, there was a great difficulty in increasing the amount of the light dues, owing to the depressed condition of the shipping interest. He thought it a mistake that the light dues were not increased; and as soon as he came into Office he had to consider the promises which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and what course he ought to take in the matter. He soon decided that it was absolutely necessary that an increase should be made in the light dues for the current year. By an Order in Council, which took effect on the 1st of June last, the light dues were increased by adding to them half the amount taken off in 1884. The result would be that the deficiency in the accounts of the Fund for the year, instead of being £98,000, as estimated, would be less than £20,000; and from the natural increase of light dues there would be a balance to the good in 1889-90. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Craig) said they ought not merely to consider the receipts but the expenditure. He quite agreed with him, but he did not think that the hon. Member was correct in his interpretation of the answer which he quoted from the evidence of the Auditor General. Accounts were submitted to the Auditor General for the purpose of audit. The point to which the answer referred was, he thought, merely the expenses of the

Trinity House in management, dinners, and matters of that kind. But it was asked why these details were not submitted. It was because the Trinity House had a private Fund of their own in no way subject to the Government, out of which they bore those expenses, with the exception of a small allowance, also made to them, of £1,000 a-year. It was considered impossible, therefore, to call upon them to submit the accounts of that Fund to the Auditor General. So far, however, as the public receipts from the light dues and the expenditure of that Fund were concerned, he believed that the Auditor General had the matter fully before him, and that the results were published and submitted to Parliament. If anything could be done which would bring this subject more completely under the cognizance of the Auditor General he should be glad to see it done, because he agreed with the hon. Member that the expenditure of the Fund should be closely criticized, in order to see that the light dues were properly applied to the purposes for which they were intended. As to the administration of lights, he was not at present disposed to agree with the suggestion of the hon. Member that they should be administered by a Government Department, rather than by the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, the Northern Lights Commissioners, and the Commissioners of Irish Lights. He very much doubted whether the lights would be better or more economically administered by any Government Department than by those who were at present intrusted with their care. Of this he was pretty clear—that, at any rate, one of his Predecessors of the Board of Trade, who entertained a strong opinion in accordance with that urged by the hon. Member, when he came to look fully into the matter was converted to the opposite view. He thought he had now answered the questions which had been asked by hon. Members opposite, and if any further information were required he should be very happy to give it.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) said, the right hon. Gentleman had correctly stated to the House the position of the Mercantile Marine Fund, and it was deplorable that the Fund should have been allowed to fall into a practically bankrupt state as that in which it was in at the present moment; at the same time he must certainly refuse to take any responsibility for the condition of affairs when he was at the Board of Trade, because he found when he went there that the Estimates had been settled by his Predecessor and the Heads of the Departments, and the Treasury for the time being, and he had nothing to do but to submit them to the House. They had already been settled by the right hon. Gentleman himself, and no Estimates were submitted by the new Government. In respect of the old method, one thing was quite clear—that if the shipping of the country was to bear the heavy burden of the light dues, there ought to be some careful and accurate statements made up annually to show how the money was expended, and that the Fund was being economically administered. Grave doubts prevailed generally on that point in shipping circles. It was believed that the money was wastefully expended. He did not make any charge at all against the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, and he did not know how far the shipping interest was satisfied with their administration; but at least they ought to be quite clear about it. There ought to be no keeping back of accounts. The accounts ought to be carefully audited, and subjected to the same criticisms as the other accounts submitted to Parliament. He did not quite understand how the right hon. Gentleman was justified in assuming that the paragraph from the Auditor General's Report did not apply to this Fund. The Comptroller and Auditor General said that he had not been made cognizant of the distribution of considerable sums allotted to those bodies. Surely the Auditor General ought to be cognizant of the matter, and the expenditure of these very considerable sums ought to be submitted to him and subjected to the same rigid scrutiny as all other public expenditure. It had always seemed to him that the lighting of our coasts was a National question, and in no other instance had the charge been placed on the shipping. It was most essential for the Admiralty itself that the lights should be efficiently maintained, yet he believed that the Admiralty contributed nothing towards the cost. At any rate, this was a most unsatisfactory mode of managing the

accounts, seeing that at one time they had a surplus collected from the Mercantile Marine Fund, and at another time a deficiency which had to be made up from the Consolidated Fund. He thought that what was required was some better system of administration. It ought to be administered in such a way that Parliament could obtain more complete information as to the contributions to the Fund and the mode in which the Fund itself was administered. He thought the whole matter was one which ought to be subjected to the strictest scrutiny at the hands of the House.

MR. CRAIG said, there was one point upon which he should like to say a word. He thought the right hon. Baronet the President of the Board of Trade was mistaken in the explanation he had given in regard to the answer of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Question put to him last year. The Question itself was put to the then Secretary to the Board of Trade (Baron Henry de Worms) in these terms—

"It has been been stated that an account is presented to this House showing the state of the Mercantile Marine Fund. I do not see where the cost of administering the lighthouses is stated."—(3 *Hansard*, [318] 1663.)

On that occasion the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said in reply that—

"The question of the Mercantile Marine Fund is a matter which was brought to my attention some weeks ago,"

and then the right hon. Gentleman proceeded to give the other answer which he had already presented to the House.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he did not question the accuracy of the quotation made by the hon. Member from the evidence of the Comptroller and Auditor General. But if the hon. Member would refer to the evidence given by Sir Charles Ryan at a later date, on the 28th of June, he would find that the Chairman asked Sir Charles whether, on the whole, he was satisfied; and the answer was—

"I am satisfied that the main principle on which the Comptroller and Auditor General was appointed was that he should have full accounts submitted to him of the expenditure. That I believe has been done, but there are other arrangements which did not come so fully under his cognizance. However, so far as I am able to form an opinion, I am quite satisfied with the arrangement the Board of Trade has made."

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, the damaging statements contained in the Report of the Auditor General were that considerable sums of money were paid out of a Fund over which he had no control, and that he had not audited them.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, the accounts in question were paid out of private property.

MR. MUNDELLA asked, whether the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House published any accounts, and whether such accounts were accessible to the House?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he could only answer that Question to this extent. The accounts of the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, to which reference was made, which were not audited, and which were not to be audited, and which, so far as he knew, were not furnished to Parliament, related only to certain small items concerning small expenses incident to the management of the business of the Elder Brethren. It had been argued, after the Comptroller and Auditor General had called attention to the matter, that in future a certain sum should be set aside, and placed at the disposal of the Elder Brethren for these purposes. It was, however, limited distinctly to a certain sum. So far as the accounts themselves were concerned, the general accounts for lighting, &c., they were all submitted to the Secretary to the Treasury, and forwarded to the Public Accounts Committee. The hon. Member would find in the evidence taken on the last Committee that the Auditor General expressed himself quite satisfied, not only with the general accounts, but also as to the propriety of the arrangement that had been made in reference to those items.

MR. MUNDELLA: Are those accounts published?

MR. JACKSON: No.

MR. MOLLOY said, he wished to pursue this matter a little further. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade said, in reply to a Question which he (Mr. Molloy) had put, that the money which was spent was the private property of the Corporation. He wished to know where that

private property came from? Did it come from subscriptions and private contributions of individual members, or how did it arise? If it did not arise from private subscriptions, he did not see what excuse could be made for keeping the accounts secret. It was evidently a large sum of money which was expended, over which they were told that they were to have no control, or to know anything. He maintained that if they were not private contributions given by individual members, the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House had no right to keep the accounts secret, or to spend the money in feasting, which, the Committee was told, they did to a considerable extent. He, therefore, asked why the distribution of the money arising from that property was not made public, and audited so that Parliament could have some control over it, or, at any rate, offer some advice upon it? The least they were entitled to know was the source from which the money arose.

ADMIRAL FIELD (Sussex, Eastbourne) said, that no answer had been given by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade to the very grave statements made by the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) as to the complaint that merchant seamen were discharged in India, and, when discharged, were paid off at the rate of 2*s.* per rupee. It was the duty of the Board of Trade to protect our seamen, and to see that no injustice was done to them. He presumed that the statement of the hon. Member was made after careful inquiry; therefore he thought that some answer was due, and that some explanation was necessary. If such a practice existed, it was certainly a great scandal, and it was the duty of the Board of Trade to call the attention of the shipowners to such an infraction of the law. Everybody knew that the officials in India were paid in rupees; but then the engagement and contract was made in rupees. The merchant seamen were dealt with very differently. It now seemed that they were paid off in India at the rate of 2*s.* a rupee, whereas the value of the rupee was only 1*s.* 5*d.* or 1*s.* 4½*d.* If they were paid in gold, they would be able to obtain cash according to the currency of the country. He hoped that the matter would not be passed over in silence.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, that he should be very sorry to pass it over. The difficulty was that the seamen signed a contract note to the effect that any sum due to them in wages in the event of their being discharged in India should be paid at the rate of 2*s.* per rupee. What he had endeavoured to do was to warn seamen, so far as he could, not to sign such a contract note at all; but to insist upon being paid in India at the proper rate of exchange.

ADMIRAL FIELD said, that, in his opinion, to call that practice by its right name it was little short of a swindle.

DR. CLARK said, the facts had been placed before hon. Members in Blue Books, and he had been somewhat astonished that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had not said anything about it. Perhaps the best course would be to move the reduction of the Vote, in order that he might take the opinion of the Committee upon the matter. In the first place he was prepared to admit that the Peninsular and Oriental Company and other large Companies did prepare a contract note which the seamen were supposed to hear read before they signed it; but everybody who knew anything about the matter knew that a clerk mumbled something of which nobody knew the purport, and the seamen afterwards signed it without knowing what it was about. If they did know, they invariably thought that it was not likely to affect them. It was under such circumstances that a seaman signed a note; the ship left this country, and on its arrival in India he found that it was necessary for him to go into hospital, and then when he was discharged, and the ship went away, instead of obtaining wages at the rate of £3 a month as it was agreed to be paid, he was only paid £2 a month, owing to being paid, not in gold, but in a depreciated currency. He thought that in this matter the Board of Trade ought to have carried out the wish of the Indian Government, who had asked Her Majesty's Government to pass a short Bill to compel the seamen to be paid off when discharged at the current rate. It was the red-tapeism of the Board of Trade, both under the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) and others, which had prevented that being done. From time

to time during the last seven or eight years the Bombay Government, in particular, had petitioned the Government in India on the subject, and the Government of India had sent Memoranda to the Board of Trade asking them to do something, but hitherto nothing had been done. The Indian Government complained that these poor people were placed on their hands. Now, under the Truck Act an employer was prevented from paying for labour in kind, and under that Act this occurrence could not have happened. Whenever a seaman was left behind in India he was swindled by the shipowner, and the Board of Trade did nothing to protect him, and the result was that a sum of £30,000 had to be contributed by the State in order to enable distressed seamen to be brought back home. His only object in calling attention to the question was to ask the Government to prevent such a disgraceful scandal in the future. He had called attention to the difference between the fees for surveys and the sums which were paid for such surveys. In 1885-6 the expenditure was £55,000, while the survey fees only amounted to £33,000, leaving a deficiency of £22,000. The same thing occurred in 1886-7, when the survey fees amounted to £24,000, and the salaries and expenses to £57,200, showing a difference of £33,000. He, therefore, thought he was justified in mentioning the circumstance, and maintaining that the survey fees ought to bear the whole cost of the survey. He regretted to say that under this Vote the Committee were unable to get any information in regard to the survey. The public work done by the State purported to be done by fees, but in this instance it was done partly by a grant from Parliament. He thought that it should be done entirely by fees, and that the public, who got the benefit of the work, should pay the cost.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he was sorry to say that whatever might be the effect of charging insufficient survey fees, when they came to consider the expense of the surveys, the Government had no power to raise the fees while the law remained as it was now. At present the fees were, with one or two exceptions, as high as they were authorized to be charged by the existing law; whether the law should be altered in order to enable higher fees to be charged was another question, and he promised to give consideration to it. On the other hand, he hoped the hon. Member would not divide the Committee. Nothing could be done by the Board of Trade with respect to the payment of wages of the exchange value of 2*s.* per rupee unless Parliament invested the Board of Trade with power to interfere. The hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) accused him and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) of red-tapeism in the matter, but the hon. Member had himself admitted that it was impossible for the Government to insist that the seamen should be paid in any other way after they had signed the contract note. So far as the law at present stood, they could do no more than they had done already—namely, endeavour to warn the seamen against the contract note.

DR. CLARK said, the same hardship was suffered with respect to the Mexican, Chinese, and other currencies. He thought that a short Act might be easily passed to remedy the evil, by compelling payment to be made at the current rate for the time being.

MR. C. T. D. ACLAND said, there was one point in the questions he had put to the President of the Board of Trade which the right hon. Gentleman had not answered, and that was, why the Grant in Aid was kept at exactly the same proportion—namely, £40,000, while the receipts were estimated to be considerably in excess of what they were in previous years? He might call attention to the fact that, by the Act under which the payment of £40,000 had been sanctioned for the last five years, it was stated that the accounts of the Mercantile Marine Fund should be deemed Public Accounts, and examined and audited accordingly. The last Report of the Auditor General complained that no details were furnished as to the expenditure incurred by the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, the Northern Lights Commissioners, and the Commissioners of Irish Lights, nor was he cognizant of the expenditure of considerable sums allocated by those Bodies. He contended that full accounts ought to be furnished, and that under the Act of Parliament they were entitled to

demand them. It was clearly the intention of the Act that they should be furnished.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, that an account of the Mercantile Marine Fund was furnished every year, and he thought the hon. Gentleman could not have been in the House when he had entered into an explanation of the matter. He understood the statement of the Auditor General to be qualified by a later statement, from which it appeared that all that was not submitted to the Comptroller and Auditor General was the private expenditure of the Trinity House in entertainments and other matters. That expenditure, with the exception which he had mentioned, was defrayed out of their private funds, and not from money derived from lights. With respect to the £40,000, the sum was fixed for five years, and the period expired last Session, when the accounts ought to have been balanced. The Treasury, however, did not take the same view of the question as he did. He would endeavour to put the matter on a better footing before the next Estimates were framed.

MR. C. T. D. ACLAND said, that the Treasury stated that they had no control over this Vote.

Vote *agreed* to.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £19,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Her Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services."

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, that in rising to oppose this Vote he must say it appeared to him a monstrous thing that in a country like this they should have a grant for Secret Service at all. It was more monstrous when they remembered the fact that when, some years ago, a sum of £10,000, charged upon the Consolidated Fund, and since taken off by Parliament, was in full swing, the amount of the Secret Service money was absolutely less than it was now—that was to say, that the total for Secret Service charged separately on the Estimates, with this sum of £10,000 added, was much less than the sum the Committee were now asked to vote. The Vote showed a decrease of £10,000 on the sum they were asked to vote last year, but it was still many thousands more than it was even 10 years ago; and he thought it was not too much to ask what Department had the spending of the money, and why it should be possible to put such a question as that which was put to the Government early in the evening by his hon. Colleague (Mr. Labouchere). There ought not to be a possibility of suggesting that some Department used the money of the nation outside the knowledge of Parliament and beyond its control. Certainly, such a matter was one on which Parliament ought to express an opinion. It was not true that what was called Secret Service money had never been examined into by Parliament. There was one notable instance on record in the Journals of the House where very high personages were dealt with for the misappropriation of Secret Service money. Nothing of that kind, of course, was likely to occur in these times of straightforward honesty; but one would like to know what Secret Service money was intended for. If it were used by the Foreign Office, let there be a special record of the sum placed at the disposal of the Foreign Office; if it were required by the Home Office, let there be a similar record in regard to the Home Department. He objected to the putting down of one general amount when one Minister alone might have the disposal of it, so far as the House of Commons knew, and he protested against the Committee of Supply being asked to vote this Estimate blindly year after year. It used to be said that the £10,000 charged on the Consolidated Fund was as necessary as any other part of the Secret Service money. But under the pressure of public opinion that sum was withdrawn, and it was then found that it was not necessary at all. He had heard that even within the last eight years the Secret Service money had been employed in bringing Members up to that House to vote. He should not have thought that the assertion could be true if he had not been told that one of the Members himself had boasted that he had his railway fare paid out of this Fund. Even then he was inclined to believe that the Member in question made a vainglorious boast that had not the slightest

foundation, because he could not think any Minister would sanction such an improper transaction. The occasion was a Division in which, personally, he had taken considerable interest, although he was not allowed to take part in the proceedings of the House at the time. On another occasion, it was alleged that a portion of the Secret Service money was employed in connection with an election scrutiny. If money was to be paid at all for secret service, it ought to be paid openly so far as the Departments which employed it were concerned. He intended to divide the Committee against the Vote as a matter of principle. He thought, when the matter was under discussion last year, that there was some disposition on the part of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) to state what portions of this Fund were paid to particular Offices. He saw no reason why such information should not be given. He did not suppose that much of it found its way to the Board of Trade, or that that Department was ever likely to deal with Secret Service money. But it ought not to be possible for any hon. Member like himself, who happened to be of a suspicious turn of mind, to suppose that the right hon. Baronet the President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) could ever have any portion of the £40,000 voted in the shape of Secret Service money placed at his disposal.

THE CHAIRMAN asked if the hon. Member moved the reduction of the Vote?

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he made no Motion. He opposed the whole Vote.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, he had waited in the expectation of seeing some Member on the Treasury Bench get up to defend the Vote, and he only interposed because he saw that the Chairman was about to put it without a word of explanation from the Government. He did not go quite as far as his hon. Colleague in his objection to this Vote. He would not say absolutely that there ought to be no Secret Service money paid, but he agreed with his hon. Colleague that the Secret Service money ought to appear on the special Votes of the Departments which spent it. There used to be a notion that all the Secret Service money was spent by the Foreign Office; but he thought that notion was pretty well dissipated at the present moment, and it would be found that very little was spent in the Foreign Office. His hon. Colleague had just stated that it occurred, only a short time ago, that a Member of that House—he (Mr. Labouchere) presumed a Conservative or a Unionist—received his railroad expenses for coming up to that House to vote. A distinct charge was, therefore, made. Was there to be any investigation into it? Was the Vote to be passed without any explanation whatever? He had often heard it said about this Secret Service money that in days when the Irish Party were not united, as they were now, it was employed in securing the votes of the Irish Members by paying what was called their "expenses" in coming over to this country to vote for a particular measure. The Irishman was round the corner, but he used to write to say that he was at Galway, or Heaven knew where, and could not appear until his expenses were paid. The money was given to the man round the corner, and the Irish Member soon made his appearance in the House. There had been all sorts of abuses in regard to the employment of this Secret Service money, and, without insisting on knowing how every penny of it was spent, the Committee ought to know by what Department it was spent. He was now about to make another assertion. Hon. Members on the other side of the House would remember the numerous occasions on which O'Donovan Rossa had been abused in that House. It was said to be perfectly monstrous that O'Donovan Rossa should be receiving money here, there, and everywhere for the purchase of dynamite to destroy the Government of England. Now, he was prepared to assert, without fear of the Government being able to show that he was wrong—he was prepared to assert that Secret Service money was, at that very time, actually being given to O'Donovan Rossa, and that the funds which hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Benches opposite complained of being given to O'Donovan Rossa were supplemented by contributions from the Secret Service Fund by Her Majesty's Government themselves.

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury, Lancashire): What was the date?

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he made a general statement, and left the Go-

vernment to deny it. Would they grant an investigation into the charge? Would they appoint a Special Commission? Not a bit of it. There could be no doubt that money had been expended in this way, nor could the fact be doubted that it had been thrown away. As his hon. Friend had stated, up to a few years ago the Secret Service Vote was supplemented by the payment of a sum of £10,000 out of the Consolidated Fund. That sum of £10,000 had now been docked off. It was never denied that the money was spent by each political Party, when in power, for its own Party purposes. As each was tarred by the same brush the abuse was allowed to remain, until his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), with his stern independence, belled the cat. [An hon. MEMBER: It was the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill).] He believed he was right in asserting that it was the right hon. and learned Member for Bury, supported by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, who came forward to bell the cat, and put a stop to this gross abuse. The consequence was a saving of £10,000 a-year. Personally, he desired to have some explanation of the sum which appeared in the Estimates this year under the head of Secret Service money. He wished to be informed if there was any reason in the world why it should not be put down in the Votes of each of the Departments to which it was paid under the head of "Secret Service?" Parliament would then know, in a general sort of way, what each Department spent. At present they knew nothing whatever about it.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, there was one aspect of the question which was an exceedingly serious one, but which had not yet been brought before the Committee. When the discussion upon this Vote took place in Committee of Supply two years ago, it was found that the Secret Service money voted by Parliament had been set aside by each Party in turn, to a considerable extent, for its own electioneering purposes. When that fact transpired much indignation was expressed on both sides of the House that such misuse had been made of the Secret Service money of the country. How stood the matter at this moment? Every Minister who spent any portion of the Secret Service money voted by the House had to make a declaration that it had been spent for what he considered to be for the benefit of the State. The Comptroller and Auditor General touched upon that matter in his Report this year. He stated that the documents transmitted to the Exchequer and Audit Department in connection with this Vote consisted simply of the amounts which had been expended by the Officers of the State. In his Report upon the Public Accounts of the year 1884-5 the Auditor General stated that he was unable to accept the statement of the Minister as satisfactory proof of payment under the provisions of the Exchequer and Audit Department, and, for a similar reason, this year he was unable to certify to the correctness of the present account. He (Mr. Molloy) considered that this was a very serious aspect of affairs. It was distinctly stated that the accounts of money voted by that House for Secret Service of the most dangerous character in the hands of any Government, and which ought to be submitted to the Auditor General and audited year after year, were so unsatisfactorily presented that the Auditor General was unable to certify as to their correctness. Now, what did this mean? It meant that the whole control of the House of Commons over the expenditure of the Secret Service money had ceased to exist. The object of the audit was to prevent any misuse being made of it. Under this condition Parliament had, year after year, granted this money, and yet, year after year, the Comptroller and Auditor General told them that he was dissatisfied with the accounts sent in, and he refused to certify them. That fact, he thought, was serious enough, as far as it went; but the object of the Auditor General's certificate was this. It was admitted by Parliament, generally, that under certain circumstances, which had arisen from time to time, it was necessary to spend money for the benefit of the State, and to spend it secretly. In order to check the misuse of the money, Parliament had insisted upon this condition being attached to the Vote—that the certificate of the Minister by whom the money had been spent should be submitted to the Comptroller and Auditor General, and

passed by him. Did the House of Commons intend to continue going on to vote the money while the Government declined—he desired the Committee clearly to understand that he did not speak of any one Government in particular—while the Government declined to give any account in accordance with the conditions and agreement made with the House when the money was voted? He had said, when the subject came up in that House two or three years ago, that great indignation was expressed on both sides when it was discovered that the money had been used for electioneering purposes, and there was a clear understanding that no such gross misuse of the Secret Service money was to take place again. A form of certificate was prepared, and that form of certificate was assumed by the House to mean that the misuse of the Secret Service money for electioneering purposes would never occur again. What was the form of the certificate? He was sorry that he had not got a copy of it with him; but it was a declaration by the Minister that the portion of the Secret Service money spent by him had been spent, in his opinion, for the benefit of the State. Some hon. Members might remember a speech made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer two or three years ago. The right hon. Gentleman, in addressing some enthusiastic Unionists, informed them that the salvation of the Empire depended upon himself and his Colleagues remaining in Office. That was the opinion which, no doubt, the right hon. Gentleman still held, and might be pretty accurate from the right hon. Gentleman's point of view. No doubt it was an opinion that was expressed honestly, and that if another Ministry were in power to-morrow a similar statement might be made from the same conscientious conviction. If it were a fact that the salvation of the country depended upon the Tory Party—for that was the Party with which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was serving in Office—then he maintained that under the certificate which a Minister who employed Secret Service money had to send to the Auditor General in which he declared that he was perfectly satisfied with the way in which the money had been spent, there was nothing to prevent it from being used in contesting seats throughout the country. It might be said that in the course of the debate there was an agreement that that was not to be. Quite true; but what had the Judges said two or three weeks ago in regard to a very public case, and the debates of that House? The learned Judges said they knew nothing of the debates which took place in the House of Commons; but that it was their duty to construe according to the language of the Act of Parliament. Therefore, he said that any Minister, without any dishonour to himself, could construe the form of certificate to mean that he was absolutely justified either in paying, out of this Fund, the expenses of his own election, or in paying the expenses of a contested election for any other Tory candidate who wished to enter Parliament. Under the circumstances, he thought the Committee would be acting wrong if there were not some more distinct and clear understanding and arrangement about the employment of the Secret Service money than would exist if they consented to pass the Vote as it stood. In regard to agreements made in that House, they were as much bound by the letter of the certificate as they were by the letter of an Act of Parliament. It had been shown that in the first instance the Auditor General had refused to accept the certificate, and had applied to Parliament to assist him in the matter, so that proper control might be had over the expenditure. It was further believed that the practices which caused so much indignation, two or three years ago, as to the misuse of this Fund for Party electioneering purposes, existed now to as great an extent as they ever did. It was of no use for a Minister to rise in that House and say that it was no such thing. He could not bind others. There might be a change of sides in the House; many things might happen; and, therefore, they were bound to have such a cut and dried agreement with regard to the expenditure of the Secret Service money as would prevent any gross abuse in future.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, the hon. and learned Member for King's County would perhaps pardon him if he said that the hon. and learned Member had confused in his mind two Funds. He had spoken—and the whole of his speech had

been directed to the same point—as if the Secret Service money the Committee was now asked to vote might be used by the Minister for electioneering purposes. He entirely agreed with the hon. and learned Member that if any of this money was used for electioneering purposes such use would be not only immoral, but dishonest. When his noble Friend the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) was Chancellor of the Exchequer the possibility of that occurring was put an end to. Under his noble Friend's instructions, he (Mr. Jackson) had brought in a Bill which put an end to the sum of £10,000, which had hitherto been borne, not upon this Vote but upon the Consolidated Fund, and which could be spent, and had been unquestionably used, for electioneering purposes. His noble Friend decided that the money should no longer be so used and that the practice should cease, and consequently that sum of £10,000 was not brought under the cognizance of Parliament every year. As a matter of fact the Fund of £10,000 had ceased to exist, and none of the money now voted could be spent in electioneering purposes. The hon. and learned Member had referred to the certificate of the Minister through whose Department the money passed, and which he had said the Comptroller and Auditor General declined to accept. He might point out to the Committee that with regard to the certificate it was a question which had been in dispute, or in abeyance, more or less for two or three years; and the Government were of opinion that some arrangement ought to be made to meet, as far as possible, the Comptroller and Auditor General's views. As he understood, the objection of the Comptroller and Auditor General was not that he had reason to doubt that the expenditure had taken place on the part of certain Ministers, but that from an Auditor's point of view he could not accept the form of the certificate as a sufficient justification for passing the accounts, and therefore could give no voucher to Parliament in reference to the expenditure. This was precisely one of the cases in which, when the Government, upon its responsibility, came forward and said it was necessary that a certain sum of money should be placed at their disposal in the interests of the State, only to be used when the details could not be placed upon the Votes, the Government must appeal to the House of Commons to support it. The new form of certificate, however, had been laid before the Public Accounts Committee this year, and it must be borne in mind that the Public Accounts Committee was a Committee appointed by the House, and that Committee had reported upon it. Their Report was to this effect—that in reference to the Secret Service money, the Treasury had proposed that the Minister should be responsible for the expenditure, and should be required to give a new form of certificate as follows:—

"I hereby certify that the amount expended in Secret Service under my directions was so much, and the balance in my hands on the 31st of March was so much; and I further solemnly declare that the interests of the Public Service required the above payments out of the Secret Service Fund, and that they were properly so made.

In their Report the Public Accounts Committee said that the Comptroller and Auditor General had not yet expressed his opinion on the sufficiency of the new form—in all probability he would do so on the first opportunity; but, considering the nature of the service for which the expenditure was incurred, they were disposed to consider that the certificate, as amended, answered all reasonable Parliamentary requirements. He thought, therefore, the Government had shown that they had been most anxious to bring this question into a proper position. They had done all that they could, and, at all events, they had satisfied the Public Accounts Committee that what they had proposed was reasonable.

MR. MOLLOY said, he was sorry to obtrude himself again; but the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury appeared to have missed the whole point of the observations he had addressed to the Committee. He made no charge against any Minister—that was not his object at all—but he contended that from the form in which the certificate was drawn it might be conscientiously subscribed to by any Minister who had used the money for Party purposes.

MR. JACKSON: No.

MR. MOLLOY said, he would ask the hon. Gentleman to point out what there was in it to prevent him? If the Minister considered, as he might fairly

and honestly consider, that a particular purpose was for the benefit of the Public Service, even if it included elections in the interest of his own Party, he could honestly, under the certificate, spend the money in that way. What he maintained was, that there ought to be something in the declaration which would have the effect of preventing the possibility of any future misuse of the money, and there should be a distinct declaration that it had not been used for Party purposes. They knew that it had been used by every Government for Party purposes in the past, and to avoid that abuse in the future he would suggest that some words should be inserted in the certificate which should make it clear that the Secret Service money had not been used in any sense for Party purposes.

Question put.

The Committee *divided* :—Ayes 214 ; Noes 94 : Majority 120.—(Div. List, No. 282.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £29,776, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries of the Law Officers ; the Salaries and Expenses of the Department of the Solicitor for the Affairs of Her Majesty's Treasury, and of the Department of the Queen's Proctor for Divorce Interventions, and of the Department of the Director of Public Prosecutions ; the Costs of Prosecutions, including those relating to the Coin, and to Bankruptcy, and of other Legal Proceedings conducted by those Departments ; and various other Legal Expenses, including Parliamentary Agency."

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) said, he rose to move to reduce the salaries of the Law Officers of the Crown by £4,000—namely, the Attorney General (for non-contentious business) £2,000, and the Solicitor General (for non-contentious business) £2,000. This reduction was one which he had proposed last year; but at that time the Committee was not prepared to give effect to his views. He did not oppose the Vote from any personal or Party motive. He should have been just as much in favour of reducing the salary of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Hackney (Sir Charles Russell), if he had happened to hold the Office, or that of any other Attorney General, as of the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite ; because he thought the English Government paid their Law Officers "not wisely," but very much too well. He did not think the public were really aware of the amount of the emoluments the Law Officers of the Crown received. He presumed that he would not be in Order if he were to refer to the Scotch and Irish Votes in this connection. He would therefore leave the task to the Scotch and Irish Members, who, no doubt, at the proper time, would discuss the Votes for their respective countries. At the present moment he proposed to confine himself to the consideration of that part of the English Vote which related to the salaries of the Attorney and Solicitor General. About 50 years ago the salary was abolished by the Whig Government of the day when they were economizing on every hand. The Government cut down the salaries, and allowed the Law Officers to be paid on the ordinary scale for such work as they were asked to do for the Goverment, and so economical were the Government that they refused to allow their Law Officers to use Government stationery, but compelled them to provide their own pens, ink, and paper. To such a degree was this course pursued, that "Honest Jack Campbell," who was then in Office, complained bitterly of being condemned perpetually to the Office of Solicitor General, "with its scanty emoluments," and added to that the further grievance—a somewhat odd one for a Whig—that he had "to find an independent seat in Parliament" for himself. The emoluments rapidly increased as the work increased, and in 1871 Mr. Lowe, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, changed the mode of payment by a stroke of the pen, altered the system of payment, and curtailed the emoluments. He instituted a system of fixed salary for so-called "non-contentious business," with fees, in addition, for "contentious business." The principle upon which Mr. Lowe had acted was practically confirmed by a Departmental Committee, which sat some six years later. It now appeared from the Return which he held in his hand, and which was referred to early in the evening by his right hon. Friend the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr.

Henry H. Fowler)—a Return which he had moved for on the 9th of July, but which was not yet either printed or distributed—it appeared from the Return that the amounts paid to the Law Officers were considerably greater than had appeared from the information which he had had in his possession last year, when he made a similar Motion. From this Return, which he thought would considerably astonish the Committee, he found that the total annual emoluments of the Attorney General, on an average of 10 years, was £11,375, made up of a fixed salary of £7,000, and average emoluments from fees for "contentious work" of no less than £4,375. He found that the average emoluments of the Solicitor General amounted year by year to £8,900, so that the average yearly sum paid to those two Law Officers of the Crown amounted to no less than a sum of over £20,000. Secretaries of State and the Prime Minister were only paid at the rate of £5,000 a-year; and it did seem to be a very great disproportion indeed to pay an Attorney General nearly £12,000 a-year, and the chief Secretaries of State only £5,000. In the course of the debate last Session, the Attorney General, replying to his remarks, practically admitted the great discrepancy, but proposed to remedy it, not by reducing the salaries of the Attorney and Solicitor General, but by raising the salaries of the Prime Minister and the Secretaries of State up to the level of that the Attorney General. In these democratic days, he (Mr. Buxton) thought that the House of Commons would consider a great many times before they assented to such a proposal as that; and he, for one—for once not in accordance with the traditions of the Liberal Party—proposed to level, not up, but down, in the matter of official salaries. Again, not only did the Attorney General receive a salary and emoluments which amounted to £12,000 a-year, while the Prime Minister received only £5,000 a-year, but there was a further great disproportion in the mode of payment. For the salary received by the Prime Minister and Secretaries of State, they were supposed to, and practically did, devote the whole of their time to the Public Service; while the Attorney and Solicitor General, in addition to receiving salaries for what he might call the ornamental, and payment at the ordinary rate for the useful, part of their work, were allowed to take as much private practice as they liked, in addition, during their official life. He did not wish to dwell upon the serious evils which must lately have forced themselves upon the minds of every Member of the House in that connection. He believed his hon. Friend the Member for Wednesbury (Mr. P. Stanhope) intended to raise this question and discuss it from the aspect which it had recently assumed; and he would not, therefore, dwell upon that particular feature of the case, but would only say in connection with it that while he, for one—and he thought he might speak for every other Member of the House in respect to that matter—was not disposed to blame the present holder of the Office for that which had arisen, it was nothing less than a grave scandal that the official adviser of the Government should take part in a case which was really and to the fullest extent of a political nature. No doubt the hon. and learned Gentleman had merely fol lowed what had been the tradition of the Offices of Attorney and Solicitor General, and he did not wish to blame the hon. and learned Member, but he thought it was high time that this system of allowing the Law Officers to retain their private practice, while they were paid large salaries for undertaking public work, ought to be brought to an end. The hon. and learned Attorney General might be "like Cerberus, two gentlemen at once," but he did not think the hon. and learned Gentleman ought to have two personalities where the duties of his Office were concerned. Putting aside the question of the political aspect of the case, surely it was not right that the private interests and the public duties of a public official should come in such acute conflict, as they necessarily must do in the case of our Law Officers, who, although paid considerable salaries for devoting themselves to the public service, at the same time were able to take private work for which they were paid in addition, and which they could only carry on by, to a great extent, neglecting their public duties. Take the case of the Royal Commission which was now sitting. Was it physically pos-

sible for the present hon. and learned Attorney General, who, day after day, week after week, month after month, had to devote his time and attention to a great case in the Law Courts, to give that time and attention to his public duties which we, who are paying him a salary of £7,000 a-year, are entitled to demand at his hands? Sir Richard Baggallay, who was Attorney General at the time, gave evidence before the Committee of 1877, and said that he was strongly of opinion that any Attorney General who desired to fully discharge the duties of his Office must give up his private practice, at any rate while Parliament was sitting. It would seem that some 60 or 70 years ago an Attorney General of that time, Sir Stephen Shepherd, did absolutely give up his private practice in order that he might visit the various Departments and devote the whole of his time to the duties of his Office. That state of things was, however, as Campbell put it, "corrected" by Sir James Scarlett and others, and unfortunately it was not now in force. They were told that if the Attorney and the Solicitor General were forced to give up their private practice they would have to be paid a larger salary than they received at present. But he did not believe that, paying as they did on the average to those two Law Officers something like £20,000 a-year, they could really come to Parliament and say that the loss would be so great in giving up their private practice that their salaries ought to be increased. In the debate in that House last Session, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton said very truly that they could not buy champagne at the price of small beer; but they were paying at present such a very large salary that they could obtain the services of the best man in reference to these particular Offices. It seemed to be thought by some that the proposal which he now made was so revolutionary, and would reduce the Attorney General to such an impecunious position, that it would be impossible to obtain the services of good men. It appeared to be supposed that his proposal was to put the Office up to tender and to accept the lowest bid for it. But even if his proposal were adopted, the average emoluments of the two Offices would still be some £16,000 or £17,000 a-year; and he did not think that was too small an amount to ask those gentlemen to take for discharging the duties. It was quite possible that it might entail a certain pecuniary loss for the Attorney General to accept the Office; but he would ask the Committee whether political life did not mean a pecuniary loss to every one of the Members of the House? He did not see why the lawyers alone should be entitled to plead the sacrifices they made for the service of their country. He did not say that everyone who came into that House was actuated by the highest motives. They were actuated by different motives; some by ambition, some by a desire for advertisement, some by the belief that the House of Commons was a very good club, whereas, as a matter of fact, it was the worst and most expensive club in the world. But whatever might be the motives by which they were actuated, he thought there was no class except the Legal Profession, who, by their own admission, were in any way actuated by pecuniary motives in entering those doors. He put aside the class of "guinea pigs," because, no doubt, some men came there to give their valuable services to Boards of Directors, and to gain some pecuniary advantage by having "M.P." added to their names; but, putting that class aside, he did not believe that any other class in that House made anything out of politics, and he did not see why lawyers should be the only class who desired to make something out of politics. His hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General (Sir Edward Clarke), in a speech which he delivered not very long ago, in regard to a fusion of the two branches of the Legal Profession, had stated that there were 115 offices of an aggregate value of £300,000 a year, to which the branch of the Profession to which he belonged could obtain access, and to most of those offices the easiest access was through the doors of that House. In addition to that there were the Attorney Generalship, the Solicitor Generalship, the Judgeships, and also the very highest Office in the Realm—that of Keeper of the Queen's Conscience. Now, it seemed to him that they treated their lawyers rather as spoilt children. Not only were all those pecuniary advantages, by obtaining a seat in that House, open to that particular class, but for some

reason, which he did not appreciate, the lawyers were allowed to get off all the hard work of Private Bill Committees, while their work in connection with other Committees was lightened as far as possible. The result of all this was—and he thought it was the unanimous opinion of other Members—that they had too many lawyers in the House, and that it would be a good thing if they had rather fewer of them. Now, he did not think so meanly of the class of lawyers as they seemed to think of themselves. He did not believe that the Attorney or the Solicitor General was actuated entirely by the question of emoluments in accepting Office. He believed that they looked at other considerations besides—that they recognized that it was a high honour to hold their Offices, and that by holding them they were doing a great service to the country. He believed, therefore, that if we paid our Law Officers a somewhat reduced salary, we should still retain the services of the best men, and, at all events, secure men who were quite competent to do the work that had to be done. In the debate last year the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) did hit on what he (Mr. Sydney Buxton) thought was a considerable blot in the present system. He stated that his was the only Department in which there was no permanent staff, and the result was that Attorney General after Attorney General, going quite new to the work, had to pick it up as he best could, and was placed in a position of great disadvantage in consequence of that state of things. He gathered from the remarks of the hon. and learned Gentleman that he suggested it would be a good plan that there should be a permanent office connected with the Attorney General, with a permanent staff of clerks, who would be able to give advice to the successive holders of the office, and place them in such a position that they would be able to take up the thread of the work at the place where their predecessor had left off. But even if Parliament accepted that proposal and created this office, he did not think the actual pecuniary advantage to the Attorney General would be very great. There was some inconvenience to him, no doubt, in not being able to carry on the work with the aid of permanent officials, but the actual expenditure which the absence of permanent clerks entailed would not be more than £200 or £300 a-year. Lastly, he thought there was this most important point involved in the question. He believed that the fact that we paid such very high salaries to our Law Officers tended to keep up the cost of law and of justice in this country. The special fees given to the Attorney General tended to raise the general standard of fees; and, to his mind, one of the chief scandals of the day was that law was the luxury of the rich, instead of being the protection of the poor. In conclusion he trusted the Committee would understand that in moving the reduction he did not desire at all to aim at the present holders of these Offices; and if his object would be better gained by moving, in order to raise the principle, a mere nominal reduction he would do so, instead of moving the large reduction of which he had given Notice. If in the course of the debate that suggestion were made he would be glad to adopt it, and to move a reduction of £5 or £100, or some other nominal sum. Until, however, the suggestion was made, the Motion he intended to submit to the House was that the salary of the Attorney General should be reduced by £2,000, and that of the Solicitor General by £2,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries of the Law Officers, be reduced by £4,000."—(*Mr. Sydney Buxton.*)

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, that before the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) rose to reply he desired, upon this Vote, to refer to a statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) that afternoon. He should be glad if the hon. and learned Gentleman would give the Committee, without fee, the advantage of his legal opinion on the point which he (Mr. Bradlaugh) had raised upon the Truck Act [*Cries of* "Order!"] He respectfully submitted that the hon. and learned Attorney General was the responsible Law Officer of the Crown, and the hon. and learned Gentleman had himself, on this question on Friday last, expressed an opinion upon the construction of the Act. He believed he was perfectly regular in challenging the

answer which the hon. and learned Attorney General gave on Friday.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. Member desire to question the hon. and learned Attorney General on a special legal point?

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he wished, in discussing the question of the hon. and learned Gentleman's salary, to find fault with the hon. and learned Attorney General, as the responsible Law Officer of the Crown, for having apparently misled the Home Office by an incorrect construction of an Act of Parliament.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Member holds out an alarming prospect to the Committee by that intimation.

MR. BRADLAUGH: I do not understand you to say that I must not challenge the opinion of the hon. and learned Gentleman. I would ask whether it is competent for me to do what I have indicated upon this Vote?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it would be an abuse for the hon. Gentleman to do so.

MR. BRADLAUGH: The moment you say that I will say nothing further.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he regretted that no Member of the Government had risen to answer the very able speech of the hon. Member for Poplar (Mr. Sydney Buxton). He wished to repeat, in the first instance, the complaint he had made at Question time, that the Return as to these emoluments had not been placed in the hands of Members before the discussion. He quite understood, as the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) had stated, that the Government were not responsible for the delay in the printing; but the Government were aware that this debate was coming on, and that the Return was not printed. Here they had a Return ordered on the 9th of July to be laid on the Table of the House, and it had been presented on the first day of the re-assembling of the House. He thought there ought to be some controlling authority over the printing of the House, in order that a short Return, which might be printed in a single night, might be placed in the hands of hon. Members. The consequence of the delay in this instance was that he would have to read the Return to the House, and he intended to do so, because the figures were very misleading. His hon. Friend had only given the figures as they appeared, but it was greatly to be regretted that owing to the carelessness which had taken place somewhere—he did not say where—in reference to this Return, he should be obliged to trouble the Committee with the whole of the figures. He was not going to follow his hon. Friend (Mr. Sydney Buxton) in his attack on the Legal Profession. The criticism of his hon. Friend was of a sort that was frequently passed upon lawyers. He did not know that the Legal Profession were in the habit of saying that there were other classes of Members who were too numerous in that House; but it always was a taunt flung at the Legal Profession that they were too numerous there, and that the House would be glad to get rid of them; but he would tell his hon. Friend that that was a question which rested with another body to decide—namely, the constituencies themselves. The argument was always used whenever a legal gentleman became a candidate; but if the constituencies chose to send a number of legal gentlemen to the House of Commons, the responsibility rested solely upon them. The point he wished to submit to the careful consideration of the Committee was, first, that the remuneration which the country paid to its Law Advisers was such as to justify it in requiring that these officers should give the whole of their time to the Public Service. His second proposition was this—that the public legal business of Her Majesty's Government was of that magnitude that if it was to be properly and efficiently discharged it would occupy the whole of the time of the Law Officers of the Crown. The Return which he had before him went back as far as 10 years ago, and showed the remuneration which was paid to the Law Officers from 1878 to 1887. He was sorry to say that it had not come down to the present year 1887-8; but, at the same time, that would enable them to discuss the question with more freedom, because any remarks which might be founded upon the Return would not apply to the present Law Officers of the Crown. In 1878 the amount paid to the Attorney General was £12,156; in 1879, £12,337; in 1880, £11,811; in 1881, £11,997; in 1882, £11,901; in

1883, £10,710; in 1884, £9,914; in 1885, £9,848; in 1886, £10,266; and in 1887, £12,109. That amounted, in round figures, to not much short of £12,000 a-year. The highest figure reached by the Solicitor General was £11,148, and the lowest £7,913. The question was, ought the country to command for those salaries the whole of the time of the gentlemen who received them? His hon. Friend did not call the attention of the Committee to the remuneration which was paid to the Law Officer who might be more happily brought into contrast with the Law Officers than any other—he meant the Lord Chancellor. The gross amount of remuneration received by the Lord Chancellor was £10,000 a-year. They had, therefore, this fact—that the Attorney General was receiving more than the Lord Chancellor and the Solicitor General nearly as much. The objection would be raised that they could not expect any great lawyer to forego his private practice, even for those large salaries, and that, if he did, he might not be able, when his period of Office came to an end, to resume the private practice which he previously had. He had the greatest possible respect for, and admired much, the genius and ability of the men who now held the position of Law Officers, but he did think that £12,000 a-year would command the services of the very ablest and most eminent men at the English Bar. Not only did the Attorney General receive a large salary, but he became the head of his profession, and this gave him a status and position which was of the greatest value to him supposing he remained in private life, and it also gave him the right—he thought he might use that word—to claim the succession of certain high judicial offices if they become vacant. Therefore, in dealing with this remuneration of £12,000 a-year, they had also to deal with the rank and status, and the crowning of the legitimate ambition of a long professional life. He did not believe that an Attorney General who returned to private practice, after devoting himself entirely to the duties of his official position, would find that he had been injured at all. A good article would always command a good price; and a distinguished advocate returning to the general practice of his profession would not be without professional appreciation. He did not wish to introduce anything personal into the debate, but he should like to say that his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), when he was Attorney General, did not take private practice, but devoted his great powers to the service of the State. He need not tell the Committee that when his right hon. and learned Friend resumed his practice, he resumed the very high position which he had previously held, and his clients were only too glad to avail themselves of his services. He did not think that there was anything in either of those two objections which ought to induce the House to hesitate to deal with this matter. There was another important matter to bear in mind. It was not a question of whether a man ought to give them the whole of his time for the remuneration, for if the remuneration was inadequate to induce him to give the whole of his time it would have to be increased. But he did think that the Attorney General and the Solicitor General ought to give the country the whole of their time. The country needed it. The amount of legal business was increasing from day to day, and the amount of work now to be done was very much greater than it was 10 or 15 years ago. He was satisfied that no hon. Member would get up and say that it was too much to ask that a Law Officer should devote the whole of his time to his official work. They might get men of colossal ability able to devote their time to the two things—that was to say, their public duties and their private practice; but Parliament had to legislate for the average, and he was satisfied that it was necessary that the House and the country should receive the whole of the time of the Law Officers of the Crown. He was not going, as he said at the commencement, to argue the point whether their salaries were too great or too small, although that was a point which his hon. Friend had raised, and which other Members would discuss. He should certainly, however, vote for any Motion which would enable the Committee to express its opinion upon the question as to whether the Attorney General and the Solicitor General ought to give the whole of their time for the salaries they received.

Mr. Henry H. Fowler

MR. HALDANE (Haddington) said, he would follow the example of his right hon. Friend (Mr. H. H. Fowler), and refrain from entering into a controversy with the hon. Member for Poplar (Mr. Buxton) as to the utility of having so many Members in the Legal Profession in the House. It might be that there were too many of them; but he would submit to the hon. Member for Poplar that the legal Members of the House fulfilled a useful, though a humble, function. They were the hewers of wood and the drawers of water to the whole House. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes; if they were not engaged in debating clauses in the many Bills which came before the House, they were employed in the Lobbies in drafting and drawing up Amendments. It might be that the function was not a very lofty one; but he would point out that in the Legislatures of America and France the proportion of lawyers was certainly not less than the proportion which existed in that House. But to come to the question under discussion, he wished to say that he found himself, in the main, in accord with his right hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). It seemed to him (Mr. Haldane), in the first place, that there were one or two difficulties which the Committee would do well to bear in mind before coming straight off to a conclusion upon this subject. They saw the Attorney General sitting there conducting Bills through the House and answering Questions; and they knew that this was only half of his work—that he conducted a very large part of the business of the country, while he also discharged very important functions at the Bar. He was not merely the advocate of the Crown at the Bar; but he occupied a position which might almost be called *quasi*-judicial. He decided when it was proper that the Crown should assert its rights, and did this sometimes under very delicate circumstances; and he kept in check a whole train of officials, and a vast amount of machinery, which he had to control, not as a partizan, but as a man who was bound to see that which was fair done on all sides, and without regard at all times to the interest of his client. If they took the Attorney General and made him out-and-out a Minister in the House, it would be impossible for him to perform those functions at the Bar which were performed under the present system. The change which was suggested by his right hon. Friend was one that would carry them a great deal further than securing the whole time of the Attorney General for the Public Service. The objection had been raised as to whether they could get men of ability and position to do the work on these conditions. It was surmised that some of the learned gentlemen who had held the Office of Attorney General during the last few years had had private practices which brought them in at the least £20,000 a-year; and, therefore, the acceptance of the Office involved the sacrifice of the difference between that and £10,000 or £12,000 a-year. Still, he believed the position would be taken, because it brought with it elevation to a high Office of State; and a man occupying the position of Attorney General was rewarded in a way that was not to be measured by money only. He believed they could get men to do the work; but it seemed to him that the proper course and the logical consequence of the suggestion before the House lay in the direction of a much larger change than merely abolishing the private practice of the Attorney General. It had always seemed to him to be an anomaly that the chief Legal Adviser of the Government should be the Lord Chancellor, sitting in the House of Lords, and being a Member of the Cabinet. Lord Brougham proposed, for reasons which were thought to have great weight, to separate altogether the judicial from the administrative functions of the Office, and if that were done, the chief Law Adviser of the Government could sit in the House of Commons and be supported by a Solicitor General. Some change would have to be made in course of time, and he thought it ought to be in that direction. There had been no Attorney General more able, courteous, and industrious, and more willing to assist Members on all sides of the House, than the present holder of the Office; but, whatever the capacity of the Attorney General, it was impossible that one man could do the enormous amount of work which devolved upon the Office in these days, and at the same time attend to practise at the Bar. They were now on the verge of a period when legal reforms would make larger demands than ever upon the energy and time of

the Attorney General, and that House would require the assistance of a Law Officer, with the position and influence of a Lord Chancellor, able to devote all his time to the conduct of legislation. It was impossible that an Attorney General could be sufficiently versed in the mysteries of all the branches of the law to give sound advice to the Government, unless he devoted all his time to the work, and to the collection from experts the materials for useful legislation. Therefore, it seemed to him that what they should aim at was, in the long run, having a system under which a Minister would occupy such a position as he had described, bearing, it might be, the name of Attorney General, but, at the same time, having the influence and prestige of the Lord Chancellor. It might be that the Solicitor General would preserve his present position and be the head of the Bar, as the Attorney General was at the present time. In any event it seemed to him that a change in that direction would be one on the principle that his hon. and right hon. Friends had suggested when they submitted that it was necessary for the Law Officers of the Crown to give more of their time to their official business than they did at present. It was because he believed in that principle that he should vote for the Motion.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): At the commencement of this discussion I must say that I had a strong prepossession in my mind that there was a plausible case to be made out for the proposition which the hon. Member opposite has submitted to the Committee; but in the course of the discussion, although it has been maintained solely by advocates of change, I have become convinced that the House would err if it departed from the present arrangement. In the first place, I may point out that if there is a disease that we have to remedy, the remedy which would be suggested might, in all probability, turn out to be worse than the disease. The hon. Member who originated this debate was of opinion that the Attorney General ought to have an office and a staff of clerks in order to discharge his duty properly. Why, the whole of the efforts of economists and reformers in this House have been directed to keeping down the bulk of the Civil Service. At present the Attorney General and the Solicitor General have no vested interest in their Offices; they have no right to pensions, or retiring salaries, or things of any kind. We pay them well while they occupy their official position, and when they are out of Office the State has nothing more to do with them. But once set up these Offices with the staffs, and the cost will soon exceed any reduction we may be able to make. The hon. Gentleman who submitted the Motion has proposed something more alarming still; he contemplates that we should set up a new Department; not only a bureau, but a Ministry of Justice, with an immense staff of officials—high officials, as well as clerks. There may be a great deal to be said in favour of the establishment of a Ministry of Justice; but I hope that the House will not for a moment contemplate making any change in this respect at the present moment. To come to the main question, the point I maintain is this—that the hon. Gentleman who proposed this reduction thinks that the Law Officers of the Crown should give the whole of their time to the service of the State, and ought not to take private practice. Well, the adoption of a Rule of that kind will not result in economy in money, so far as the Committee of Supply is concerned, because it is not proposed to reduce the salaries; therefore, having regard to the position of the Committee of Supply, we are not directly interested as to whether the Law Officers shall or shall not take private practice. What we are interested in is the country shall secure the ablest lawyers it can obtain for the position of Attorney General and Solicitor General. When the Committee remembers what important issues may depend upon the legal advice the Law Officers gave to the country—I imagine that it has more than once been that absolute issues of peace and war have depended upon that advice—we cannot over-estimate the importance of securing the best and brightest geniuses which the country can afford for these positions. If it could have been shown that the Law Officers of the Crown had done their work imperfectly on account of the private practice which some of them undertook, then I think that a sufficient case would have been made out; but the

hon. Gentleman who submitted the Motion, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), who supported it, and the hon. Member who spoke last—and who, under the guise of support to the Motion, brings forward a scheme of his own—did not attempt to insinuate that the work of the Law Officers of the Crown had been badly performed on account of private work. I ask then, would it not be unjust, where no case be made out for it, certainly, to alter the relations between the State and its Law Officers which were settled upon after careful consideration years ago—would it not be unjust to lessen the attractions merely on some theoretical fancy that we might get better work out of our officers than we did? I fully expected that the hon. Member who submitted this Motion would point out to the Committee some definite case where private practice had interfered with the due discharge of the duties of the Attorney General and Solicitor General; and in the absence of any evidence to that effect, and with a strong presumption that the evidence is in a contrary direction, I have abandoned altogether the idea I originally held that a case could be made out for the change. So far as I am concerned, I am utterly unable to give any support to the Motion which is made to alter the present system.

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury, Lancashire): I hesitated somewhat taking part in this debate, considering whether it would be well that I should do so, having occupied the position of Attorney General, and being unwilling to suggest that my successors in that Office should be placed in any worse position than that which I had occupied. At the same time, it seemed to me that it might have been suggested that I was wanting in moral courage if I declined to state my views in regard to this Motion. My hon. Friend behind me (Mr. Buxton) has placed two propositions before the Committee. One of them is that the Law Officers of the Crown are over-paid, and that there should be a deduction made from their salaries; and, secondly, he has put forward the proposition that after that deduction has been made the Law Officers of the Crown should confine themselves to their official duties, and refrain from engaging in private practice. I would advise my hon. Friend, who wishes to raise the question of principle, to separate the proposition that the Law Officers of the Crown should not engage in private practice from the proposition that they are over-paid; because it can hardly be expected that the Committee will very largely support the proposal that the Law Officers of the Crown should confine themselves to public duties, if that proposal is coupled with the proposition that they should also have their salaries considerably reduced. But as a question of principle, whether the Law Officers should or should not engage in private practice, I would guard myself from being supposed to make the slightest reflection upon any of the distinguished men who have engaged in private practice, and have satisfied their consciences that they have properly discharged their public duties. Still less do I desire to make the suggestion that those who now occupy the Offices are not also able to discharge their public duties conscientiously. But I think that the Public Service would be benefited if the Attorney General's time was entirely devoted to his public duties. I want no such thing as the formation of a Judicial Department. I do not want to see the opportunity afforded for the creation of new offices; but I do wish to see provision made—it may be by the Law Officers themselves—for some continuity between the proceedings of one Attorney General and his successor. There should always be some tradition maintained from one Law Officer to another; but, at present, the Law Officers go out of Office, leaving nothing behind them for the information of those who follow—no records, or anything of that kind. No clerk remains; and when the new Law Officer goes into Office he has to select whom he may to assist him, and he always obtains persons utterly ignorant of what his Predecessors have hitherto been doing. The Law Officers of the Crown are also relieved from all direct communication at present with the various Offices and Departments of the State. The Departments ought to be entitled at any time to appeal to their Law Advisers—there is a necessity for centralization in this matter. The necessity for this has been very great. As an instance of that, until my right

hon. and learned Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) brought his great energy to bear on the Post Office, the Post Office even refused to allow the Law Officers an official bag, and one of the consequences of that refusal on the part of the Post Office was the enormous sum of money this country had to pay in respect of the *Alabama* Claims, and the close prospect we had to face for some time of a war with that country. The letter containing the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, which would have enabled the officials to stop the progress of the *Alabama*, was stolen, with the result that communications were made to the builders, and the vessel, whilst still unbuilt, left the builders' hands and sailed away during the night. All I would ask for is this—not that there would be a new Department formed, but that the opinion of the Law Officers should be at all times accessible to every other Department of the State. Every other Department has to depend upon the Law Officers for advice; consequently, the Law Officers, who have to give that advice, should be accessible to every Department. That is not the case at the present moment. When the Head of a Department requires legal advice, he does not go straight to the Law Officers, and say—"Tell me what I ought to do," but it takes days before a legal opinion can be obtained. It may be said that in making this proposition we have all precedent against us. I am aware that until lately there have been no claims made upon the Law Officers to perform their duties as they now perform them. The duties of the Law Officers have in recent years been greatly increased. At one time they were not expected to attend the House unless specially summoned. It was thought, in years gone by, that the Law Officers were so hardly worked in attending to their official duties that their presence should not be required in the House of Commons; consequently, unless sent for on special occasions, or to give a vote for the Government, they did not attend in their places. Well, notwithstanding what the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Buxton) has said with regard to there being too many lawyers in the House already, I must say that the most arduous attendants in the House of late years have been the Law Officers of the Crown. They have to attend Standing Committees, and they have to be in attendance here in the House, and all this extra duty has been thrown upon them of late years, in addition to the legal functions they previously performed for the State. I now ask myself, if the first claim upon the Law Officers is that of the Public Service, how can the Public Service be best served? The Government should say to the Law Officers—"We ask you to be in attendance in the House, to give your advice at all times and under all circumstances; and we ask you to devote your energies to the Public Service, and the Public Service alone." We ought to ask the best men who can be obtained; and we ought, therefore, to take care that we do not lower the Office of Attorney General or Solicitor General, so as to make it unacceptable to the best men we can obtain. I cannot help entering a protest against comparisons being drawn between the position of Prime Minister and other Ministers and the Law Officers. Those who become Ministers, as a rule, give up nothing; they only receive their salary in addition to their previous income. But the case of the Law Officer is very different, for he, before he accepts the position, if he is a worthy person to fill it, has a large private practice, and if the emoluments of the Office are considerably reduced we shall not get the best men to fill it. I do not think the Committee would wish anything to be done which would render it impossible for us to obtain the best men to fill the position of Law Officers of the Crown. My view, therefore, is—and I do not enter into details as to income—that the Law Officers would willingly seek the comparative repose, after years of contention and strife, which will be afforded by abstention from private work, if that abstention were made a condition of their appointment. I do not accept the view of those hon. Gentlemen who think that this arrangement would put the Law Officers out of touch with the Profession. I think those claims upon his services which required him to deal with contentious business would still keep him in full touch with his Colleagues at the Bar; so that if this view I put forward be accepted, it seems to me that it will detract nothing from the estimation in which the Law Officer of the Crown will be held at the Bar. It seems to me

that the position will be more highly esteemed, and still more valued by members of our Profession, if it is felt that the Law Officers are removed from the ordinary strifes of forensic life, and are made almost the arbiters of the administration of justice. I may say, in conclusion, that although I am thoroughly aware of the great power and capacity of my predecessors and successors to discharge a large amount of work, yet I think the suggestion I made should be accepted; although, of course, I would not desire any arrangement to be made in the future to apply to the present Legal Advisers of the Government.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I did not intend to intervene in the general discussion on this Vote at this stage. I only rise to correct a slight misapprehension which has been occasioned by the misinterpretation of some observations which I made last year. I am as opposed to the formation of a new Department as the noble Lord behind me (Lord Randolph Churchill), or as the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James); and what I said on the last occasion was this: I pointed to the fact that there are no official clerks of any sort or kind in connection with the Law Officers' business; and that the Law Officer has to rely on the consideration and personal kindness of his Predecessor for ascertaining even what papers there may be. I pointed out that every Law Officer pays a very considerable sum, counted by hundreds, it may even be by four figures, for getting such assistance as is necessary to enable him to carry on his work; and what I suggested was not that any new Department should be formed, but that the Attorney General might well consent to a reduction of his salary in order to pay two or three ordinary clerks who should be handed on from Attorney General to Attorney General. No one who has occupied the office will deny that the greatest labour is imposed upon him, because he has not the opportunity of having even one clerk to assist him in doing his work. I said nothing last year from which it could be suggested that I take a different view on this matter to that of the noble Lord. I think that if there were some permanent ordinary clerks to do the work, there would be quite as much profit and remuneration to the Law Officers as at present, and a better discharge of their public duties.

MR. P. STANHOPE (Wednesbury) said, he was glad the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General agreed with the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) in thinking that there were some defects in the present system. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury complained of the want of continuity in the work of the office; and he had, at all events, acquiesced in the view that the Law Officers of the Crown should confine their attention to Government business. This was a great advance in the views entertained by Gentlemen who had previously held the position of Law Officers of the Crown; and he could not help thinking that it was all the result of the debates which had taken place in that House. As to the remark made by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), that no definite case had been made out where the private practice of the Attorney General interfered with his public duties, he (Mr. Stanhope) had intended to make out such a case; but, in view of the proceedings which were taking place before certain Judges, he was unable to fully develop his contention in that direction. On some future occasion, however, he should have to call attention to proceedings now going on, and to point out that the action of the Attorney General, in regard to them, was absolutely at variance with his responsibilities and duties to the Crown. There was this to be said, which would not in any way reflect upon what was going on before the Commission to which he referred—namely, that it was a trial upon which the fate of Parties depended. It was, above all, a political trial; and that the Attorney General of this country should, in the exercise of his private practice, give to one side in that trial the sanction of his eminent official position was not a thing at all approved of by impartial public opinion. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury thought it was necessary that they should pay large salaries, in order to obtain the highest legal talent for the service of the State. Well, he (Mr. Stanhope) could not agree or assent to that proposition. In the United States

of America they had an Attorney General who, so far as he was aware, was a man of great eminence, but for his duties he received a salary of only £1,600 a-year. In France, which was a country of considerable grandeur, and which was not given to financial economies, they had an officer corresponding to our Attorney General, who received only £1,400 a-year; and salaries on the same scale were given to the Law Officers of the Crown in Germany. Consequently, he could not conceive for one moment how it could be contended that we in England should consent to the payment of these large and bloated salaries in order to obtain the highest legal talent. Certain legal gentlemen had spoken in the course of the debate, who seemed to assume that it was an almost essential condition that an Attorney General, in order to hold that position, should be earning something like £20,000 a-year at the Bar; and, as a consequence, that the fitness of a man to be a Law Officer of the Crown was to be measured by the amount of his fees at the Bar. He regretted very much that they had arrived at that view of the Ministerial Offices in connection with the Legal Department of the State. He had hoped that, in view of the distinctions derived from official positions, we could get capable Legal Officers to perform the duties required of them for less than was at present paid; and he trusted that in saying that, the Attorney General would not suppose that he was casting any reflection upon him. He certainly, however, believed that capable gentlemen could be appointed to legal positions in the Government at a very large saving to the State. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington seemed to infer that the proposition of his hon. Friend (Mr. Buxton) was one for the creation of a new Department—for a Ministry of Justice—which would lead to enormous expenditure. The noble Lord had pointed out that this would involve the creation of a number of new salaries, which would outweigh the aggregate of the salaries of the Attorney General and Solicitor General. He (Mr. Stanhope), however, would point out that the Attorney General and the Solicitor General were not the only officers in connection with the Legal Departments of the Government. Almost every particular Department had got either a counsel or a solicitor connected with it. When he went into this question last year, he had been able to show that fees were paid to various legal gentlemen other than the Law Officers of the Crown, amounting to hundreds of thousands a year. Consequently, he ventured to say that, by a re-arrangement of the Legal Department of the State, and by having at the head of it efficient officers at less exaggerated salaries than those at present paid, who would give their whole time to the Public Service, they would have much better and much more satisfactory results than those attending the present arrangement. He had already said that it would have been his desire to have criticised at some length the action of the Attorney General in "another place;" but, it appeared to him, that it would be better to do so when those proceedings were closed, and when it would be possible to go into a fuller development of this important matter.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, he thought the hon. Member for Poplar (Mr. Buxton) must be highly gratified at the course this debate had taken. Perhaps after the observations which had been made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) and the Attorney General, he would hardly think that the Committee was prepared to follow him in the precise line in which he had put his Motion on the Paper. The main thing they had to secure was the best possible legal services which could be obtained for the State. It would be a penny wise and pound foolish policy to look for a reduction in the salaries of the Law Officers of the Crown. As he understood from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury, if a nominal reduction were proposed he would be able to vote for it, as indicating that it would be well if one or both of the Law Officers of the Crown were restricted to their public duties and debarred from public practice. He (Mr. Illingworth) thought that would be an eminently satisfactory advance in the consideration of this great subject; and he, for one, would make an earnest appeal to his hon. Friend (Mr. Buxton) to withdraw his Motion, and move a nominal reduction for that purpose, and

not for the double purpose as contained in the Motion as it stood.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said, that if the Committee would allow him to withdraw the Motion, he would move that the Vote be reduced by the nominal sum of £5. That would be the course he should like to follow; but he had understood that as he had put his Motion down in certain terms he was obliged to move it in those terms. If the Committee would allow the matter to be put as a matter of principle, in that way many hon. Members, no doubt, would be glad of the opportunity of voting for it. As to what had fallen from the Attorney General, he (Mr. Buxton) had stated that all the hon. and learned Gentleman suggested last year was that a clerk or two should be provided to assist him in carrying on his work. He (Mr. Buxton) did not think it would be desirable to create a large public Department; and as to his reference to the number of lawyers in the House, he had only made it jocularly, and had not intended the Committee to take it so seriously.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it your pleasure that the Motion be withdrawn?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I should like to say a word or two before the Motion is withdrawn. We have had a very interesting debate, which has wandered altogether from the proposition originally made, which was that a reduction should be effected in this Vote for the reason that the Law Officers of the Crown are paid too highly, and also as indicating the opinion of the Committee that these officers should give up their private practice. I listened with great attention to what fell from such an experienced lawyer as the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), and I also listened with attention to what fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) and others; but I do not propose to discuss in detail what fell from them on this occasion. I do, however, want to draw attention to one point—to a question which requires the fullest debate and discussion. Why was it that the right hon. and learned Member for Bury retained his office for six or seven years; and why was it that he remained to the last an efficient and valuable Law Officer, able to maintain his position for his Party against the numerous lawyers in the House? It was largely because the right hon. and learned Gentleman has never lost touch of legal practice and procedure—that he continued in that daily conflict with the most eminent men at the Bar, which had originally given him his position. To decide such a question as this—namely, whether private practice is to be allowed to the Law Officers of the Crown or not, in a moment of caprice, of transitory and irregular discussion, would be exceedingly rash on the part of the Committee. Let the Committee consider the sort of questions upon which the Law Officers have to advise. Every day, in my own Department, I am continually seeking the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown. They must have a perfect knowledge of, and familiarity with, the course of judicial decisions and the constantly growing law, to be able to give their advice on the variety of points that arise, and such knowledge is not to be obtained by reading. If the Law Officers of the Crown were not in constant touch with the law as administered in the Courts from day to day, they would not be able to advise the Crown as they did. If the Law Officers were prevented from taking part in cases heard before the House of Lords, and in other Courts, the advice they would be able to give to the Government for legislative purposes would lose considerably in value. If Parliament were to deter its official lawyers from doing what they did now, and keeping themselves in constant touch with the practice of our Law Courts, the consequence would be detrimental to the Service. I do not urge these arguments as decisive—I do not mean to urge that they outweigh those offered on the other side—but all I wish to say is, that if you do prohibit your lawyers from private practice you are entering upon an entirely new path, and you will have Law Officers of an entirely different kind in the future. Of course the public business of the Law Officers of the Crown was their primary duty, and everybody was agreed that no private business should be taken except when the public practice was satisfied to the last item of demand. In his opinion it would be a very grave

change in the Office if, instead of having a tried lawyer familiar with the course of judicial decisions and constantly growing law, they were to substitute a man less in touch with the outside world and with the opinions of others. To deprive themselves of such an advantage would, in his opinion, be very unfortunate. He was now simply pointing out that the Government could not consent to a substantial or nominal reduction of the Vote.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries of the Law Officers, be reduced by £5."—(*Mr. Sydney Buxton.*)

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, it seemed to him that the Committee had made a mistake in assenting to the withdrawal of a Motion for a substantial reduction of the Vote and substituting one for this miserable £5. He had not yet discovered from any announcement made from the Treasury Bench what the Government intended to do. His hon. Friend's complaint was that the Attorney General received too much salary, considering that he did not give up all his time for the amount of that salary. It had been suggested by other Members of the House that the Attorney General should not have any private practice; but they had not heard from the Government, or from any official source, that it was proposed to meet the suggestion made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James). As matters stood now, the Attorney General received £11,500 per annum, besides which he had a very extensive private practice. They knew that the Attorney General was at present engaged in the case before the Special Commission. He would not ask him precisely what he got in the case, but he was sure a gentleman of his talents, having regard to the fees of lawyers, would have a very handsome remuneration. At any rate, this case was going on from half-past 10 in the morning until 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and he presumed that the Attorney General not only received his fee, but, according to professional practice, a daily refresher also, and in that case he presumed he would consider it his duty to be present in the Court every day. On the supposition that the Attorney General received 100 guineas a-day, and taking the period during which this Commission would sit as 25 weeks, the Attorney General would receive, besides his very handsome salary for doing the business of the country, 10,000 guineas. Let them double that amount and they would see what the Attorney General could get. They were told by the Home Secretary that the Attorney General was in touch with his "mother earth." As far as he could understand it, the Home Secretary meant, that if he did not engage in contentious business, he would lose touch with the public. But he was engaged in contentious business; he received £7,000 per annum as Attorney General, and the rest came from the contentious business in which he was employed, and it seemed to him that it would be infinitely better if they were to come to some arrangement and obtain from the Government an assurance that the Attorney General should have a definite salary as Attorney General—that he should be employed in the contentious business of the Government, but that in no case should he have any private practice. He did not wish to go into the case of the Commission, but the Attorney General must know that his position was a thoroughly false one. His position was false from being both a Law Officer of the Crown and also counsel in a case in which the Government was interested, but which was also a private suit on the part of an individual. He should like to have a substantial reduction of the Vote, because, as it at present stood, the Attorney General was receiving his salary for only a portion of his time; but having given up the idea of a substantial reduction, the Committee ought to understand whether the Government accepted the proposition that the Attorneys General should be simply and solely Law Officers of the Crown, receiving salaries on that account, and that they should not be allowed to undertake private practice. If some arrangement of that kind were come to he did not think it would be necessary for his hon. Friend to divide the Committee.

MR. SYDNEY GEDGE (Stockport) said, that if this were a Party question he would not rise from those Benches to express his hope that the Government

would accede to the proposition before them. If it were a Party question its supporters would naturally be those who sat on the Speakers' right, as the present Law Officers would not be affected, and their successors would, though at some distant date, be taken from the Opposition. The great advantage of the Law Officers of the Crown confining their attention to the business of the Crown had been shown by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) to be in the continuity of the work, but two objections had been made to the proposal. It was said, in the first place, that we should not get the best men for the office, but he did not think it inconceivable that we should be able to get the best men for the salary of £7,000 a-year, besides a good deal more for contentious business as well as a good deal of Patronage and an absolute certainty of promotion. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had also urged that the Government would not get such sound advice from an Attorney General who was not continually engaged in contentious business. But his fees amounted on an average to £4,500 a-year, which sum, as the Government paid low fees, represents contentious business to a much larger amount. Now, were they to believe that no counsel could be trusted to give sound advice unless his income from contentious business largely exceeded £4,500 a-year? There had been great objection made to the Judge Advocate General, who had not much official work to do, taking private practice, and if the objection held in one case, it held still more forcibly in the other. He must express his regret that his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General held a brief in the case before the Commission; he thought it a great misfortune for the Government that he should do so, and he knew that this opinion was held by many Members on that side of the House, because it was generally supposed in the constituencies that it was the Government and not *The Times* which was conducting the prosecution.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said that the proposition before the Committee was that they should come to a resolution which should prohibit future occupants of the Offices of Attorney General and Solicitor General from taking private practice. The Committee would see that the Government, so far as the present occupants of these Offices and themselves were concerned, might accept that proposition at the hands of a future Government with comparative equanimity. This question had been raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) and by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) in 1866, and the conditions on which the Law Officers were to hold their Offices were expressed in a Treasury Minute issued in that year.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, that was with reference to a dispute which had arisen with respect to the terms of the arrangement. The right hon. Member for Derby and himself settled that question in the interest, as they supposed, of the Government and the public, but there was no reconsideration of the whole question.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the position of the Law Officers of the Crown was examined into at that time, and a determination was arrived at, and it did not appear to these right hon. Gentlemen to be desirable to make any change in the status of the Law Officers. He had said that if they were regardless of their duty to the country, and the best method of carrying on the business of the country, the Government might accept at once a proposition of this kind, but he thought they would be to blame if they did so without examination. The Government would of course have to examine a proposal of that kind very closely with reference to what they believed to be the permanent interests of the country in the course of the next two months, and they would hereafter state the conclusions at which they had arrived. In these circumstances he thought the Committee would feel that the Government would not be justified in making any such promise of so serious a change as that now proposed affecting the future government of the country; and he, therefore, trusted that the hon. Member would withdraw his Amendment on the assurance he had given.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-on-Tyne) said, it seemed to him that the course proposed by the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly reasonable, and that they could not expect Gentlemen opposite at once to fall in with the proposal

which his hon. Friend the Member for the Poplar Division of the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Buxton) had presented to the Committee. But he believed that the right hon. Gentleman would have gathered from all that has fallen from hon. Members on that side, and upon his own side of the House, that there was a very general and strong opinion in favour of preventing the Law Officers of the Crown carrying on their private business. On the understanding that the Government gave their serious and careful consideration to the proposal to be made next year, he would advise his hon. Friend to withdraw his Amendment.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. BERNARD COLERIDGE (Sheffield, Attercliffe) said, he rose to Move the reduction of the Vote by £1,000 for the purpose of calling attention to a case of hardship on prisoners who had been unjustly convicted, and who had suffered wrongful imprisonment, and whose case he desired should have further investigation at the hands of the proper authorities. On the 13th of January, 1879, about half-past 5 in the evening, three men were near a farm in the county of Northumberland, standing by that farm were three persons of the name of Robson—a farmer, his son, and his brother; there had been shots heard and three men arrived within sight of the three Robsons; they walked in the direction of the Robsons, who thereupon followed them, and they were joined by a man named George Ware, his wife, two daughters and a son. These having collected into a knot of nine people, the three men thereupon walked off, and the question was whether the Robsons should follow the three men and take the gun from them. Words passed, and upon the Robsons attempting to follow the men, the one who had the gun shot in the direction of the group of people, killing one of them and severely wounding several others; the men got off and were not seen again that night; but three persons were apprehended on that charge, named Walford, Hardwick, and Morgan, and who lived eight miles away from the farm where the crime had been committed. They were confronted with the Robsons, and when so confronted the Robsons identified them, the Magistrates committed them for trial, and they were tried at the Assizes at Newcastle on the 24th April, 1879.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman in what way the circumstances he was relating were connected with the present Vote.

MR. BERNARD COLERIDGE said, he understood that the Vote was for criminal prosecutions and *quasi*-criminal proceedings. The object of his remarks was to induce an investigation in the form of *quasi*-criminal proceedings in the case of these men.

THE CHAIRMAN said, it was possible the question might be raised on the Vote for the Home Secretary's Office, but it could not be raised on the present Vote.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, if the hon. and learned Member would lay before him in private the facts of the case, the subject should be attended to.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) said, this Vote had been challenged year after year, and defended by the Representatives of the Treasury for the time being; the same objections had been taken, and the same arguments had been urged in defence of the officials responsible. He could only call to mind one Secretary to the Treasury who had recognized the force of the objections urged against the Vote.

THE CHAIRMAN asked if the hon. Member proposed to discuss the Vote generally?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he proposed to object to Sub-head H.

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that an hon. Member had a Motion on the Paper with reference to this.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) said, he had put down a Notice to move the reduction of the income of the Director of Public Prosecutions in order to call attention to the action of the Department. It was far from his intention to make anything in the nature of a personal attack upon the very valuable public servant who filled this post, but it seemed to him that during the past year there had been some actions on the part of the Department to which, in the public interests, attention ought to be called. The News-

paper Libel Act of 1881 provided that no criminal prosecution for libel against a newspaper could take place without a *fiat* of the Director of Public Prosecutions being first obtained. He had noticed that that *fiat* had been given very indiscriminately—in fact he had been under the impression that the *fiat* was issued as a matter of course. It appeared, however, that this was not the case. Sir Augustus Stephenson had shown that this charge could not be maintained. The question, therefore, was as to whether the discretion of the Department had been exercised with reasonable care. He had been greatly astonished by one case, and that was the issue, by Sir Augustus Stephenson, of a *fiat* with reference to the proceedings against a newspaper in the case of "Wood *v.* Cox." In that case a newspaper had charged a somewhat well-known jockey with pulling horses; the jockey applied for a *fiat* and raised proceedings. In reply to a question asked by himself, the right hon. Gentleman opposite stated that the Director of Public Prosecutions granted a *fiat* when he considered that the libel affected the public and was calculated to disturb the peace of the community, and that those conditions were in this case satisfied. It appeared to him (Mr. Pickersgill) that where a jockey was charged in this way these conditions were not satisfied, and he was confirmed in his opinion by the remarks of the Lord Chief Justice himself in the course of the trial, who said that with regard to the action of the Public Prosecutor he could only lift up his hands in respectful astonishment. There had been other cases in which he submitted that the *fiat* of the Public Prosecutor had been improperly accorded. It had been his intention to go into those cases at some length, but he did not think it would be necessary for him to do that on the present occasion, because the Committee might perhaps be aware that a Bill was passing through Parliament which proposed to transfer the power of granting the *fiat* in these cases from the Director of Public Prosecutions to the Attorney General. He believed that the Bill was likely to meet with general approval in the House, and as the power of the Public Prosecutor in this respect would most likely be taken away from him very soon, the remarks which he had made on this subject would perhaps be considered sufficient. A short time ago he had asked a Question in that House with regard to some bogus Companies and trusts; he had inquired as to why the Director of Public Prosecutions, whose attention had been called to the matter, had not taken any action. Since then a correspondence which had passed between the editor of *The Statist* and the Director of Public Prosecutions had been published, to portions of which correspondence he wished to refer. It appeared that in July last the editor of *The Statist* drew the attention of the Director of Public Prosecutions to the case of two bogus Companies, and the editor stated that there were substantial documents to proceed upon; he had the report of the liquidators, a copy of which he (Mr. Pickersgill) understood had been forwarded to the Treasury. The editor said in his letter that the liquidators' report fully confirmed the matters investigated and made public; that it showed a vast conspiracy, and that the conspirators had succeeded in obtaining hundreds of thousand pounds from their victims. A reply was sent to the effect that the City Solicitor had authority to commence a prosecution; that as soon as he had the necessary information he would proceed to do so, and that the Director of Public Prosecutions had given him all the information in his possession. In reply to this the editor wrote that he was not referring to the same affair, but that what he wished to bring before the notice of the Public Prosecutor were the misdeeds of a number of other persons. A reply was sent from the Director of Public Prosecutions to the effect that he had communicated with the City Solicitor, who acknowledged the receipt of his letter, which would be taken into consideration by him in connection with other papers in the cases which were already before him. He (Mr. Pickersgill) did not pretend to say, because he had not seen the documents, whether there was sufficient evidence upon which a prosecution might have been undertaken. His complaint was, that having a certain duty imposed upon him by Statute, the Director of Public Prosecutions had chosen to delegate the performance of that duty to another person of whom the Statute took no cognizance whatever. It seemed to him that it was the duty of the Public Pro-

secutor himself, which he could not delegate, to investigate the whole of the cases and to determine whether or not there was matter for prosecution, and that certainly he had failed in the performance of his duty in referring the matter to the City Solicitor.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item H be reduced by £1,000, part of the Salary of the Director of Public Prosecutions."—(*Mr. Pickersgill.*)

MR. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbright) said, before his right hon. Friend replied to the questions of the hon. Member who had just sat down, he would ask what had been done with regard to the stopping the sale of impure literature? They had received a definite pledge at the end of last Session, and they thanked the Government heartily for the prosecution that had taken place, and they trusted that this policy would be pressed upon them by the public. He could tell the Committee than an immense quantity of impure literature still floated about the streets of our large cities. Only a few days ago, in Liverpool, two men were taken up for selling Zola's novels, but instead of being punished, they were fined a small sum by the magistrates and were allowed to go free almost without any check. Even in the City of London booksellers were in the habit of selling, in defiance of the law, books and publications which were in their very nature most offensive and injurious to the morals of the young as well as others. Magistrates only imposed a slight fine, whereas, in his opinion, the offence was worthy of imprisonment. If a stop could be placed on this flood of impurity circulated through the towns and rural districts, he felt satisfied that it would do an enormous amount of good, and he felt sure his right hon. Friend would feel it to be necessary that vigorous methods should be taken to prevent these publications.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.) said, he hoped before the Committee came to a decision on a proposal to reduce the salary of the Public Prosecutor, the Government would give some information with regard to his duties, because unless more information was supplied than they were in possession of, he ventured to say that he should not only vote for a reduction by £1,000, but by a much larger sum. It might be that the information which he now asked for was accessible in some form or other, but he believed there were not three Members of the House of Commons who could give any reasonable, intelligent, and satisfactory account of the duties of the Public Prosecutor. He was much startled by the amount of the salary which the House of Commons was asked to give for this Department. The personal salary of the head of the office was £3,000 per annum; there were three Assistant Solicitors at £1,500 a-year each, who enjoyed, he might remark, a larger salary than the Heads of the Departments of the Board of Trade. There was a principal assistant with a maximum salary of £1,200, and six other assistants at a maximum salary of £900. He submitted that this was a very bloated and wholly unjustifiable expenditure unless they were told that the duties of the Public Prosecutor were of a more valuable kind than the Committee had reason to suppose. In every other Department there was a general understanding among the public as to what the duties were; but, speaking for himself, and, he believed, expressing the opinion of the public generally, he had no idea of what were the duties of this Department. He might compare this state of things with the arrangement made in Scotland with regard to a similar subject, and he would not have brought this matter before the Committee unless he thought it a subject which ought to be somewhat reconsidered. They had in Scotland a Criminal Department, and every man knew that if a crime were committed by which he was injured, whether great or small, it was the duty of the Public Prosecutor at once to take the case off his hands and prosecute it to a conclusion without a farthing of expense to the person injured. All that was done at a very moderate outlay. The cost of the Lord Advocate's Department amounted to a little more than £11,000 a-year, which included his salary and that of the Solicitor General, and although their public duties as Law Advisers of the Crown were by no means so important or responsible as those of their brethren in this country, still they were important, and they had the whole responsibility for public prosecutions

besides. Then, again, in Scotland there was the sum of nearly £26,000 which provided for local Public Prosecutors in every part of the country, and accordingly in every locality where crime was committed it was at once treated as a public concern and prosecuted. He said if a similar system could prevail in England the country would not grudge a large expenditure upon it. It was this system which commanded the complete confidence of the public in Scotland; it was satisfactory in its operation, and the protection afforded by the system might be one reason why in certain of the more serious descriptions of crime Scotland compared favourably with England. Statistics showed in these a startling disproportion between England and Scotland, taking into consideration the numbers of population, and these figures were not to be attributed in any degree to the manners or character of the people, but mainly or exclusively to the superior system which existed in Scotland for the detection and prosecution of crime. If the Scotch system were introduced into this country, he believed that the expenditure would be comparatively small. That, however, was not at this moment the point at issue. As he had said, if there existed in England a system under which the work was done which was expected to be done, the public would be ready to pay for it; but if it were true that there were not three Members of the House of Commons who knew what the duties of the Public Prosecutor were, or knew under what circumstances they would be entitled to apply for his assistance, then he said that these large salaries, which implied exceedingly high responsibility on the part of the public officials, were improperly paid, and he had no doubt that it was the duty of the Committee to endeavour to reduce them.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) said, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to supplement the information asked for by his hon. Friend in one particular. This Department of the Civil Service was unlike the rest of the Service, inasmuch as it was distinctly of a professional character. There were in it one solicitor, three assistant solicitors, one principal assistant, and six other assistants; and, in addition to these, there were 20 clerks. He asked, with reference to the three assistant solicitors, the principal assistant and the six others, what were their professional qualifications; how they were appointed to the Office? On the first blush, the whole arrangement was extraordinary; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to tell the Committee how the Government proceeded in filling up the appointments to this very important Office.

MR. MATTHEWS said, in answer to the last Question, he thought the hon. Gentleman would find all the information asked for in the Report of the Committee which was appointed by the Treasury last year. The Solicitor to the Treasury was, he believed, originally a barrister, but practised afterwards as a solicitor; Mr. Cuffe was a barrister, and the other assistants, he thought, were solicitors. Several officials in the Department had been transferred from others, and should consequently be considered rather as members of the Civil Service than as belonging to the Legal Profession. He might say that before the present system was organised there were separate Offices at the Board of Works, the Admiralty, and the War Office, which cost the country a considerable sum of money, and all the work of these Offices had been handed over to Sir Augustus Stephenson, while the greater part of the charge which appeared now upon the Estimate was amalgamated. Notwithstanding the abolition of the Office separately held up to that time, the only addition made to Sir Augustus Stephenson's salary was £500; his salary previous to that was one rising from £2,000 to £2,500, and it was increased to the extent he had mentioned in respect of additional work. The hon. Member for Lanark (Mr. Donald Crawford) had alluded to the Scotch system, of which he could not speak too highly, with regard to public prosecutions. But he would ask the hon. Member also to refer to the Report just mentioned in which he would find the fullest information. The Committee was a strong one; it was presided over by the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), and included Lord Justice Bowen and Mr. John Hollams, solicitor.

MR. DONALD CRAWFORD: Has anything been done in consequence of their Report?

MR. MATTHEWS said, that question could be better answered by the Secretary to the Treasury. In reply to the hon. Member for Kirkcudbright (Mr. Mark Stewart), he could only repeat what he had said on a previous occasion —namely, that he would gladly institute prosecutions in the cases of sale of obscene and sometimes seditious literature when he could feel sure that more good than harm would be done by inquiry, the effect of which in the case of an obscene print in a back slum of London would be, perhaps, to send hundreds to buy what would otherwise be forgotten. The consideration had ever withheld him that it would be highly inexpedient to invest the sale of such things with, as it were, the dignity of a public trial at the Assizes, and to incur the delay, the expense, and publicity involved. If they could, on the other hand, seize the whole stock of such publications, and throw them into the sewers, it would be a very good remedy; but hon. Members opposite would object to such measures, and he could not complain of their objection, because such a course of proceedings undoubtedly involved dangers of another kind. The hon. Member for Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill) had referred to the Wood libel case. The hon. Gentleman would readily admit that very great public interest was excited in the case. Considering what large sums of money were at stake in matters on the race course, what a considerable portion of the people was interested in the honesty and integrity of jockeys, and what a great danger to the public peace on the race course there was if it was supposed a jockey pulled a horse, it would be granted that the matter assumed proportions of public interest sufficient to justify an inquiry. He did not say it was right; on the contrary, he rather shared the opinion of the hon. Member that it would have been better not to have granted an inquiry in the case. As he was on his legs, and the Director of Public Prosecutions had been criticized, he hoped he would be allowed to say, in justice to the Public Prosecutor, that that official discharged his duty with extraordinary ability and unflinching integrity in the interests of the public, and with nothing like Party bias or regard for political considerations. The present Public Prosecutor did go as straight as any man could go. It had been complained that the Public Prosecutor did not prosecute more frequently, and the hon. Member for Bethnal Green suggested that the Public Prosecutor was at fault in not prosecuting the promoters of a certain bogus company. He would not pretend to give an answer, because he was not aware, of the details of the case; but it was, perhaps, as well he should enumerate the regulations which had been made for the guidance of the Public Prosecutor. The regulations were of but very recent date, and they were that the Public Prosecutor should only prosecute in cases in which the punishment was death, or when the offence was of a class in which the prosecutions had hitherto been taken by the Solicitor to the Treasury, or when he was ordered by the Secretary of State or the Attorney General to prosecute; or, lastly, where it appeared to him the offence, or the circumstances of its commission, were of such a character that a prosecution was required in the public interest and his action was necessary to secure a prosecution. The hon. Gentleman would see that the case of a bogus company was one in which no direct duty to prosecute lay on the Public Prosecutor.

MR. PICKERSGILL said, that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had pleaded that he was not aware of the details of the case of the bogus company to which he (Mr. Pickersgill) had referred. That was an objection which was often raised in Committee of Supply. But in this particular case it seemed to him that a knowledge of the details of the case was not necessary, because he did not rely upon details, but upon the principle which was raised. A complaint of a conspiracy upon a large scale was laid before the Director of Public Prosecutions, by the editor of *The Statist*, accompanied by an official document, the Liquidators' Report, substantiating the complaint. The Director of Public Prosecutions replied that the subject of Abbott, Page and Co. was in the hands of the City Solicitor. If any information at all was in the possession of the Treasury Bench, the Committee ought to be told what were the circumstances under which authority was given to the City Solicitor in the case of Abbott, Page and Co. The editor of

The Statist then said it was not the delinquencies of Abbott, Page and Co. of which he complained, it was a separate fraud apart altogether from that of Abbott, Page and Co. To the second letter the reply was, "That the letter will shortly be taken into consideration by the City Solicitor." In spite of what the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had said, it did seem to him that, having regard to the fact that in this case it was City men who were implicated, it was not in accordance with ordinary prudence to leave the matter entirely in the hands of the City Solicitor, and in an affair of this magnitude the duty lay upon the Public Prosecutor himself of forming an opinion upon the subject; and he could not but think that official neglected his duty in handing the letter over to the City Solicitor. So much with regard to that particular case. He desired to add a word or two with reference to the other matter he brought forward—namely, the case in which the *fiat* of the Director of Public Prosecutions was granted under the Newspaper Libel Act of 1881. He felt that a single case would not have justified him in preparing a complaint against a great Public Official, but the case which he mentioned in some detail was not the only case there was. He had the particulars of a large number of cases, in some of which Judges had expressed very strong opinions, that a criminal prosecution ought not to have been commenced upon such a libel, and in other cases juries had expressed similar opinions. He did not think it was worth while now to refer in detail to those cases, because it was proposed by the Libel Amendment Bill, which was now before the House, to transfer the function to the Attorney General. He thought it ought never to have been put into the hands of any legal functionary of a less exalted position than the Attorney General. He would be glad, in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, if the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) would give the Committee some further information with regard to the circumstances under which, in the case of these Trusts and also in the case of Abbott, Page and Co., authority was given to the City Solicitor to prosecute, instead of the prosecution remaining at the Treasury and under the direct supervision and control of the Statutory Officer, namely, the Director of Public Prosecutions.

MR. GROTRIAN (Hull, E.) said, that during the discussion upon this Vote some reference had been made to the Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the system of conducting the legal business of the Government, but he had not gathered from the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary whether the Government had taken, or intended to take, any action upon the Report of that Committee. The Report was a most valuable one, and he thought that the public would be more satisfied if the Government, which, he admitted, was a reforming and an economical Government, would add to their list of reforms a reform in this Department. One paragraph of the Report was as follows:—

"Your Lordships will observe from the evidence that all contentious business of a civil character, both in common law and equity, is conducted, not by the Treasury Solicitor's Department, but by agents employed for that purpose. Such agents receive one-half of the sum chargeable for costs beyond all disbursements. The average profits received by them during the last ten years was £3,899 11*s*."

He did not quite see the necessity to employ agents outside the staff. The necessity did not arise owing to insufficiency of staff, because he found that in another paragraph of the Report the Committee stated—

"That the staff of the Solicitor's Department is decidedly in excess of what is necessary in order to perform the professional duties discharged by it."

If that be so, why go outside and pay large sums of money to agents for conducting the civil and contentious business of the Department? He could quite understand that in the provinces it might possibly be, and very likely was, advantageous and economical to employ agents rather than that members of the staff should be sent down, but he understood that contentious business in London was discharged, not by the staff, not by the solicitors of the Department, but by agents engaged for the purpose. If that were so there was a real opportunity here for some reform. This was the Department in which a little while ago some of the contentious matter appeared to be whether cabs should be employed by messengers. There were seven messengers attached to the De-

partment; and he understood that when a question arose as to hiring of a cab, a personal interview was necessary between the messengers and Sir A. K. Stephenson, the head of the Department. There appeared to be in this Department a straining at very small gnats and a swallowing of enormous camels. Surely the time occupied by the interview might have been better employed. He hoped the Government would give the Committee an assurance that the Report of the Select Committee, a Committee composed of gentlemen of very great eminence and experience, would not only receive attention, but be acted upon.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) said, that the hon. Member for East Hull (Mr. Grotrian) had anticipated a point which he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) rose earlier in the evening to make. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had referred to the Report of the Committee which had just been made the subject of remark. Having read the Report of the Committee, he could not, while the right hon. Gentleman was speaking, fail to admire the right hon. Gentleman's superb and sublime audacity, because the Report—which the right hon. Gentleman referred to so glibly as sufficient to answer all the observations made with regard to this particular Office—was of itself more than sufficient to condemn the Office in whole and in part. The Committee was appointed under a Treasury Minute dated the 11th July, 1887. In that Minute the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer called the attention of the Treasury to the Report of a Committee which sat previously to 1875 on the system of conducting the legal business of the Government, and he pointed out that since that year, in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee, a number of Legal Departments in other Offices, such as the War Office, the Admiralty, and the Office of Works, had been agglomerated in the Office of the Solicitor to the Treasury. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer went on to point out that the circumstances in which the successive steps were taken had not hitherto permitted any final regulation of the central establishment, but he thought that the limit of consolidation had been reached, and that the time had come to attempt to define permanently the duties of the several offices, and to determine the conditions of appointment, number, classification, pay, and duties of the staff required in future for the consolidated Department. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was of opinion that the inquiry would afford a favourable opportunity for considering whether any changes were desirable in the rules or customs which then governed the selection and payment of counsel employed in the various classes of Government legal business. Thereupon the Lords of the Treasury appointed a Committee; and he did not think the House would hesitate for a moment to accept whatever might be the unanimous conclusions of a Committee constituted as that was. The members of the Committee were:—Sir Henry James, Lord Justice Bowen, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Frank Mowatt—a principal clerk in the Treasury—and Mr. John Hollams. What was the Report which the Committee made? These were the two points—

"The staff of the Solicitor's Department is decidedly in excess of what is necessary to perform the professional duties discharged by it;"

And, secondly,

"That many of the members of the staff are paid higher salaries than are necessary."

He doubted very much if there ever was a Report of a Committee more sweeping, more uncompromising, more absolute than that. There was too large a staff, and the members of that staff were too highly paid. What better ground could the Committee of Supply have for insisting upon a reduction of the Estimate which was submitted by the Government. This Estimate was framed in December, 1887. The Committee reported on the 8th of June, 1888. The Government had had five months to digest the Report. They presumably were not aware of the character of the Department for which they had provided in their Estimate. They were now enlightened. The Committee had informed the Treasury that the Legal Department of the Treasury was overmanned, and that, over-manned as it was, it was also individually over-paid, and yet the Government submitted to the House, five months after the date of the Report, this Vote in its integrity. They had not had a single word from the

Government, although the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had spoken as to their intention to reduce this Vote, already condemned by so authoritative a tribunal as that they themselves constituted. Who were the witnesses before the Committee? The first was Sir Augustus Stephenson himself; the next was the Hon. H. Cuffe, an assistant solicitor; and the third was Mr. Chance, an assistant solicitor; and then came Lord Lingen, an ex-Treasury official; Sir Reginald Welby, a present Treasury official; Mr. Wakefield, the Clerk of Accounts in the Treasury Solicitor's Department. The only witnesses who were not Treasury officials were Mr. Mason, the Solicitor to the London and North-Western Railway Company; Mr. J. C. Fox, one of the partners in the firm of Messrs. Hare and Co., solicitors, the agents to the Treasury Solicitor; and Mr. Justice Wills. More than two-thirds of the witnesses were actually interested parties, officials of the Treasury itself. There were only two really independent witnesses; one was a Judge and the other a Solicitor to a Railway Company. Having heard evidence from that limited class of witnesses, the Committee absolutely condemned the Department in most uncompromising terms as over-manned and as over-paid. And yet this Vote was submitted to the Committee of Supply without any suggestion from the only Member of the Government who had addressed the House of the least intention on the part of the Treasury to reduce the figures. Another very curious point about the Report was, that it enumerated all the officers who were employed in the Legal Department of the Treasury; it gave not only their numbers but their names and their rates of pay, and he found that the numbers did not agree with the numbers set forth in the Vote. There were 31 effective officers named in the Report; there were only 28 provided for in the Vote. The Vote showed a total of £18,493; the Report submitted in June, 1888—that was since the Vote was presented—showed that the total to be expended was £21,702. In other words the Report of the Committee, who had the most detailed information up to date, varies from the figures of the Estimate by no less a sum than £3,000, and in point of strength of staff the Report showed 31 officers as against 28 provided for by the Vote. The Committee's Report contained some very curious observations. The Committee reported that they were of opinion—

"That the principal injurious effects to which your Committee refer are, that if the persons so employed are possessed of vested interests or claims, the Solicitor to the Treasury has no immediate control over them: he cannot procure their dismissal without the commission by them of acts of gross misconduct, and he is hampered in securing, from time to time, the assistance of persons of ability and industrious habits."

What did that mean? Did it mean that the present staff of the Legal Department of the Treasury were not persons of ability and industrious habits; and if it did not mean that, what on earth did it mean? And if it did mean that, where was the authority of the Central Department of the Treasury in a case where persons in an over-grown and over-paid Establishment were indirectly referred to in a Report of such authority as this, as persons wanting in ability and industrious habits? He supposed there was not a Department of a single Civil Service in the world where persons who were wanting in necessary ability and industrious habits could be continued in their employment on full pay, in an Office which was manifestly and admittedly over-manned and over-paid, except the Treasury Department of the English Civil Service. As had been already pointed out, all contentious business in the Legal Department was conducted, not by the Treasury Solicitor himself, but by outsiders, agents employed for the purpose and the Committee reported—

"That as soon as there are members of the staff capable of conducting causes of a contentious character, the business now performed by the Treasury agents, Messrs. Hare & Co., should be carried on within the Department, under the direct supervision of the Treasury Solicitor. In making this recommendation your Committee desire to expressly state that they are in no way condemning the manner in which Messrs. Hare have conducted the business of the Treasury; and it may be worthy of consideration, if any reconstruction of the Solicitor's Department be effected in the future, whether the services of some of those who have hitherto so conducted that business may not be utilized."

A very good and practical suggestion. The outsiders who had been doing the contentious work of the Treasury knew their business. They were not mere red-tapeists, not mere clerks whose prin-

cipal concern was to know how to shunt as much as possible of the daily routine business on some Department other than their own, or on to some members of the Department other than themselves. Messrs. Hare & Co. and those they employed, being in active business, and surrounded with the daily energy and excitement of public and open competition, knew their work, and they did their work, no doubt, very admirably. But what the Treasury wanted was such men on their own staff, and not a number of persons wanting in ability and industrious habits. The Committee went on to say—

"It is difficult to define the exact number of persons required to discharge the duties of the Department; but, as far as they can judge, your Committee are of opinion that if the Department were now to be established for the first time, it should consist of the Solicitor, who should perform the duties now discharged by Sir A. K. Stephenson, and three Assistant Solicitors;"—

They had Assistant Solicitors now; but what their qualifications were it might be invidious to say—

"Five clerks possessing qualifications similar to those possessed by managing clerks in a London solicitor's office;"—

What a sweeping condemnation of the whole system which at present prevailed at the Treasury—

"And such number of other clerks as may be found necessary to discharge the labours of the Office."

Then they came to something more in the nature of details. The three Assistant Solicitors were now receiving salaries of £1,500 a-year each, and the Committee were of opinion that those Solicitors should receive salaries varying from £1,500 to £1,000 a-year. They were also of opinion that five clerks should be paid salaries varying from £600 to £300 a-year, those salaries being at the present time nearly double. The Committee only reported upon these subjects to which he had referred. The subject upon which they did not report was the question of the changes which were desirable in the rules or customs which at present governed the selection and payment of the Counsel employed in the various classes of Government legal business. It was not clear that it was the intention of the Treasury that that should be taken in hand, inquired into, and reported upon. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) had stated that he had some answer to make to an inquiry addressed to him on this Vote, and he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) was inclined to suspect that the hon. Gentleman's answer would probably be limited to those points on which he had previously dwelt. It would be interesting, however, to know whether the Treasury meant to deal with that question as to which the Committee had not reported. It was perfectly plain that this Department was ridiculously over-manned and ridiculously over-paid. His hon. Friend (Mr. Pickersgill) had moved a reduction of the Vote by £1,000; but placing the most liberal interpretation upon the Report of the Committee, it was evident that the reduction of £1,000 was one which would be entirely inadequate. For want of a better Motion, however, he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) would certainly vote with the hon. Member if he went to a Division. He thought that the Committee would see, from the extracts of the Reports he had read, that some radical or thorough reform ought to be taken in hand and pushed to immediate realization in the present financial year. If that were done, it would be found that the Vote, as now submitted to Parliament, was really unnecessary.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I will begin, not only by repudiating on behalf of the Government any blame which the Committee may be disposed to allot, but also by claiming from the Committee credit to the Government for having inaugurated the Committee which furnished the food for this discussion. It was because the Government were of opinion that the time had arrived when a complete and searching inquiry should be made into the condition of the Office in question, that they decided to appoint a Committee. Therefore, I shall claim for the Government every credit for the economy which resulted from the step thus taken. The Government were most anxious that they should, on that inquiry, obtain the services of men who would warrant the description the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) has given of it, and that they should have an authoritative expression of opinion.

They were, therefore, most careful in their selection of men to serve on the Committee, and they were exceedingly obliged to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) for consenting to be a Member of it. Some hon. Members seem disposed rather to throw blame and to complain that the present Treasury Solicitor has an Office which is not only over-manned, but highly over-paid. That may be so; but that is not the fault of the present Treasury Solicitor. To the Office of which he is the head, there was added, subsequent to his appointment, the Solicitor's Department which then existed in the Office of Works, in the War Office, in the Admiralty, and in the Queen's Proctor's Office. When these solicitors were taken over, they were taken over at their then existing salaries, with their then existing staffs; and if the Treasury Solicitor at that time had wished to make a show of great economy, he might have called on the Government of the day to sanction the reduction of these establishments by granting terms of abolition pension, and in that way to reduce the charge for effective services. Apparently, at that time, it was thought to be more prudent not to grant abolition pensions, not to make any additions to the staff, and not to make any appointments when vacancies occurred. The staff then represented an annual cost of about £27,000. Reductions have been made which had effected a saving of about £7,000 a-year, and in addition to that, there has, in the matter of pensions, been a saving of about £2,000 a-year. I merely mention these facts in order to show that it is not fair to cast blame upon the present holder of the Office of Treasury Solicitor. I think that a perfectly fair question has been put to the Government—namely, what are they going to do in the present condition of circumstances; what action are they going to take on the Report of this very able, strong, and authoritative Committee? In reply, I may state that the action which they propose to take is, practically, to accept the recommendations of the Committee. That, I think, is a complete answer to all and every criticism which has been offered up to the present time. I may add, that since the issue of the Report of the Committee an Office has become vacant which represented a salary of £1,200 a year, and the Government have decided not to fill it. They have also decided, as other Offices become vacant, not to fill them until they bring the total staff within the compass of the lines of the recommendations of the Committee. I think the Committee, therefore, will probably agree that it is not necessary for me to go into the details of the questions which have been put, and the evidence which has been cited, because I take it the object of the Committee is to know what action the Government is going to take on the Report of the Committee which the Government itself appointed.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, it was very interesting, of course, to get the statement they had just heard from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, and they were indebted to the hon. Member for East Donegal (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) and the hon. Member for East Hull (Mr. Grotrian) for extracting that much. He (Mr. Bradlaugh) did not know that it was the fault of the Treasury Solicitor that he received high pay, but he thought they might have had a little more from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury by way of detail as to what it was proposed to do. His (Mr. Bradlaugh's) recollection of the evidence, which had been so fully referred to by the hon. Member for East Donegal, included a matter which he did not think that hon. Gentleman had stated to the House. It explained why a great deal of the work which ought to be done by the Solicitor to the Treasury was done by other solicitors as his agents—why this Gentleman who was receiving £3,000 a year, as Solicitor to the Treasury, really did not act in that capacity at all. The Solicitor to the Treasury, frankly enough, in his evidence, said that he had had no experience as a solicitor. This gentleman was, therefore, appointed to an office which he was utterly incompetent to fill, and it was probably meant that he should only be a nominal figure-head, employing somebody else to do the work that he was employed to do. There had been occasions when Sir A. K. Stephenson had given the Government the benefit of his presence in the Police Court, but they had been very seldom, and in nearly every case where Treasury

prosecutions had been conducted, they had been conducted by private firms of solicitors who would not have been required at all if the head of the Department had been a practical solicitor. They were told that it was not this Gentleman's fault that he had had to take over different solicitors from the different departments, but they were also told that all these payments were to be persisted in until the gentlemen now holding office died off. It was exceedingly difficult, no doubt, if the abolition of office was to be accompanied with pensions, to abolish offices and so swell the non-effective Votes, but he failed to see why the Government should retain the services of incompetent people at salaries they did not earn. Was it to be said that the Committee had nothing to do with it, and had merely to vote the amounts put before them? He did not think the Committee should do that, but that they should divide against the Vote for the purpose of showing their sense of the position in which they found themselves. If he (Mr. Bradlaugh) had a grievance against the mover of this reduction, it was that he had not moved a large enough reduction. He certainly trusted that the hon. Member would not require any pressing to go to a Division. In any case, he (Mr. Bradlaugh) should only do his duty to go into the Lobby against this expenditure, before the Vote was taken. As an illustration of the manner in which Sir A. K. Stephenson did the country the honour of appearing in Court, he would point out that costs amounting to £40 would have been enforced against some poor men—with the approval of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary—if it had not been for the intervention of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt); and when the costs came to be taxed they amounted only to £14 odd, so that, if the full amount demanded had been paid, somebody would have a made a considerable profit. If these were results for which they paid £3,000 a year, they ought to express their dissatisfaction by a Division. [Mr. MATTHEWS dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary shook his head when he mentioned these facts, but the right hon. Gentleman had refused to allow an adjournment of the case to enable the facts to be gone into, when he (Mr. Bradlaugh) had applied for it, and he thought the Committee ought to mark its sense of what had taken place, and of the general position of the Solicitor's Department, by going into the Lobby. In this way they could show that economy had some meaning in it, and was to be translated into a practical Division.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London) said, he did not wish to detain the Committee, but merely to state that he had received a telegram from the hon. Member for Flintshire, who usually sat opposite (Mr. S. Smith), expressing his obligations to the Government, and especially to the hon. and learned Solicitor General, for the course taken in prosecuting the publishers of the translations of Zola's works. The hon. Member, who had sent this telegram in June or July last, had brought very forcibly before the House the question of the publication of obscene literature in this country, and had carried an Amendment on the subject, and he now felt very grateful to the Government for the course they had taken in prosecuting the publishers of this atrocious literature. His hon. Friend wished to draw the attention of the House and the Government to the necessity of doing more in the same direction through the Public Prosecutor.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) said, it was rather unfortunate that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had referred the House to the Report of the Select Committee, to which, subsequently, such startling reference had been made by the hon. Member for East Donegal. After the references they had heard from the hon. Member for East Donegal, if anyone had hesitated previously as to what position they should take up on this question, and whether they should follow the hon. Member for Bethnal Green into the Lobby, that hesitation would now be dissipated. The more they looked into that Report, the less defence there was for the action of the Director of Public Prosecutions. At first his (Mr. J. Rowland's) impression had been that the Public Prosecutor had not sufficient time to devote to the cases which had been referred to, but when they remembered that such cases as that of the bogus Companies had occurred, they were forced to the conclu-

sion that the Public Prosecutor had failed in his duty in refusing to receive information offered to him by responsible persons; when they found that, instead of being over-worked, this official had a staff at his disposal which was far too large for the business he had to do, and that the staff was over-paid, the conduct of this gentleman stood out still more for condemnation.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he also had a Motion on the Paper for the reduction of the salary of the Director of Public Prosecutions, but his object in opposing the Vote was entirely different from that of the hon. Member, who held that the salary of the Solicitor to the Treasury was too high. He did not wish to go into that question, but his complaint was that the service rendered for the money paid was altogether inadequate, and that the public did not get a sufficient return for their money—that the Director of Public Prosecutions did not do enough in the way of public prosecutions. He did not mean to blame Sir Augustus Stephenson, his contention being that the fault lay with the system under which public prosecutions were conducted, or rather were not conducted. Parliament and the country had decided that we should have a system of public prosecutions, and it was the duty of those who had charge of the Department to carry out public prosecutions; but at present, although no doubt thieves and murderers were prosecuted, the perpetrators of a large number of frauds and dishonest mercantile transactions were not dealt with at all. The country was honeycombed with commercial frauds that were not sufficiently followed up. He believed that it had been altogether a mistake to unite the office of Public Prosecutor with that of Solicitor to the Treasury. The Government had the Office of Public Prosecutor held by an inefficient person, and had evaded the difficulty by a re-organization which took the shape of adding the enormous duties of Public Prosecutor to those of a person who was over-burdened already. Judges and Royal Commissions had exposed the grossest frauds in the country, and there was no doubt, as he had said, that the country was honeycombed with all sorts of fraud, the effect of which was to prevent prudence and saving amongst the community. Nothing prevented prudence more than the insecurity of public Companies, and the difficulty in finding out where money could be safely invested. He maintained that the public had a right to be protected by the State against fraud just as much as they had to be protected against pickpockets. No doubt there had been one or two prosecutions in cases of fraudulent bankruptcy, but they were the rare exceptions. The bogus Companies and Trusts, with reference to which the editor of *The Statist* had taken action, were allowed to go on without punishment being inflicted on their promoters. The Public Prosecutor had been communicated with by the editor of that newspaper, and information as to certain frauds had been conveyed to him, but the Public Prosecutor had evaded the inquiry. He (Sir George Campbell) did not say whether the Public Prosecutor ought, or ought not, to have undertaken the prosecutions in these cases, but he thought that the statements of the editor of *The Statist* ought to have been received in a different spirit than by the mere intimation that the City Solicitor was making inquiries. Was it for the City Solicitor to make inquiries in cases of this kind? No doubt the City was full of frauds, but those frauds had their ramifications outside the City, and therefore he maintained that it was the duty of the Public Prosecutor to move in such matters. Then there was the great Salt Trust, which was nothing more nor less than a great conspiracy. He had asked the Government the other day whether these trusts were legal or illegal, and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had replied to him as though the point were raised for the first time, and had said that no one had brought the matter before his notice in a way which would justify his taking a legal opinion. The right hon. Gentleman had said this in spite of the fact that every species of public organ had disclosed the matter, and that very considerable authorities, through the Press, had expressed opinions adverse to this system of rings, which old laws of this country had held to be criminal. There were many old laws which held as criminal practices on the part of Companies or individuals in restraint of trade. Competent autho-

rities, moreover, had asserted that there were even special laws against combinations to keep up the price of salt. He did not know whether this was really the case, but he thought, at any rate, that the subject was one which should be inquired into. He would point out, however, that there was one thing which the law of this country did affect, and that was the practice of conspiracy. They had heard a great deal of late of the law of conspiracy as applied to Ireland, and they had heard described as illegal combinations with the object of cutting down prices. Well, if these combinations were illegal, he thought that the law should be also brought to bear upon people who combined to keep up prices. At any rate, it was the duty of the Public Prosecutor to satisfy himself as to whether these rings, such as the Salt Rings, were legal or illegal, and whether or not those who took part in them could be prosecuted. He maintained that this country was singularly in want for machinery in bringing public attention to bear upon these things. They possessed such machinery in France, and to the fact that fraud was severely punished in that country was, no doubt, owing the circumstance that the people were so saving. The poor in Scotland were also, to some extent, protected from these conspiracies; but unhappily the law of Scotland was being emasculated by contact with her richer neighbour. He supported the Motion, not for the purpose of censuring any individual, but as a protest against a system.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, he did not contemplate voting in favour of the reduction of this Vote, because the Public Prosecutor had failed to take criminal action against the Salt Syndicate, nor because that official had not prosecuted the authors of bogus Companies. It appeared that the original promoter of these bogus Companies had run away, although the editor of *The Statist* thought certain other persons should be prosecuted for having associated themselves with him. It might or might not be a proper thing to prosecute these persons; but at any rate, with reference to the fraudulent Companies, no decision could be come to until the Public Prosecutor had been heard; there might or might not be a case. But when he found, as he did in one case, that a summons was dismissed because the Prosecutor could not find about £40 costs, he felt an abuse existed; expecially as Mr. Poland, he supposed, did not do the thing cheap, on the job, and it was a scandal that a prosecution should fail for a reason like that. What he asked was this—when prosecutions were undertaken by the Treasury or Joseph Chamberlain—[*Laughter*]—Peter Chamberlain, he meant—the Public Prosecutor did not fulfil the duties himself. For such cases Mr. Poland drew four guineas, and unless he had an explanation why the Public Prosecutor did not see to these cases himself, he should go to a Division.

Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he would point out to the hon. Member for East Donegal that the Select Committee to which reference had been made had reported upon all points referred to them; but by that strange and mysterious law which seemed to regulate the printing of documents for the information of the House, as they did not report upon one part of the Reference much more than four months ago, the Report was not well in the hands of Members. The Committee had reported that it was not desirable to make any change in the rules or customs which at present governed the selection and payment of counsel. The work appeared to the Committee to be performed in a satisfactory manner; but they had recommended one important change, which, to some extent, bore upon the matter the Committee were discussing some time ago—namely, that when the Attorney General went to prosecute in any case out of London he should not be, as at present entitled, by the etiquette of the Bar, to a special retainer of 300 guineas. The Committee recommended that this payment should cease, and that a different scale of emolument should be adopted. He (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) begged to thank the Secretary to the Treasury for the way in which he had spoken of the labours of the Select Committee, and for the promise which had been made to adopt the recommendation contained in its Report. He recognized the difficulty in which the Treasury were placed in this matter. They had allowed the office to grow into its present unsatisfactory condition. There was a staff of 49 members

in the Treasury Solicitor's Office, of which the cost, exclusive of the Solicitor's salary, was £18,000, whereas the Solicitors' Department of the North Western Railway Company, which no one would say was of small importance, was conducted at a cost, exclusive of the Solicitor's salary, of a little over £7,000. He hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would not listen to any scheme for re-organization. The real *crux* of the question was whether the Government were going to allow any additional staff taken into the Office to become permanent members of the Civil Service? Hon. Gentlemen on that side had been, and still were, of opinion that they should not do so. They were of opinion that the Treasury should constitute a Court of Appeal, but that the Solicitor to the Treasury should engage and dismiss the various *employés*, whereas the present system implied so many vested interests and pensions in the case of those on the staff. They wanted the Treasury to say that the statement which had been made was not merely a friendly one, but that it should be a permanent decision binding on the successors of right hon. Gentlemen opposite; that a change was to take place; that they were to reduce the overgrown establishment of the Office, and re-constitute it on a new, economical, and permanent basis.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he was obliged to the right hon. Gentleman for what he had stated, but he thought that he had been a little too hard in his criticism at an earlier part of the evening on the non-production of the Report of the Committee. The Report which he made so much of was at the moment in the Vote Office and in print, and he mentioned that to show that they had endeavoured to produce the Report in time for use in the Committee. The right hon. Gentleman said that he did not want the Government to make a merely friendly statement — that he wanted something to be put on record. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that this was not the manner in which the Government were endeavouring to conduct their business, and that the reason why he did not enter into details was because he thought the statement made would cover the whole subject, and that it would be understood that the Government intended to give effect to it. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to a recommendation that certain clerks should not be members of the Civil Service. The Government were prepared to accept the recommendation of the Committee on that point, and in every respect, with the exception of the three assistant solicitors. The right hon. Gentleman would remember that the Committee were not unanimous on that point, and that two Members of the Committee who signed the Report expressed the opinion that the three assistant solicitors ought to be members of the Civil Service. So far as the assistant solicitors were concerned, he wished it to be understood that with these exceptions, which were for the moment in abeyance, the Government had accepted the recommendation of the Committee, and that the other members of the staff were not to be members of the Civil Service. He hoped that would satisfy the right hon. Gentleman. There had been a practical agreement arrived at in reference to the staff which was considered necessary in future, and it was to be placed on record at the Treasury what course was to be followed with respect to this Office. The points to which the right hon. Gentleman had referred would be placed on record and carried out actually in the form which he desired. He hoped he might appeal to the Committee at that somewhat late hour (10.30) to allow the Vote to be taken, and particularly would he appeal to the hon. Gentleman who had moved its reduction. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) had himself pointed out the difficulties in the way of giving effect to the hon. Gentleman's Motion. It would be inconsistent with precedent, and most unusual, to reduce the salaries of the existing staff, and he trusted that, on the authority of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton, the hon. Member for Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill) would be satisfied with the discussion which had taken place on his Motion. He thought the Government had shown that they had not been neglectful or wanting in care or attention with respect to the question brought forward, and he hoped he had satisfied the hon. Gentleman that the Government had endeavoured, as far

as was in their power, to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee.

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury, Lancashire) said, it was very satisfactory to hear from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury that he accepted the principle that with certain exceptions the solicitors in the Treasury Department should not be servants of the Crown. He hoped the hon. Member for Bethnal Green would not take a Division as to a deduction from the salary of the Public Prosecutor. There was no intention to leave things as they were, but it was only fair to the gentleman who filled the office of Solicitor to the Treasury to say that he was placed in a position of great disadvantage. The Establishments of other Departments had been sent over to the Solicitor to the Treasury; they had no experience in relation to the kind of business with which they had to deal, and in consequence they were in that respect inefficient. There was nothing which the Government should enter upon with greater care than the prosecution of Companies of the kind referred to; and he thought it was an evil thing to tell persons who became shareholders of Companies, in order to get large profits, that if they failed the Government would prosecute. It was much better to leave persons to trust to their own intelligence as to speculative Companies than to the Public Prosecutor. He remembered one of the most convincing arguments was used in that House by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), who, when he was asked to countenance a public prosecution in the case of Overend, Gurney, and Co., declined to do so, because it would have been giving aid to speculators, and saying to persons who wanted to get high dividends—"You are not to trust to your own intelligence." He protested against the teaching that when a man could not get back his money from a public Company he should be able to go to the Public Prosecutor and so commence a prosecution.

MR. PICKERSGILL said, an appeal had been made to him which he regretted he could not accede to. Replies had been made generally by the Representatives of the Government, but, so far as his own remarks were concerned, he had not received any satisfaction whatever. The complaint on his part with regard to certain bogus Companies had, he thought, been missed by one or two hon. Members. He did not for one moment say that there had been a case for prosecution; he had not seen the papers, and it was absurd, in their absence, to express an opinion. But he had drawn attention to a City scandal, and he had protested against a case being handed over to the City Solicitor for investigation which ought to have been followed up by the Director of Public Prosecutions. He felt convinced that the door would be opened to the greatest possible abuse if they were to sanction this course of action on the part of the Director of Public Prosecutions.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he did not wish to take away the salary of the Director of Public Prosecutions. The only occasion on which he came in contact with that official was when he asked for a *fiat* to prosecute the Editor of *The Western Morning News* for a criminal libel on himself, in pursuance of which he had had the satisfaction of prosecuting Mr. Grosser and compelling him to make a public retractation and apology. Therefore, for his own part, he had to express satisfaction with Sir Augustus Stephenson in reference to the matter, which was of great importance to him at the time. But there was a question of later date, with reference to Trafalgar Square, to which he must call attention. Towards the end of July last the hon. Member for North-West Lanark (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) stated to the House that he would use his influence to have the meetings in Trafalgar Square discontinued upon a statement of the point at issue; this was to be done on the understanding that the legal and constitutional question would be distinctly and fully stated in a special case which was to be presented to a Court of Law, the draft of which special case he had in his hands. It appeared that an attempt had been made to strike out the wide legal and constitutional points which hon. Members on that side of the House desired to raise; and, on the understanding that these could be raised alone, he and his hon. Friends had consented to forego their right of meeting in Trafalgar Square. He asked the

Chairman whether he would be within his right in saying anything further on this subject?

THE CHAIRMAN said, he presumed the hon. Member wished to challenge the view taken by the Director of Public Prosecutions. If that were so, he did not think that the matter would come under the present Vote.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he would not challenge the decision of the Chairman.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked if he would be in Order in moving to reduce the salary of the Solicitor because he had refused to state a case?

THE CHAIRMAN said, that on that ground the case could be brought forward, but he had understood that it was a question as to the accuracy of the view taken.

DR. CLARK said, it was simply that in order to have a case stated it was necessary to obtain the consent of the Treasury, and a case had been drawn up by which the right of public meeting in Trafalgar Square and other spaces in the Metropolis was to be brought before a Court of Law. The Solicitor to the Treasury struck out all the public questions, and narrowed the case down to technical and trivial points in reference to one of the cases, which at present prevented an appeal being made to the Court on a great public question. Instead of getting a fair case stated to the Judges to ascertain whether there was any public right of meeting, the Solicitor to the Treasury, who was the only official they knew in the matter, had struck out all the points of public interest and limited the others to two. He thought hon. Members had a right to move the reduction of the salary, because the Solicitor to the Treasury had not enabled the opinion of the Judges to be obtained.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, the prosecution of widely-extended frauds appeared to him to be a matter within the province of the Public Prosecutor, and he thought that he was entitled to have some further explanation on this subject. The only explanation given was that by the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James); but, with all respect to the right hon. and learned Gentleman, the real basis of his argument was that English lawyers were opposed to public prosecutions. The right hon. and learned Gentleman protested against public prosecutions of the kind, because he said that people ought to take care and look after their own interests. Undoubtedly, large investors would be able to do this; but he contended that for smaller men, who invested their savings, it was totally impossible for them to protect themselves against such frauds. His opinion was that while you could not protect people against their own folly, they ought to be protected against fraud; and that when a subject of the State saved his money and wanted to invest it fairly, the State ought to protect him, if his money was fraudulently obtained from him. It was not desirable in the interests of the country that these small investors should be altogether debarred from taking part in the industrial enterprizes of the country. Therefore, he repeated that the Committee were entitled to some further explanation on this subject from Her Majesty's Government. Did the Government mean to say that it was not the duty of the Director of Public Prosecutions to prosecute mercantile and financial frauds which were directed against the public interest; did they think that, under those circumstances, the Public Prosecutor should have handed over the case referred to by the hon. Member for Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill) to the City Solicitor; was it the duty of the Director of Public Prosecutions to ascertain whether there had been a breach of the Criminal Law or not; and, if so, was it not his duty to prosecute?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he understood the duty of the Public Prosecutor was to stand in the position of the public when there was no reasonable ground for believing that private persons would discharge the duty which belonged to them of prosecuting a person who had defrauded them. It was not the duty of the Public Prosecutor to take up the interests of every private individual throughout the country. The theory upon which the Government had proceeded was that private persons who were injured by fraud and robbery were bound, as citizens, to defend themselves and prosecute those who had done them wrong. If, however, they had reason

to believe that there was no prospect of a great public wrong being remedied except by the intervention of the Public Prosecutor, then the Public Prosecutor intervened. But it had never been countenanced, nor was it laid down by any Act of Parliament, that he should take the place of every private individual and prosecute for every private wrong. He thought it would be a great misfortune if they were to relieve the public of their duty of defending themselves, of looking after their own interests, and of seeing carefully to their own protection, and if they were to create an impression that a great rate of interest was to be got from investments; but if there was anything wrong behind these investments, that there would be a public watch-dog, so to speak, to pounce down on the individual who offered the inducements. It seemed to him that in England, at all events, they were able to protect themselves wholesomely and healthily against those who wished to prey on the community at large, and he did not think that it would be for the good of the community that they should impose upon a public body the duty which belonged to individuals. Reference had been made to the correspondence which had passed between the Editor of *The Statist* and the Director of Public Prosecutions with reference to the City Solicitor, who had been instructed to prosecute in the case in question. He thought it would have been obviously most undesirable that another prosecution should have been set on foot by the Public Prosecutor side by side with that undertaken by the City Solicitor. At all events, they had no right to ask the public to bear the cost of a prosecution which ought to be undertaken by individuals.

Dr. CLARK said, that he thought hon. Members ought to leave this matter over until the Report stage of the Vote, if the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would tell the Committee whether the Government were prepared to state cases and allow an appeal to be made to the Judges on the right of the police to prohibit public meetings. At the present time, as Sir Augustus Stephenson had not consented to state a case, they would be compelled to call meetings in order to make one. He hoped the Government would meet the Committee by saying that they would give a fair case to go to the Judges, and then the Committee would probably defer the further consideration of the matter until the Report.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Edward Clarke) (Plymouth) said, he thought there must be some misapprehension with regard to the question of the settlement of this case. The desire of the Government had been and was that every question which could arise on the circumstances given in evidence should be fully brought out and discussed in a Court of Law. He was, of course, conversant, to some extent, with the matter of this case, and he was aware that certain paragraphs originally in the draft were struck out; but that was done not because they raised any large question which the parties were reluctant to have discussed, but because they included matters which ought not to have been introduced, and which could not properly be stated for the consideration of the Court. The desire of the Government was that every question which could be raised on that case, however large it might be, should be fully and fairly stated, and be discussed and decided upon by a Superior Court, and he thought that if the hon. Member who made these observations would look carefully through the case he would see that the amendments were such as did not strike out any statement of fact with regard to what had taken place, and that the draft form sent back was intended to raise the largest and most important questions of law.

Mr. CONYBEARE said, he happened to hold in his hand the draft of Mr. Poland as corrected by him on behalf of the Treasury. If the Solicitor General asked him to believe that no constitutional or legal question had been excluded by these emendations of Mr. Poland he respectfully differed from him on a matter of fact.

Sir EDWARD CLARKE: No question which arose out of the facts in the case.

Mr. CONYBEARE said, then they asked the Government to provide them with a case that should raise all the questions, because the case set out by the hon. Member for North-West Lanark (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) was that they would take no further steps in what they considered to be their legal rights in the matter until a special case

had been decided by a Superior Court, which would settle one way or other which party was right in his contention. The questions for consideration struck out by Mr. Poland had reference to whether the public had right by law to assemble and hold public meetings in the Square; whether it was lawful for the police by force to prevent the people from meeting when such meetings were lawful and orderly; whether processions had rights by law to pass through the adjoining thoroughfares; whether it was lawful for the police to prevent by force the passing of processions; whether the Proclamation had or had not been warranted by Common Law or Statute; whether persons taking part in such meetings might be removed from the Square by the police by force or otherwise; and whether such persons might lawfully resist such removal? He contended that all these questions were those in which the public took an interest, and on the decision of which, by a Superior Court, hon. Members had set their hearts. He said that every one of these had been deliberately struck out by Sir Augustus Stephenson or Mr. Poland, apparently with the cognizance or assistance of the Solicitor General. They were told that because these particular questions were not connected with Borgia's case they must make a special case and incur expense. As the Solicitor General knew, there were at least three cases.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that a discussion criticizing the administration of the Public Prosecutor's action in not carrying out an engagement would, no doubt, come under the examination of the Committee on this Vote; but he must inform the Committee that if they intended to review the items of a special case to be agreed upon between two parties it could not be allowed for a moment.

MR. CONYBEARE asked the Government whether they would carry out their pledge, and enable hon. Members to raise this question before a Superior Court? It was upon that understanding they abstained, and should continue to abstain, so long as the Government kept their pledge, from taking any further action connected with the Square. They simply asked that if Borgia's case would not raise these issues, another case should be taken in order that it might be brought before the Judges.

SIR EDWARD CLARKE said, this was a question not for the Government, but for the magistrate. It was for the magistrate to state the case on the facts laid before him, and if that were done the Government would give all the assistance in their power to have the largest questions raised that were involved in the case.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that no reply had been given to one of his questions. What he wanted to know was, whether the Government would try to ascertain if the proceedings of the Salt Ring constituted a breach of the Criminal Law of the country?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that the hon. Member had given the Government no information on which they could possibly proceed. They had nothing in the nature of information as to what he described as a Salt Ring. If the hon. Gentleman would lay before them facts to justify their action, they would take such action as it might be necessary to take in the interests of the country, but they had nothing more than the statement of the hon. Gentleman that there was a Salt Ring. If, however, the hon. Gentleman would give them on paper any statement which they could submit to the Law Officers of the Crown, he would undertake to say that if it were shown that wrong had been done to the country a prosecution should follow.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that in the United States there had grown up a practice under which great producers had combined in order to raise the price of material and produce to consumers. That system seemed to have been imported into this country, and he believed that an attempt had been made by the great salt producers to combine to raise the price of that product and not allow free trade in it to exist. He had read these statements in the newspapers. He wanted to know whether they were true; and, if true, did they amount to a breach of the Criminal Law? He would submit the matter in the form suggested by the right hon. Gentleman.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 90; Noes 180: Majority 90.—(Div. List, No. 283.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(4.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £42,917, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Criminal Prosecutions at Assizes and Quarter Sessions, and for Adjudications under 'The Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1879;' for Sheriffs' Expenses, Salaries to Clerks of Assize and other Officers, Compensation to Clerks of the Peace and others; and for Expenses incurred under Extradition Treaties."

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, he desired to draw attention to a point which had been brought before the Committee for several years past, one on which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) expressed a somewhat strong opinion not long ago. The point was that clerks to the Justices in counties were interested parties in the proceedings which were taken against the prisoners who were brought before magistrates. A prisoner was brought before a magistrate, and the clerk advised the magistrate as to what he should do. If the clerk advised that the prisoner should be prosecuted, the clerk received the fees for drawing up the brief and for other services. It was quite clear that this was most irregular and most unfair, and that, as a judicial practice, it could not be defended for a moment. Clerks to magistrates in boroughs received no such fees, and could not take part in any proceedings which were initiated against a prisoner after the latter was originally brought before the magistrates. Magistrates' clerks in counties, however, were actually interested in prosecutions. One did not like to say that a clerk would, under those circumstances, advise a magistrate to order a prosecution unless he really believed there was necessity; but still the temptation was there for a clerk in a case in which, perhaps, he had not quite made up his mind—a case in which there was some doubt—to lean to that side which was to his own personal benefit. He believed that last year the Attorney General (Sir Richard Webster) expressed an opinion strongly opposed to the present system; indeed, the only reason he (Mr. Molloy) had heard assigned for the continuance of the mal-practice was, that if the clerk had not the advantage of the fees which followed from their action, there might be some difficulty in getting a clerk of sufficient legal knowledge and standing to carry out the work. But if it were necessary to double or treble the salaries of the clerks to the Justices, it was infinitely better that should be done than that the clerks should be left in the position that they were interested parties in the prosecution of prisoners. It was hard that year after year the same complaint should have to be made in the House, that each succeeding Attorney General should declare that this was a mal-practice and ought to be abolished, and that yet, year after year, the practice was allowed to exist.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Molloy) had, no doubt, called attention to a matter of great importance. It was perfectly right to say that magistrates' clerks in boroughs were prohibited from taking part directly in prosecutions, and he thought it was very desirable that the prohibition should extend to clerks to Justices in counties. At the same time, he did not believe any serious abuse existed. That, however, was no argument against reform. During the last few weeks he had been in communication with persons who had brought before his attention cases where partners of clerks to Justices, or persons connected with them, had acted in the way complained of; and he had made representations to the authorities in regard to the matter, in the hope that the practice would be discontinued. He quite agreed with the hon. and learned Gentleman that this was a matter which ought to be redressed, and, as far as he was concerned, he should only be glad to see a reform of the law effected.

SIR HENRY JAMES (Bury, Lancashire) said, that very often in rural districts there was no selection of solicitors. They required to intrust prosecutions to gentlemen of high legal standing, and in some places there was no other solicitor to whom prosecutions could be intrusted but the clerk to the Justices. He admitted the evil, which must be dealt with in some way or other.

MR. MOLLOY said, that they had been treated to the same expression of opinion as in years past. Was it not time a decision should be arrived at? The Attorney General, speaking on

behalf of the Government, considered that the practice should be abolished, and the evil was admitted on all hands. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) had spoken of the difficulty of finding suitable solicitors in sparsely populated districts to whom to intrust prosecutions. Of course, in the selection of clerks to Justices an endeavour was always made to find somebody who would not be likely to indulge in malpractices, but in a large class like that of Justices' clerks it was impossible to say that there would not be some who would advise prosecutions for the sake of the extra fees which they would obtain. The Committee was entitled to hear from the Attorney General that, before the Estimates were again introduced, some effort would be made to put an end to this mal-practice which the hon. and learned Gentleman himself condemned.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, he was not in a position to give a pledge in the matter. He had brought the question before the attention of the authorities, and he would do so again.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, he noticed in the Vote the item of £14,800 for the "repayment to Sheriffs in England and Wales of expenses incurred in providing lodgings for the Judges on circuit, rewards in respect of extraordinary exertions in the furtherance of justice, and other expenses." He would like to know what were the expenses incurred in providing lodgings for Judges, and what were the rewards? What rewards were given, and under what circumstances were they given?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he was afraid he could not give the hon. Gentleman the details, because he had not got them. He had no doubt he could get them if the hon. Gentleman wished to have them.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, the Committee ought not to be asked to pass an item of £14,800 and to receive the details afterwards. It might be satisfactory or it might not, but he thought he must divide the Committee. He begged to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £14,800.

Motion made, and Question put, "That Item I, £14,800, Repayments to Sheriffs, be omitted from the proposed Vote."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 66; Noes 176: Majority 110.—(Div. List, No. 284.).

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £153,315, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for such of the Salaries and Expenses of the Supreme Court of Judicature as are not charged on the Consolidated Fund."

MR. JENNINGS (Stockport) said, that he had a reduction to move on this Vote, but he was afraid that at that time (11.40) it was quite impossible to explain his reasons for the Motion. He therefore begged to move that the Chairman do report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Jennings.*)

The Committee proceeded to a Division, and the Chairman stated that he thought the Ayes had it, but his decision was challenged; and it appearing to the Chairman that the Division was frivolously claimed, he directed the Noes to stand up in their places, and Twelve Members having stood up, the Chairman declared the Ayes had it.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolution [9th November] *reported.*

"That a sum, not exceeding £1,286,077, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for Public Education in England and Wales, including Expenses of the Education Office in London."

Resolution *agreed to.*

AUGMENTATION OF BENEFICES ACT AMENDMENT BILL [*Lords*].

(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

[BILL 308.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Mr. DILLWYN (Swansea) said, he understood from the Government that they were not to proceed with any Bills to-night. To this Bill he had a strong objection, and he was convinced that it could not be properly discussed in the time which remained to them. He therefore begged to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Dillwyn.*)

The FIRST LORD of the TREASURY (Mr. W. H. Smith) (Strand, Westminster) said, that the Bill was of an extremely simple character; and, therefore, he hoped that the House would agree to proceed with the second reading. There was certainly no understanding that they should not proceed with Bills of such a limited character.

Mr. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) said, he must support the Motion for the Adjournment of the Debate, because this was an ecclesiastical measure, which had been introduced without any explanation.

Mr. F. S. POWELL (Wigan) said, it seemed to him that if hon. Members were anxious for information, the best course for them to pursue was to withdraw the Motion for Adjournment, and thus enable the First Lord of the Treasury to explain the provisions of the Bill.

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) said, it could not be contended by any Member of the House that even if the Motion for the Adjournment of the Debate were withdrawn, the Bill could be properly and adequately discussed in the 10 minutes which were at their disposal. If the Government were anxious that this Bill should be discussed, why did they not bring it on at a reasonable hour of the night? The practice of introducing Bills without explanation, and then moving the second reading without explanation, was one against which the House was called upon to protest. Personally, he would give no countenance to the practice.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

SUFFRAGANS' NOMINATION BILL

[*Lords*].—[Bill 363.]

(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 1.

Mr. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he was surprised that the Attorney General, of all people in the world, should have anything to do with this Bill. The Attorney General was a great authority upon patents, and why he should have——

The CHAIRMAN: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman must speak to Clause 1.

Mr. CONYBEARE said, he would speak to the clause. Clause 1 provided that this Act should be cited as the Suffragans' Nomination Act. The Bill was for the purpose of establishing bogus Bishops, and he could not understand why the Attorney General had assisted——

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is not speaking to Clause 1.

Mr. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.): I beg to move that the Chairman do report Progress.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 47; Noes 144: Majority 97.—(Div. List, No. 285.)

It being after Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow.*

PREFERENTIAL PAYMENT OF WAGES (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Randell, Bill to amend the Law with respect to preferential payments in Bankruptcy and in the winding-up of Companies, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Randell, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Abraham (Rhondda), and Mr. Llewellyn.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 381.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 13th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Public Health Acts Amendment (Buildings in Streets) * (283).
Second Reading—Oaths (272).
Third Reading—Victoria University (218-284), and *passed*.

NEW PEER.

The Right Honourable Sir John Savile, G.C.B., having been created Baron Savile of Rufford in the county of Nottingham—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

OATHS BILL.—(No. 272.)

(*The Lord Herschell.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

EARL SPENCER, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he must express his deep regret that his noble and learned Friend (Lord Herschell) was unable to do so in consequence of his absence from England. His noble and learned Friend had, therefore, requested him to take charge of the measure. In one sense the measure was full of legal points, and it might be of legal technicalities, and he wished the charge of it had fallen into the hands of some legal Member of their Lordships' House. On the other hand, there were many points in regard to which anyone who took an interest in public affairs had a right to express his views. There was one happy circumstance upon which he might congratulate himself—namely, that during the last year a very marked change had taken place with regard to public opinion on this measure. A few years ago this question of Oaths, particularly as it applied to the Houses of Parliament, was a matter of bitter controversy, and was taken up with great violence and great sincerity, perhaps, by men of both Parties in the State; but in the early part of this Session a marked change appeared, and this measure passed through the other House without any display of those regretful feelings. Both sides then took up the measure, and the Solicitor General, although, no doubt, in his individual capacity, assisted in framing the clauses and in helping the measure to pass. He trusted that in his remarks he should do nothing to increase and draw out Party feeling. First of all, he desired to say a few words on the general subject of Oaths, and he hoped he should not weary their Lordships by doing so. He should like to refer to two of the principal objects for which Oaths had been prescribed by Parliament—he meant originally as a test of loyalty, and also with regard to obtaining the greatest guarantee of the truth of evidence in Courts of Justice. Oaths of Allegiance affected in a great measure the Houses of Parliament. Had they been effectual in their object? He could hardly do better than quote the Report of the minority in a Blue Book delivered in 1867 on the question of Oaths. They said—

"Oaths of Allegiance have seldom, if ever, been found to be of any practical benefit to the persons or the institutions whose safety and stability it has been sought to maintain by imposing them. In peaceful and prosperous times they are not needed. In times of difficulty and danger they are not observed. Contemporary history affords abundant proofs of the inefficiency of political Oaths, whether taken by the people to their rulers or by rulers to their people."

Again, had Oaths been effectual in obtaining the greatest amount of truth in Courts of Justice? The same Minority Report said—

"Oaths taken on important occasions have been violated by persons of all ranks, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, sometimes with the connivance or even with the approval of the authorities whose duty it was to watch over their fulfilment. They have been taken under circumstances which could hardly fail to bring them into contempt, and in various ways have been treated as unmeaning forms by those to whose opinion or example the public have been disposed or accustomed to defer."

Great weight was due to these opinions of distinguished men, including Mr. Robert Lowe (now Lord Sherbrooke), Dr. Milman, Dean of St. Paul's, and Lord Lyveden. There was a curious example of the inefficiency of Oaths given in the same Report—

"Jeremy Bentham cites an oath taken by the Irish Bishops previously to investiture, in which each promises 'to see that in every parish within his diocese a school of a certain description shall have place.' 'Of the aggregate of these oaths,' he says, 'what in the year 1825 was the aggregate fruit? Performances, 782 perjuries, 480.'"

The late Sir John Mellor, Justice of

the Court of Queen's Bench, who had had a vast experience in Courts of Law, thus expressed his opinion of the value of Oaths—

"The Legislature has enabled even Atheists to depose without any obligation of taking an Oath; but at the same time making them liable to punishment for false testimony, as if they had committed perjury. Profoundly convinced, by a long judicial experience, of the general worthlessness of Oaths, especially in cases where their falsity cannot be tested by cross examination or be criminally punished, I have become an advocate for the abolition of Oaths as the test of truth; but I would retain the punishment for false declaration wherever at present the law prescribes a penalty for a false oath.

As far as his own individual opinion went, he should wish to see an Affirmation take the place of the Oath of Allegiance. He could not say that he went so far as to wish to see all Oaths dispensed with in Courts of Justice, for he was afraid we had not yet arrived at such perfection of human nature that an Oath would not assist the due administration of the law. During the last 60 years Parliament had been endeavouring to diminish the number of Oaths. In 1829 the disabilities which had been imposed on the Roman Catholics were removed. Then came the Act enabling Quakers to affirm. This was followed by a Statute enabling Jews to take an Oath according to their own religious belief. The 3 & 4 *Will.* IV., c. 49, gave the option of Affirmation in Courts of Law to Quakers and Moravians. This was followed by the Act of 1854, which allowed a witness in a civil case to affirm if he stated that the taking of an Oath was not in accordance with his religious belief. Mr. Locke King's Act of 1861 extended the provisions of the last-mentioned Statute to criminal cases. Then the Act of 1867 extended to jurors in civil and criminal cases the relief given by Mr. Locke King's Act. These Acts referred to those who, having religious belief, could not lawfully take the Oath. Then there were the two Acts of 1869-70, which dealt with those who objected to take the Oath, or had been objected to as persons incompetent to take the Oath. But it depended upon the presiding Judge to decide whether the Oath would have a binding effect upon the witness's conscience. These were the Acts relating to persons who had no religious belief. He believed he was correct in saying that these two Acts did not refer to Scotland, and the curious result followed that if in Scotland a murder was seen by a man who was afterwards proved to be a disbeliever the murderer would escape scot free. The Sheriff of Aberdeen had in a recent case called attention to this unsatisfactory condition of the law. He believed these two Acts only referred to evidence, and did not extend to jurors and the Oath of Allegiance, except in the case of Quakers, Moravians, and Separatists. Serious hindrance to the administration of the law was thereby caused, and there might be a positive breakdown of justice if it were proved that a juror or magistrate was a disbeliever. The Court of Appeal, consisting of the Master of the Rolls and Lord Justices Cotton and Lindley, recently affirmed the decision of Lord Coleridge and Justices Grove and Huddleston that a person without religious belief, or who, having religious belief, did not believe in a future state of rewards and punishments, was incapable of taking the Oath. He believed that this decision had caused considerable difficulty in the position of men in the House of Commons who had, unfortunately, no religious belief. The time had, he hoped, now come when without Party strife they might go further in removing disabilities. The present Bill proposed that every person objecting to be sworn, upon stating the grounds of that objection—either that he had no religious belief, or that the taking of an Oath was contrary to his religious belief—might be capable of affirming in all places and circumstances where an Oath was now required by law. It was both just and equitable that we should extend the law in this country. First of all, the present law was inoperative. There were many men who had entered the Houses of Parliament, or who had taken part in public business either as justices or solicitors, who, although practically under a disability, had been sworn. In the interests of religion itself it was not right to do that which was wrong and inequitable, and it was wrong and inequitable that a citizen should be prevented from taking part in many of the most important duties of the State because of his conscientious opinions. He sincerely trusted, therefore, that their Lordships would give a second reading to this Bill, and that it would eventually

pass into law and put an end to the difficulties which had so long been experienced from our present law. He must, however, confess that he should like to have extended the measure to Scotland, but he did not propose to alter the Bill, as it came from the other House in a shape which practically represented a compromise. He should be glad to consider any Amendments which might be proposed, and begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Earl Spencer.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) said, that speaking for himself, and not on behalf of the Government, he must state that he regarded the Bill with a considerable amount of jealousy. He did not, however, propose to move its rejection, because he could not do so without affirming that there was no necessity for any alteration of the law relating to the taking of Oaths, whereas he believed the law needed amending in certain directions. But he could not help observing that if the noble Earl (Earl Spencer) had had the courage of his convictions the Bill would have been very different from what it was, as the greater part of the noble Earl's argument was directed against the existence of Oaths altogether. It was a rather remarkable argument to use, that as some people objected to take an Oath, therefore they should do away with Oaths altogether. They might just as well argue that because there were some people who objected to obey the law that therefore they should abolish the law. The quotation the noble Earl gave from the distinguished minority of a distinguished Committee that Oaths of Allegiance were ineffectual tended in the same direction. How could a Committee or anybody else say that they were ineffectual? No doubt there were persons who disregarded their obligations in this as in other respects. Two totally different questions appeared to be mixed up in this Bill. It was one thing to say that religious objections of every kind should be tenderly considered. It was a totally different thing to relieve persons from the profession of religious belief, whatever office or duty they might have to perform. Personally he believed that the operation of the Oath in Courts of Justice was very considerable indeed. It was the most common thing in the world for them to hear witnesses in Court correcting something which they had said outside, with the remark, "Oh, I was not on my oath then." That was an almost universal experience of Judges. The noble Earl's remarks on the questions of evidence were, no doubt, very weighty, and it was a consideration of that kind which induced the present Mr. Justice Denman to introduce the Bill to which the noble Earl had referred. A dreadful murder had been committed, and there was a witness who had seen the act, but evaded giving evidence by professing religious disbelief. It was, however, a very different thing to apply this principle to the ordinary duties of citizens, such as that of sitting on a jury. He did not think that one who professed to have no religious belief was a proper person to sit in judgment on his fellow citizens—it might be in a case of life or death. He should endeavour, if the question were open when they went into Committee, if he could do so without absolutely destroying the Bill, to move such an Amendment as would prevent the Bill from having such an operation as this. The state of the law applicable to Oaths was not satisfactory, but for different reasons from those expressed by the noble Earl. He thought the obligation of an Oath was so solemn and serious in most minds that the objection was that it was too lightly taken. But he was not disposed to dissociate religious belief from any judicial function whatever. The only argument which had been urged in favour of that course was the old one—from the abuse of a thing to take away the use. Speaking only on his own behalf, he should conclude by stating that he did not propose to move any Amendment on the second reading.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, he supposed they must regard this as the close of a very long controversy, which had gone on during the whole of his Parliamentary life, and perhaps the lives of nearly everyone in that House. When he first came into the House there were tests and subscriptions of some form or another existing everywhere. No doubt if these had been more reasonable they would have existed longer; therefore,

he did not want to offer any captious objections to this Bill. But at the same time he shared the opinion of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack to this extent—that he did not specially approve the objects which the promoters of the Bill had in view. The laws of a country must rest on some religious foundation, and if they departed from that they must take up ground which was very much lower. But this had been the doctrine up to the present generation. It was accepted in the time of the Reformation. It was the view of both Parties in the time of the Civil Wars, and so on; and he knew no period in British history when that idea was not uppermost in the minds of men. The highest minds always recognized the sanctity of the Oath. It did seem to him that this Bill went very near indeed to announcing the doctrine that legislation and religion were to be divorced. He said very near; it did not go the whole way. The object of an Oath in a Court of Law was first and last essentially to get the truth. If for that purpose an Affirmation could be made sufficient, then, on principle, he might be fairly satisfied. As regarded the Parliamentary Oath, that stood on a somewhat different footing, but it might be cast into something like the same category. But, conceding all this, he thought the phraseology of this Bill was dangerously loose. Their Lordships would observe that every person, on objecting to being sworn, might state that he had no religious belief. He supposed that meant no belief in the existence of a Supreme Being. He was at a loss to understand how the want of such belief distinguished a man from being an Atheist. Well, the Bill then went on to say that he "shall be permitted to make a solemn Affirmation." What was a "solemn Affirmation?" He could understand an Affirmation under the circumstances, but a solemn Affirmation seemed to him to be absurd if there was any meaning at all in the words. Solemn meant a deep sense of awe of some supernatural power. Their Lordships would remember that the Quakers by Act of Parliament were able to make a solemn Affirmation, but the solemn Affirmation was accompanied by the words, "in the presence of Almighty God." In this Bill the word solemn had no sense whatever. His first objection was, that they were going, under this Bill, to create, for the first time, a class of persons who had no religious belief; whereas, hitherto, they had allowed men to make an Affirmation, not because they had no religious belief, but because their religious belief was such that it precluded them from taking the Oath. In the second place, those who were to take this Affirmation were to describe themselves as having no religious belief. He had some doubt about the Bill, but at the same time he observed that the Bill was intended to close a long dispute. Reluctantly, and with sorrow, he should give his assent to the second reading of the Bill.

LORD ADDINGTON said, he desired to explain the change of tone in the discussion of this question in the present Parliament from that which preceded it. In the earlier Parliament a Member returned for Northampton refused to take the Oath, and claimed to make an Affirmation. His claim was disallowed. He then insisted on taking the Oath which he had previously rejected, and with glaring inconsistency he renewed this attempt upon his resignation and re-election, with the result of being on each occasion signally discomfited. He subsequently came forward in a new Parliament, walked up quietly to the Table and took the Oath, and had ever since occupied his seat in the House. He should, therefore, argue that there was no practical necessity for pressing on a Bill of this kind. The noble Lord opposite had alluded to the perfunctory way in which the Oath was taken by some hon. Members in "another place;" but that was entirely a matter for themselves, and the House itself was entirely exonerated from any participation in that proceeding. Oaths had been connected with the history not only of this country, but of the whole world since its commencement, and they had been inseparably incident to all the conditions under which civilization had endeavoured to bring home to the individual the sense of personal responsibility. Looking at the terms of the Bill, it seemed to him to go beyond the necessities of the case. If the House of Commons chose to say that Oaths should not be compulsory there, and that Affirmation should suffice in the case of Atheists, in that case it would be better to leave out the word solemn. It was absurd to ask a man who had

no belief in a Supreme Being to regard his making of an Affirmation as a solemn act. In that connection there was, he pointed out, all the difference in the world with regard to the admission of unbelievers and the relief given to Quakers and Moravians; but the Bill in effect said that henceforth every person, from the Monarch on the Throne down to the humblest person in the witness-box, who chose to say he had no religious belief, might be exempt from taking the Oath. Now, he did not believe that Oaths taken in Courts of Justice were detrimental to the interests of truth; on the contrary, it was the commonest experience of magistrates to find persons who would not mind telling a lie, but who, nevertheless, would not swear a lie. He could only regard the Bill as a concession to unbelief, and as a further step in the direction of eliminating religion and the name of God from all the associations of life. He trusted, therefore, that if it were read a second time it would undergo such material changes in Committee as would deprive it very much of the effect it would have if adopted in its present form.

THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE said, that as the only occupant of the Bench reserved for the Bishops, he trusted that one conclusion might be drawn from the absence of his right rev. Brethren—namely, that this Bill was not regarded generally by them as being a concession to unbelief, as it had been represented to be by the noble Lord (Lord Addington). No doubt that was an aspect in which it might be regarded, and he did not at all wonder that reference had been made to the genesis of the Bill and the unfortunate kind of origin it had had in "another place." He had endeavoured to keep his own mind as far as possible clear of any such consideration, because he felt that one was apt to have his judgment biased if he looked to unhappy circumstances, and did not look upon the great points which were at issue. It seemed to him that they were by the force of circumstances put in a certain position out of which it was not possible to escape. They were face to face with a great difficulty—namely, that there were certain persons who, owing to a variety of causes, objected to take an Oath; and he was not disposed to look at the Bill merely in the light of a concession of privilege to certain persons who might be aggrieved by the want of that privilege, or from the necessity there was of getting evidence in the best way possible. It had been pointed out that it might be possible for a man, simply by the fact of saying it was contrary to his conscience to take an Oath, to fail to give evidence which might involve a question of life or death. But he looked at the matter from two broad points of view. There were two cases in which they had Oaths, and in which they had been defended. There was one with regard to the future, and another with regard to the past. As to the first, it was common to put a person chosen for a certain office upon his oath that he would faithfully discharge the duties thereof, and in such cases possibly an Oath so taken was not of much avail. On the other hand, with regard to the past, he entirely agreed that the Oath was of very great value. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack had put a case of a man who would give one kind of evidence on oath and another kind if not sworn. He had seen a case the other day in the newspapers of a witness who had intended giving evidence before the Royal Commission, and had expressed his intention to give evidence of a different character from a statement he had already made, and explained that by saying that when he made his statement he was not sworn, but when he gave his evidence he would be on his oath. He did most earnestly believe that true evidence might be got in Courts of Justice by putting a man upon his oath, which would not be otherwise obtainable; but, looking at the thing broadly, it did seem to him that it was a more important thing to obtain the truth in the way in which a man was prepared to give it, rather than to adopt a plan which made it impossible for some persons to give evidence at all, and put others in an entirely false position. Whether in respect to offices or in Courts of Justice, he thought there was a great deal to be said in favour of substituting a solemn Affirmation. He thought, however, that "solemn" was an unfortunate word, as he did not himself see how a declaration could be solemn if a man believed in neither God nor Devil; but that was not a matter for discussion on the second reading. What he rose for was to say that although he would doubtless be severely

criticized, he intended to vote for the second reading of the Bill, and he did not think he should be, in any way, false to his God or his Saviour in so doing. The Bill, in his opinion, was not an irreligious one, but was required for the settlement of a most unfortunate state of things, and he would, therefore, vote for the second reading.

THE EARL OF DERBY remarked that there seemed to be practical unanimity for the second reading. As to what had been said by a noble Lord below the Gangway, he would observe that no one proposed to alter the form of Oaths or to do away with Oaths in general. All that was proposed by the Bill was that certain persons whose objection to take an Oath was insuperable, and who, whether we liked it or not, were now, undoubtedly, a very numerous class, should not be exempt from the obligation to give their evidence where it might be of great importance to third parties. The person who objected to take the Oath was not, as a rule, or even often, the person who suffered by his evidence not being taken. The evidence of a so-called Agnostic might save the life of a man accused, and surely that was reason enough for not shutting such evidence out. The case had been mentioned of a man who would tell a lie, but would not swear a lie. His objection, however, might not be a conscientious one, because if he swore falsely he would subject himself to the penalties of perjury; whereas for a false statement not made on oath there was no penalty. He thought there was some force in the verbal objections which had been taken to the Bill. He did not think it desirable to call upon a man to say in so many words that he had no religious belief. In the first place, it was not very easy to say in what religious belief consisted. The persons who called themselves Positivists would repudiate the notion of having no religion, though their claim might not be admitted. He should have thought that, instead of calling upon him to make that declaration, it would have been simpler to make him say that the taking of an Oath was repugnant to his conscience. That would be at once a less offensive form of words to some people, and, as to others, it would avoid the ambiguity of the present phrase. He did not believe in the value of promissory Oaths or Affirmations. He did not believe that they had ever induced any man to do his duty who would not have done so without them. He hoped their Lordships would pass the Bill without material alteration.

EARL GRANVILLE said, it appeared clear to him that their Lordships did not intend to reject the Bill on the second reading, and it would, therefore, be expedient for him to reserve a great deal that he had to say for the Committee stage. The Lord Chancellor had misrepresented his noble Friend (Earl Spencer) in saying that he was in favour of abolishing Oaths altogether. As he understood his noble Friend, he distinctly said he thought it was not desirable to remove the Oath in the case of witnesses in Courts of Justice. That had some bearing on the criticism of the adjective "solemn" as applied to the Affirmation. He thought such an adjective was of no use; but practically it was found that an uneducated person attached considerable importance to the form in which he promised or swore to speak the truth, and on that view it would be just as well to retain the word. He did not imagine that the Bill was, in the opinion of anyone present, an ideal Bill. He knew that there were Amendments which he and some of his noble Friends behind him would like; but his noble Friend, in moving the second reading, had pointed out that the Bill was very much in the nature of a compromise. In that view he should be excessively anxious not to disturb the arrangement by moving any Amendment which might be objected to, although he might think them an improvement to the Bill. He hoped, if he and his Friends avoided pressing Amendments they would like to make, that, on the part of the Government, it was not intended to support Amendments in a different direction.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY) said, he had been asked to say that he would not support any Amendments which might be made in an opposite direction. In an opposite direction to what? He proposed to follow the time-honoured custom of seeing the Amendments before passing judgment upon

them. He had no knowledge of what Amendments his noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack, in his individual capacity, proposed to move. That was not a Bill which divided the two Parties of the House, or one which the Government proposed to deal with in their Ministerial capacity. It belonged to a class to which he was afraid the noble Lord opposite had great objections—namely, the class of open questions. He had always thought that there were a great many Oaths which practice imposed, that not only added no strength or solemnity to the action to which they referred, but that were a direct invitation to profanity and irreverence. Such Oaths he should be glad to see abolished. In reference to Oaths of persons whose convictions, or whose want of religious belief, made them unfit to take an oath, he agreed that there was very little difference of opinion. As had been rightly stated by the noble Earl opposite, the person who was injured by the throwing of difficulties in the way of evidence was not the person who was unable to take the Oath, but the person on whose behalf evidence was wanted. He should not think of rejecting evidence adduced by persons whose convictions he did not approve. It was a practical illogicality to do so. It was a survival from ancient Governments which had somehow run into our law, and which undoubtedly, now that attention had been drawn to it, had become a practical inconvenience. Beyond those questions, however, he waited to see the Amendments before he passed judgment upon them. He could imagine that the zeal of reformers might have gone too far in the clauses which they wished to introduce in the Bill, and he certainly could not undertake to make any deliberate engagement against all possible Amendments in any possible direction such as the noble Earl desired.

EARL GRANVILLE was understood to explain that he gathered from the Lord Chancellor's observations that the noble and learned Lord was inclined to go in an opposite direction from that of the noble Earl who moved the second reading, and that he would have liked certain improvements made in the Bill.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he might also explain that he did not know in what direction that was.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* the 27*th instant.*

House adjourned at Six o'clock, to Thursday next, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 13th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—William Pritchard Morgan, esquire, *for* Merthyr Tydvil.

SELECT COMMITTEE — *Report* — Friendly Societies [Inquiry not completed] [No. 389].

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Votes 3 to 9.

Resolutions [November 12] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILL—*Withdrawn*—Places of Worship (Sites) * [93].

QUESTIONS.

HIGHWAY ACT—OBSTRUCTIONS BY RELIGIOUS BODIES.

MR. COBB (Warwick, S.E., Rugby), asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that recently in different parts of the country the police have interfered with, and warned, and in some cases prosecuted, members of the Wesleyan and Primitive Methodist Bodies, and of the Church and Salvation Armies and other religious communities, under the Highway Act, for causing a general obstruction of public highways, but without alleging or proving any particular instance of the obstruction of any individual, or of inconvenience to any particular person; whether his attention has been called to the case of a member of the Salvation Army at Rugby who, on the 9th of October, was summoned before the County Bench and fined for obstruction in holding a service in Sun Street, at its junction with Cambridge Street, in that town, although all the inhabitants (with one exception) in Sun Street and Cambridge Street signed a Memorial in favour of such services being held, and no person complained of being annoyed or obstructed by them;

whether he is also aware that on the 23rd of October the captain of the Rugby Salvation Army was convicted and fined (or in default three days' hard labour) upon the sworn evidence of the police that he took part in the service, although, as a fact, he was not present, but ill at home; and, whether the Government will take steps to amend the law, so that, in future prosecutions, it shall be necessary to prove an actual and particular case of obstruction of some individual?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): There are no Papers in the Home Office which enable me to say positively whether the facts alleged in the first paragraph of the Question are true. I have obtained a Report from the Rugby Justices as to the two cases quoted. In the first case, the Memorial was not entertained by the Bench, on the ground that, in the opinion of the Bench, the persons signing had no right to authorize an obstruction of a public thoroughfare. In the second case, I am informed that the defendant was defended by counsel, and that nothing was said in the hearing of the Bench, or has come to their knowledge since, that he was ill at home. There was no attempt to prove an *alibi*, and the Bench were satisfied with the evidence that the defendant was present. I cannot give the hon. Member any pledge as to an amendment of the law relating to obstruction.

THE PARKS (METROPOLIS)—ALEXANDRA GATE, HYDE PARK.

SIR ALGERNON BORTHWICK (Kensington, S.) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether his attention has been called to the inadequacy of Alexandra Gate, Hyde Park, for the accommodation of the present traffic; and, whether he is prepared to take steps for increasing the facilities of egress and ingress at that gate?

THE FIRST COMMISSIONER (Mr. PLUNKET) (Dublin University): I agree with my hon. Friend that the approaches of the Alexandra Gate, Hyde Park, are very inconvenient; and I propose to remedy the inconvenience by setting back the gates about 18 feet, and rounding off the corners of the approaches. I have applied for the consent of the Vestry of St. Margaret's and St. John's, Westminster, who have charge of the roads outside, and I now only await that consent.

LAW AND POLICE—DEMORALIZING AND INDECENT LITERATURE.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) (for Mr. S. SMITH) (Flintshire) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the report that the two boys, who are now waiting their trial for murder in Maidstone Gaol, had been addicted, by their own confession, to the reading of such books as *Dick Turpin*, *Varney the Vampire; or, the Feast of Blood*, and *Sweeney Todd*, and that one of them told a correspondent of *The Tunbridge Wells Advertiser* that he was prepared for his fate now he had made his name known; whether he is aware that there is an enormous circulation of criminal literature among the young, and that about 25 English newspapers have recently been publishing the lives of Charles Peace, William Palmer, the Rugeley poisoner, and the murderers Burke and Hare; whether he is aware that these stories, attractively written, are widely circulated, and read by enormous numbers of children, and instigate many of them to the commission of crime; whether any check can be put upon the circulation of these pernicious works; and, whether a record could be kept of the class of books or papers found on the persons of youthful criminals when arrested, as a guide to future legislation on the subject?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have seen the statement referred to; and I have instructed the Prison Commissioners to ascertain whether the statement emanated through the prison officials, as reported. The hon. Member may be quite justified in supposing that there is a large circulation of demoralizing literature; and I stated last night to the House that the Government have taken, and are prepared to take, such steps as prudence dictates and the law enables them to take in order to check this circulation. I will undertake to give careful consideration to the last paragraph of the hon. Member's question.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—PAYMENT OF INTEREST AND INSTALMENTS.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, What amount of the £39,720 of interest and instalments under "The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885," which fell due on May 1, 1888, remained unpaid on November 1; and, what sum of interest and instalments fell due on November 1, and has been paid?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): Of the £39,720 due on May 1, 1888, £1,538 remained unpaid on November 1; but these arrears have since been reduced. The total arrears of interest and instalments on all payments previous to the 1st of this month now amount to £1,332. The amount due on November 1 is £58,300. With regard to the payments then due, the receivable orders issued in respect of them are not yet returnable.

GLASGOW BOUNDARIES COMMISSION —LEGISLATION.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he proposes, before the end of this Session, to produce the promised Bill carrying out the recommendations of the Glasgow Boundaries Commission?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): The recommendations of the Commissioners are still under the consideration of the Government, and I am therefore not in a position to give a definite answer to the Question.

NAVY—PRODUCTION OF GUNS.

MR. R. W. DUFF (Banffshire) asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If he will state to the House the names of the firms alluded to in his speech at Liverpool on the 25th of October to whom orders have been given for additional guns for the Navy, and if the orders referred to include guns over nine inches diameter?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY, WAR DEPARTMENT (Mr. BRODRICK) (Surrey, Guildford) (who replied) said: The firms alluded to by my hon. Friend are those of Messrs. Vickers and Co., Sir William Armstrong and Co., and Sir Joseph Whitworth and Co. The orders referred to do include guns over nine inches in diameter.

MR. R. W. DUFF: Will the guns in question be paid for out of the Estimates of the year, or will they cause a Supplementary Estimate?

MR. BRODRICK: The guns in question will be paid for out of the Estimates for the year; but if the payments falling due should prove to be in excess of the Estimates, the balance will be provided by a Supplementary Estimate.

INDIA—ANNEXATION OF THE SHAN STATES.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) (for Mr. S. SMITH) (Flintshire) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that the Indian Government contemplate the annexation of some of the Shan States on the eastern side of the Salween River?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.) (who replied) said: Her Majesty's Government, as the successor of the late Government of Ava, have retained the control of some small trans-Salween States which were subject to Burmah at the time of the recent annexation.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, SEC. 121—COUNTY ROADS.

MR. HARRY T. DAVENPORT (Staffordshire, Leek) asked the President of the Local Government Board, When the arrears of the Treasury contributions towards the cost of roads will be paid to the County, Highway, or other Local Authorities; whether this contribution will be given, as heretofore, for the year ending March 31, 1888; and, if so, when the Local Authorities will receive this payment; and, whether, under section 121, sub-section (2)—(1), of the Local Government Act, the Local Authorities will be entitled to claim a contribution from the Treasury for the year ending March 31, 1889, calculated on the expenditure of the previous year; and, if so, whether the Local Authorities are to make this calculation, and to send in this claim to the Treasury during the current financial year?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The payments to Local Authorities in respect

of the current financial year on account of main roads will be made by the Local Government Board on the same principles as the Parliamentary grants for main roads have hitherto been distributed. The payments for the current year will be based on the expenditure repaid by the County Authorities to the Highway Authorities during the year ended March 25, 1888, on account of the expenditure of those Authorities during the year ended March 25, 1887. The payments on this basis have been commenced; and these are the only payments to which the Highway Authorities are entitled for the year ending March 31, 1889. The Local Authorities will have no other claims in respect of that year. In the next financial year the cost of the maintenance of the main roads will be undertaken by the County Councils.

EXCISE DUTIES (LOCAL PURPOSES) BILL—THE TAXES ON CARTS AND VANS.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will inform the House if there is any truth in the very positive statements published in several newspapers quite recently, to the effect that he has decided upon proceeding no further with the Excise Duties (Local Purposes) Bill, at any rate so far as the proposed taxes upon carts and vans may be concerned?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): There is absolutely no foundation for the statements made in the Press with regard to the subject referred to in the hon. Member's Question. I wish hon. Members kindly to understand that I consider myself pledged by the declarations I have made, and I do not consider myself in a position to withdraw from them.

THE TRUCK ACT—DEDUCTIONS FROM WAGES.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will reconsider the approval given to the refusal of the Chief Inspector of Factories to prosecute under the Truck Act where fines have been deducted from workmen's wages; and whether he will cause fresh instructions on this head to be issued to the Inspectors of Mines and Inspectors of Factories?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I will promise the hon. Member to consult the Law Officers on the point of law raised by him; and I will act on their opinion when I have received it.

METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE—NUMERICAL INADEQUACY.

LORD HENRY BRUCE (Wilts, Chippenham) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Police Force in the overcrowded districts of London is in the same numerical proportion to the number of residents as it is in less populated and wealthier districts; and, whether he has any reason to believe that the Force itself is over-worked and under-manned, and thereby unable to cope as efficiently as it might do with its present multifarious duties?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Commissioner that the police in the Metropolis are located according to the wants of each particular district, and not according to numerical proportions or to rates. I have no reason to think that the police are overworked and under-manned, as far as their ordinary duties are concerned. Occasionally there is, no doubt, a great pressure of work with which it is more difficult to cope; but the extra duties which sometimes becomes necessary are always cheerfully undertaken by all members of the Force.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.): Who is the Commissioner who gave the information?

MR. MATTHEWS: Sir Charles Warren.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—BALLYCOTTON PIER.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he has yet received a Report from Mr. J. Wolfe Barry on the condition of Ballycotton Pier; and, whether he has any objection to place a copy of the correspondence which has taken place between the Grand Jury of the County of Cork and the Board of Works, between the Rev. M. P. Norris, C.C., of Ballycotton, and the Board of Works, and between

the Board of Works and the Treasury, in reference to this pier, upon the Table of the House, before the Estimates for the Irish Board of Works are submitted to Parliament?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I have not yet received Mr. Barry's Report. As regards the correspondence, my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has pointed out the inconvenience of giving inter-Departmental correspondence; and the purport of the remainder is pretty well known through the medium of the public Press.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—COUNTY ELECTORAL DIVISIONS.

MR. WARDLE (Derbyshire, S.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, seeing that the new County Electoral Divisions cover in many instances three, and in some cases part of four, polling districts, he will, in order to avoid the practical disfranchisement of great numbers of the labouring population, advise the Returning Officers to adopt, as far as practicable, the polling districts formed under Section 47 of "The Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883"?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): It is the duty of the Returning Officer, when he deems it necessary, to divide an electoral division into polling districts; but each polling district must be an area, or a combination of areas, for which separate parts of the register of electors are made out. I do not doubt that the Returning Officers, in determining as to the polling districts, will have regard to the reasonable convenience of the electors, so far as the circumstances in connection with the lists of voters admit; but the matter is not one in which I could give any instructions to the Returning Officers.

CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES—RETURNS.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will give a Return of the sums voted in Civil Service Estimates for England, Ireland, and Scotland, and the sums chargeable on the Consolidated Fund for the present year (in continuation of the Return of February 14, 1868)?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I have referred to the Return of 1868, mentioned in the Question. It does not appear to me to be, either in form or in substance, of much value. But if the hon. Member is very desirous of having it, I should not object to its being prepared; but it would probably be sufficient for his purpose that a manuscript copy should be placed in the Library.

AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE ROYAL NIGER COMPANY—THE CHARTER.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Secretary of State has received a Memorial adopted at a public meeting in Lagos, and sent to him through the Governor, protesting against any extension of the Charter of the Royal Niger Company; if he can say what answer has been given; and, whether he would consent to lay upon the Table a Return for the year ending August 31, or any other recent date, showing the revenue raised by the above Company by means of export and import duties and trade licences, and likewise showing the items of expenditure to which such revenue was applied?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The Memorial has been received. It has not been answered, as no decision has yet been taken. The wishes of the principal traders in the Oil Rivers, as well as the interests of the shipping firms and of the neighbouring Colonies, are being consulted, and will receive the fullest consideration. As the whole question of the revenue and administrative expenditure of the Company is undergoing investigation, it would be premature, and, perhaps, misleading, to lay Papers which could give only imperfect information on the subject.

MR. PICTON asked the Under Secretary, if he was not aware that this matter was very pressing, and that the community at large were very anxious to know the decision of the Government?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON said, he was well aware of the urgency of the case; and he could assure hon. Members that no unnecessary delay would occur on the part of the Government.

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE FORCE—RETIREMENT ON FULL PENSIONS.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he would consider the advisability of allowing members of the Metropolitan Police Force permanently injured and rendered incapable of work through injuries received on duty the privilege of full pension, irrespective of length of service?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Under the scale of pensions authorized by the Secretary of State in 1873, the cases of police officers whose injuries received in the execution of their duty wholly incapacitate them from earning a livelihood, are specially considered; and they may be granted a full pension, irrespective of their length of service, if the circumstances are considered of a character to justify such an award. Pensions of a lesser amount are granted to officers whose injuries may partially, but not wholly, prevent them from earning a livelihood.

SUPPLY — CROFTER EMIGRATION (SUPPLEMENTAL VOTE).

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, with reference to his statement that he proposes to bring on the Supplemental Vote of £10,000 for crofter emigration during the present Session, Whether he will consult the convenience of Scottish Members by taking it immediately before or after the other Scotch Votes?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he would undertake that the Vote for crofter emigration would be placed on the Paper immediately before or after the other Scottish Votes. He understood it would be for the convenience of Scottish Members that the Scottish Votes should be taken one after the other until they were disposed of.

STATEMENT.

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METROPOLITAN POLICE — RESIGNATION OF SIR CHARLES WARREN.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): In order to avoid misunderstanding as to the statement I made yesterday with respect to the grounds of Sir Charles Warren's resignation, I ask leave to offer a short statement to the House on the subject. On the 8th of November I directed the following letter to be written to Sir Charles Warren:—

"Sir,—Mr. Secretary Matthews directs me to state that his attention has been called to an article signed by you in this month's number of *Murray's Magazine*, relating to the management and discipline of the Metropolitan Police Force. He desires me to forward to you the enclosed copy of a Home Office Circular, which was duly communicated to the Commissioner of Police in 1879, and to state that the directions in that Circular were intended to apply to the Metropolitan Police, and to every officer in the Force, from the Commissioner downwards. I am accordingly to request that, in the future, the terms of this Order may be strictly complied with.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"(Signed) E. LEIGH PEMBERTON."

The inclosure from the Home Office was in these terms—

"The Secretary of State, having had his attention called to the question of allowing private publication, by officers attached to the Department, of books on matters relating to the Department, is of opinion that the practice may lead to embarrassment, and should in future be discontinued. He desires, therefore, that it should be considered a Rule of the Home Department that no officer should publish any work relating to the Department, unless the sanction of the Secretary of State has been previously obtained for the purpose."

I received on the same day the following reply:—

"Sir,—I have just received a pressing and confidential letter, stating that a Home Office Circular of May 27, 1879, is intended to apply to the Metropolitan Police Force. I have to point out that, had I been told that such a Circular was to be in force, I should not have accepted the post of Commissioner of Police. I have to point out that my duties and those of the Metropolitan Police are governed by statute, and that the Secretary of State for the Home Department has not the power under the statute of issuing orders for the Police Force. This Circular, if put in force, would practically enable everyone anonymously to attack the Police Force without in any way permitting the Commissioner to correct false statements, which I have been in the habit of doing, whenever I found necessary, for nearly three years past. I desire to say that I entirely decline to accept these instructions with regard to the Commissioner of Police, and I have again——

[Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL and other Members: "Again!"]

to place my resignation in the hands of Her Majesty's Government.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,
"(Signed) CHARLES WARREN."

I answered this letter on November 10, in the following terms:—

"Sir,—I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 8th instant. In that letter, after contending that the Secretary of State has not the power under statute of issuing orders for the Metropolitan Police, you decline to accept his instructions that the Commissioner and all officers of the Force should comply with the Home Office Minute of May 27, 1879, by which officers attached to the Home Department were enjoined not to publish any work relating to the Department without the previous sanction of the Secretary of State, and you place your resignation in the hands of Her Majesty's Government. In my judgment the claim thus put forward by you as Commissioner of Police, to disregard the instructions of the Secretary of State, is altogether inadmissible, and accordingly I have only to accept your resignation. At the same time, I am glad to acknowledge the services which you have rendered to Her Majesty's Government during the course of your administration of the Police Force."

The Government accepted the resignation of Sir Charles Warren on the ground stated in the Correspondence I have read, and on no other ground. The failure of the police to discover the author of the recent crimes in the Metropolis, and the differences of opinion between Sir Charles Warren and Mr. Monro, had nothing to do with the action of the Government in parting with an officer so distinguished and so zealous in the discharge of his Office as Sir Charles Warren has been. I wish to add, in justice to Mr. Monro and Mr. Anderson, that since Mr. Monro's resignation he has not interfered in any way with the conduct of the business of the Criminal Investigation Department, nor has he been consulted by myself or by anyone else, to my knowledge, on that subject. The advice which I have sought from Mr. Monro was confined to the general question of the organization proper for the Department in the abstract, without any reference whatever to the daily current business of the Department.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman what the word "again" refers to in Sir Charles Warren's letter? Do I understand that it is not the first time that his resignation has been placed in the hands of Her Majesty's Government?

MR. MATTHEWS: There have been previous differences of opinion which led to Sir Charles Warren tendering his resignation.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: Will the right hon. Gentleman say at what time those differences occurred?

MR. MATTHEWS: I do not think it necessary to enter into that matter.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): What is the precise position which Mr. Monro holds now? He has been consulted by the Home Secretary.

MR. MATTHEWS: Mr. Monro fills no office of any kind, and is in no way connected with the Department.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton): Will the Correspondence read by the Home Secretary be laid upon the Table?

MR. MATTHEWS: If hon. Members wish it.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): The documents having been read to the House by a Minister, is he not bound to lay them on the Table?

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): Can the right hon. Gentleman inform the House whether the report in *The St. James's Gazette*, that the post has been offered to the hon. Member for Central Sheffield (Mr. Howard Vincent), is correct?

MR. MATTHEWS: The statements in the newspapers upon this subject are always, so far as I have seen them, without any foundation in fact.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £153,315, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for such of the Salaries and Expenses of the Supreme Court of Judicature as are not charged on the Consolidated Fund."

MR. JENNINGS (Stockport), in rising to move the reduction of the Vote by £500, said, this was altogether one of the most remarkable of

the Civil Service Estimates. It had been specially investigated frequently; certain parts of it had been condemned, and yet they still remained, and would probably continue to remain. It must be remembered that the most highly-paid Offices of the Supreme Court of Justice were filled by nomination and not by competition. It was said that the only door by which the Public Service could now be entered was open competition; but, as a matter of fact, if a person of influence and high authority wished to obtain a good place for a private secretary or a friend, there was no difficulty in arranging the matter. The Estimates in the past were full of cases of that kind; and those submitted now were no exception. It would be observed that the total Vote amounted to £480,315. But there was a good deal to be added to this Vote, for there were charges on other Votes amounting to £129,000, on the Consolidated Fund of £150,000, and for pensions and compensations £78,323, making a grand total of considerably more than £750,000. The first item was the salary of the Permanent Secretary of the Lord Chancellor, whose name was down for a sum of £1,500 a-year. This was a case of progress in the wrong direction. In 1873, before the Select Committee on the subject, Mr. Law, C.B., was questioned upon thi very matter by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), who was then an ardent economist. Mr. Law was asked if there was any reason why the Permanent Secretary should have £1,200 a-year—for the sum was only £1,200 then. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby described the Vote as the most exorbitant on the face of the Estimates, and Mr. Law admitted that £1,200 a-year was a large salary. But he was very cautious, and would not say anything more than was absolutely necessary; nevertheless it was quite clear that he thought £1,200 a-year was much too large a salary for the office. In 1874, another Committee was appointed to inquire into the Administrative Departments of the Courts of Justice, and they reported that, in their opinion, a competent person could be found to discharge the duties of the office for £900 a-year. There could be no question, in point of fact, that a competent man could be found for much less than that. How was it, then, that the Committee of Supply were now called upon to vote £300 more than Mr. Law and others thought necessary, and £600 more than the Committee of 1874 thought adequate? This was one illustration of the fact that Commissions and Committees on the subject had laboured in vain; that seems to be the common result of all similar labours. Committees spent days and weeks upstairs, inquiring into the Votes, and, in the end, sent in Reports that were not read and evidence that was not considered. The Government considered it the most convenient course to let the whole thing blow over and take no action upon it. The third lucky man on this Vote was the Secretary of Presentations, who was put down for £400 a-year; but, in addition to this, he had a salary as a clerk in the office of the Clerk of the Parliaments, a salary rising to £600. He was paid at least twice what he was worth. The Committee of 1874 reported that it would be a matter for consideration whether a change should not be made on the first opportunity that presented itself, and whether the office might not be filled by a competent person at a reduced salary. That was 14 years ago. The matter was still under consideration, and it was likely to remain under consideration till the year 2000, unless the Government, or those who were responsible, were stimulated to act by a vote of the House. Then there was a Pursebearer and Clerk of the Chamber at £400 a-year. No explanation was given of that item, and there was reason to believe that it was a sinecure. This view was confirmed by the fact that Lord Selborne's Committee reported in 1873 that this ancient Office had lost a great deal of its ancient importance through "the continuous decrease of ceremonial." It had then lost much of its occupation; no doubt since then it had lost the rest. But it appeared that the official now known as the Pursebearer used to do all the duties of the "Chaff-wax" and "Deputy Chaff-wax," but what those duties were, nobody living could now explain. "Chaff-wax" was in the receipt of £650 a-year down to 1886, by way of compensation for other sinecures taken away from him, and that was the only part of the great

"Chaff-wax" business that anybody was able to understand. The Gentleman who took charge of the Great Seal got £334. It was not often the Great Seal was taken out, and when it was, it might be carried very much more cheaply. The high official who held up the Lord Chancellor's train was paid £200 a-year. He might be relieved of his functions by mechanism, and the Lord Chancellor saved all further trouble concerning his train. Everything appeared to be done on the same lavish scale. The Judges of the Queen's Bench required 22 clerks, who absorbed £8,700 a-year. There were 16 Masters at from £1,500 to £2,000 a-year. These Offices were among the pleasantest things that patronage had still to bestow on the undeserving. No doubt the opinion of a layman would be regarded as utterly worthless, and would be rapidly disposed of by the occupants of the Treasury Bench; but fortunately he was fortified by the opinion of a far higher authority. The Committee of 1874 reported that the number of Masters might be reduced; and Lord Selborne's Committee made a similar Report in 1887. There were then 18 Masters. There were now 16, and still the number was excessive; and, to show that the duties of a Master might be performed by an ordinary Clerk, he would quote the evidence which, on this point, was much stronger than the Report itself. He therefore begged attention to it. Sir Frederick Pollock, the Queen's Remembrancer and Senior Master, was asked whether a competent Clerk would not do the work as well as a Master, and his answer was that he could. Some of the Masters are said to be very little in their office; others are irregular in their attendance. It would be found that there were attached to these Offices 85 Clerks, receiving salaries of from £250 to £700 a-year. Under the new rules the salaries were rather less than they used to be; but they were still much too high. Even some of the highly-paid Clerks were admitted to be doing the work of mere copyists. If any hon. Member wished to know the nature of the work done by the Clerks who received these large salaries, he need only turn to the evidence given before a Committee in 1886. A Clerk named Vizard was examined in reference to the number of men employed, the nature of the work done, and the salaries paid. On being asked how much the clerks got for doing the commonest work, he said "about £400." Further asked whether the work done was not the work of the merest set of copyists, the witness answered in the affirmative. A little further down, on the same page, he found that there were five clerks who were redundant, but who drew £3,000 a-year, and they had been redundant since 1881, receiving from £500 to £700 a-year each. They were not even asked to write a letter; as a matter of fact, not one of them had been asked to cross the threshold of his Office for the last seven years. In addition, there were seven other clerks, who were practically redundant, and whose duties were a sinecure. The redundant clerks were in receipt of full pay for doing nothing. He wanted to know why the country should pay people £600 or £700 a-year to walk about the streets doing nothing, at a time when there were thousands of men who were obliged to walk those same streets in despair because they could find nothing to do. No doubt, he would be told that without such a system as this—without a system of redundant clerks—it would be impossible to carry on the business of the country at all. But did anyone ever hear of such a system in connection with the great commercial concerns of the country, which had hitherto been carried on with very great success. He would give an instance. In the Railway Clearing House, with 1,500 clerks, if a man was found to be redundant, and there was nothing for him to do; or if he were idle or worthless, what was done was this—he had his contributions to the pension fund returned to him, and was sent away, and that was the end of the matter as far as he was concerned. Why should not the State be served on similar terms? It was said that they could not get the Business of the country done on the same terms as that of private firms. He wanted to know why not? Because it has suited the purpose of an intereste l class to keep up the idea that the State must pay fancy prices for everything it requires. No attempt had been made to conduct the Business of the country on ordinary business and rational principles. The effect of the present system

was to place a large premium upon sheer incompetency. The more worthless a man was, and the less he did, the greater seemed to be his reward. Was it conceivable that the five redundant clerks, who were down on the Estimates for £3,000, and who were paid for doing nothing, were such bad bargains, and of so little use to the nation, that they could not be transferred to any other Department? If that were true, was it right to call on the nation to pay them a handsome annuity? In point of fact, the whole system had been condemned over and over again. In his evidence before the Royal Commission on Civil Service Pensions, Sir Thomas Farrer said—

"I should be very glad to see a much larger transfer of men from one Office to another than has hitherto taken place."

Such transfer would do away with the system of paying clerks £600 or £700 a-year for doing nothing. Some kind of employment should be found for them, and it would be exactly in accordance with the Resolution passed by the House on the 3rd of June last. At any rate, the plan was not regarded in some respectable quarters as highly revolutionary, and Sir Thomas Farrer admitted that the payment of redundant clerks for doing nothing was a great abuse. The Select Committee of 1873 had reported very strongly in favour of the transfer of redundants to other departments, and the Royal Commission had adopted the same view, and condemned the system as the outcome of the old order of things, which some persons continued to regard as the Palladium of British liberty. In spite of these Reports, however, the redundants still made their appearance on the Estimates, and the Committee were now asked to Vote them £3,000. As a matter of fact, the whole of the clerks in this Department were extravagantly overpaid and absurdly underworked. The office hours were nominally from 11 to 5, or from 10 to 4 o'clock. Mr. Vizard, one of the clerks examined before Lord Selborne's Committee, had stated that most of the clerks really left at 4, and not at 5. The *ennui* of the place was so great that few of them could stand it after 4 o'clock. While most of the clerks went away, one was left behind to mount guard and keep up a show of business. Asked if the clerks were punctual in the morning, the witness hesitated; but on being pressed, the truth appeared to have been squeezed out of him, and he said that when they had any private work to do, they were not always at the office by 11 o'clock—that was to say, that they attended to their private business first, and then, if they had any spare time, they gave a few scraps and remnants of it to the country. Some eminent persons, apparently of sound mind and judgment, thought that the system was destined to last for ever; he believed that it was destined to drag down with it everyone who tried to support it. It was suggested by the Lord Chief Justice to Mr. Aldridge, another clerk examined before the Committee, that an entry of the times of arrival and departure of the various clerks should be kept. It was a most unfeeling question, and naturally gave a great shock to the witness. "Why," said Mr. Aldridge, with dismay, "I am sure there would be a very strong feeling against it among the clerks." The witness was again asked whether such a course would be objectionable, and he seemed to regard the pressing of the question as an intolerable liberty. He replied again that there would be a strong feeling against it on the part of the clerks. He (Mr. Jennings) regretted to say that Lord Coleridge, in spite of the pathetic remonstrance of the witness, suggested that as the clerks were paid for a certain number of hours' attendance, it would be no great insult to keep a proper record of those hours. Mr. Aldridge fell back on the statement that it would hurt their feelings, and Lord Coleridge refrained from pressing him further. Another clerk admitted that the hours were beautifully elastic, and this gentleman was also most unreasonably tormented by Lord Coleridge. Indeed, he regretted to say that Lord Coleridge, on this Committee, made himself as disagreeable as he could to gentlemen who were not accustomed to be questioned in that manner, but who deemed it quite sufficient to receive a large salary and to render as little service for it as possible. A clerk in the Taxing Department, a Mr. Lovell, said, there was one man who did attend regularly. He was supposed to be in the Office punctually at 10 o'clock, and Mr. Lovell evidently regarded him with pride. But the Lord

Chief Justice asked at what hour this man left, and the answer was that he generally left at 3 o'clock. It was like the old story told of Charles Lamb, who, on being reproached for coming so late to his office, said he always made up for it by going away early. That was the principle which seemed to be adopted in this Office. These clerks who attended the Office between 11 and 3, to read the newspapers and exchange anecdotes, received salaries of £600 a-year and were allowed six weeks' holiday in the summer. Six hundred a-year, six hours' work a-day, and six weeks' holiday. The "three sixes" would, he thought, be an appropriate motto to write over the door of the Office. He would now ask the Committee to look at the imposing array of clerks who figured on pages 224-25. It was a sight to inspire any Englishman with pride in the riches and prosperity of his native land. In the Chancery Division there were 12 Chief Clerks, costing £17,400, 24 with nearly £600 a-year, 18 with £300 or £400 a-year, a First Registrar with £2,000, three other Registrars with £5,400 between them, four others with £6,000 between them, and a host more; the whole forming a gorgeous procession not unworthy the study of Augustus Harris, of Drury Lane. They were led to infer from the Estimates that the Clerk to the Petty Bag was abolished; but past experience warranted the suspicion that the Petty Bag and the £800 a-year which went with it would one day be quietly transferred to another holder. At page 226 of the Estimates, they would find a list of the Officers of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division—another haven of peace and plenty. The Senior Registrar of the Probate Registry received £1,600 a-year, with £8 16*s.* 9*d.* a-year as late Proctor, and a compensation allowance of £1,863 8*s.* 6*d.*, charged on the Consolidated Fund, making a grand total of £3,472 5*s.* 3*d.* a-year. He thought the Nation ought to be extremely proud of such an individual—and no doubt it was. But he thought it was desirable to have one or two points in connection with this Officer cleared up. When this gentleman had been provided with a snug post worth £1,600 a-year, why had he not been called upon to give up the compensation allowance for the sinecure Office which he had formerly held? Why was he to be paid twice over for his, no doubt, very valuable services? It would probably be said that such things must exist, on account of vested interests, but for his own part, he would make short work of them. He could not see that a gross "job" perpetrated years ago improved by age. Then there was the Registrar of the Admiralty Registry, who drew £1,500 a-year as salary, and £608 12*s.* from the Consolidated Fund. It would be found, too, on the Estimates, that the man who looked after the ushers in the Courts of Justice received £600 a-year, that the person who gave out the pens and ink received £300 a-year, and it was on the same prodigal scale that all the charges in the Estimates seemed to be based. In conclusion he would urge that as the power of Commissions and Committees had been expended on the Vote in vain, it must now be perfectly clear that the only hope of dealing with it was by a direct Vote of the House of Commons. There certainly were a number of persons who obtained extravagant salaries for practically doing nothing, and the time had come when some decided protest ought to be entered. No doubt it would be said that inconvenience would be caused by reducing the Vote, but the only way in which the Committee could show its opinion on this subject was by adopting a Motion for a small reduction of the Vote such as he had proposed, and he therefore hoped his proposal would be accepted, and a blow struck at a system which he believed was regarded with disgust in the country and with shame by that House. He begged to move that the Vote be reduced by £500 under Sub-head A.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by the sum of £500."—(*Mr. Jennings.*)

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, he only wished to add one or two words to the very effective speech the Committee had just listened to from the hon. Member for Stockport (Mr. Jennings). He desired to refer to the Queen's Remembrancer's Office. He had had some trifling opportunities of judging of the value of that Office during the last few years, having been frequently invited by the Attorney General to go there; he had, therefore, had an op-

portunity of estimating the work done there. What the Queen's Remembrancer's Office owed its survival to could not be accounted for on any principle of utility, yet, speaking roughly, it cost £3,400 a-year and did nothing. He remembered a case in which it was necessary to institute a search in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office, in order to ascertain whether the special Rules of the Office had affected a certain class of proceedings. The Queen's Remembrancer did not know; the Queen's Remembrancer's Chief Clerk did not know; none of the officials at first knew. Then a set of Rules was found which turned out to be wrong ones; another set of Rules of the Attorney General were then produced, and they turned out to be imperfect. He was not relating romance, but a matter of fact, which became a matter of observation before the High Court of Justice itself. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) was Attorney General at the time; and he (Mr. Bradlaugh) would ask whether it was endurable that an Office should be continued in which the work, or certainly a portion of it, was so slight that from the head official to the lowest not one understood the Rules that governed their business. The class of proceedings there were very few. The only proceedings the Queen's Remembrancer's Office took cognizance of were so few that they might well be dealt with in the ordinary Central Office by one of the Masters without any special staff. Therefore, as the amount for which the reduction of the Vote was moved was much less than ought to be economized, he should certainly support the hon. Member for Stockport, and he would call on the Members around him to support him also.

Mr. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) said, he must express a hope that when the Attorney General rose to give an answer to the definite points which had been raised in the debate, he would state whether certain officers who had been transferred to other duties on the abolition of their former Offices were allowed to receive their full compensation for abolition, in addition to the salaries of their present Offices, or, as was supposed to be the case under the Rules of the Public Service, they only received a small part. He could only see that this principle had been carried out in one case—namely, that of the Assistant Paymaster General of the Supreme Court. Why had not the same rule been observed elsewhere?

Mr. HALDANE (Haddington) said, he must complain of the present system of appointing clerks in the Chief Clerks' Department in the Chancery Division. He had been asked to bring the matter before the Committee by gentlemen practising in that Division. Extreme inconvenience arose from recent changes which had been made in the mode of appointment. He did not know whether the old practice was good; but he did know that the present system which had been substituted for it was not only an extravagant one, but a bad one. Instead of the appointments being made as they used to be, from within the Office, by people who had a knowledge of the circumstances and the persons, they were now made from without under the direction of the Lord Chancellor. The change had been productive of anything but satisfaction. The Chief Clerks' duties in Chancery were most important. They decided about two-thirds or three-fourths of the matters brought before Chancery, and they handled enormous sums of money in connection with the administration of estates—millions every now and then. In a case that occurred last year it was found that £3,000 of somebody's money had disappeared through carelessness; but the Solicitor General was acquainted with the facts of the case even better than he (Mr. Haldane) was. In such a state of things it was important that the officials who did the work under the Chief Clerks should be appointed with some due regard to their capacity, and that they should be appointed with great care by people who had direct knowledge of the nature of the work they had to do. It would be invidious on his part to refer to particular instances which had occurred during the last 18 months; but he was in possession of the facts relating to them, and had before him certain details. He had inquired, as far as he could, into the allegations made to him, and he believed that in arriving at the conclusion he did about them he was supported by the opinion not only of private persons but of the Chief Clerks them-

selves. If the Government would appoint a small Committee to inquire into the subject, he would undertake to bring full details of the different cases before such Committee. Unless he received some assurance of that kind he should feel compelled to support the Motion for the reduction of the Vote.

MR. COZENS-HARDY (Norfolk, N.) said, there was an item in the Vote which provided four Official Referees with salaries of £1,500 a-year and £200 a-year for their clerks. Official Referees were first appointed under the Act of 1873. The number was not defined by the Act, because it was contemplated that there might be circumstances which might render it desirable to alter the number. It was provided that the number of these officers should be determined by the Lord Chancellor and the Judges with the sanction of the Treasury, there being a right of control as to the appointments on the part of the Government. The appointment of Official Referees was an experiment from the first, and it was an experiment which had not been a success. Indeed, it was rapidly getting worse. He held in his hand a Return, laid on the Table in July last, from which it was perfectly plain that the business done by the Official Referees had been gradually and steadily going down, until the year 1885-6. According to the Return, the Referees were not doing two-thirds of the amount of business that was transacted in 1879-80. That being the nature of the falling off of the business, it was remarkable that while the present Government had been in office, two vacancies had occurred, one of which was filled by the appointment of Mr. Ridley, in January, 1887, and the other by the appointment of Mr. Hemming, in November, last year. The point he wished to draw attention to was that each of these appointments was unnecessary and unjustifiable, and entailed on the Treasury a very heavy charge. Even that was not the worst of the case. It was recently arranged that the public should know what business the Official Referees did. The daily cause list showed every instance in which the Official Referees sat, either in London, or in the Country. He had taken advantage of that circumstance to examine the list, in order to ascertain what work had been done during the last 18 working days. He found that there was not a single day on which all the Referees sat, nor one day on which three of them had anything to do. There were seven days when no one of them had anything to do, and only four days when two of them sat. This term Mr. Ridley had had one sitting and one case; Mr. Hemming, four sittings and four cases; Mr. Dowdeswell, four sittings and three cases; and Mr. Verey, six sittings and two cases. That was the work done for which Parliament was asked to vote £6,000, and it was plain that not only was there not work enough for four, but not enough for one. He did not wish to say a word against these gentlemen personally. He had no doubt that Mr. Ridley was an able and competent man, and he knew that Mr. Hemming was. The appointments were originally made by way of experiment, and the experiment had not answered; and he thought the Committee were entitled to some explanation of the reason why, under the circumstances, the Treasury had sanctioned the appointment of a third and fourth Referee. Unless a satisfactory explanation was given, it would be his duty to take a Division upon the subject.

MR. BRADLAUGH read a letter he had received, and for which he said he would make himself responsible, to the effect that the Registrars' Clerks in the Court of Chancery had a Statutory rise in salary, no matter how incompetent or over-manned the staff might be. There was no instance recorded of absence, on account of sickness or pleasure, of the Masters, the Clerks, or the Registrars; therefore the Masters and Clerks were able to absent themselves and did absent themselves without sufficient check.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.) said, the subject under the consideration of the Committee illustrated, in a manner most useful to the public, the advantages and disadvantages of the Committee of Supply, and the defect which their mode of proceeding possessed with regard to any effective control over the public expenditure. He would first call attention to the case which had been laid before the Committee by his hon. Friend, the Member for Stockport (Mr. Jennings). His hon. Friend, though he had not been many years in the House, had distinguished himself by having

already forcibly arrested the attention of the House by the disclosures which he had made in regard to the Public Expenditure; and those disclosures could not have been made so forcibly, if he had not devoted the greatest possible time, labour, and care to the investigation of the subject. But although his hon. Friend had arrested the attention of the House before now by his remarkable disclosures, he thought his hon. Friend had outdone himself on the present occasion. Never, perhaps, since the Committee of Supply began to sit, in modern times, had such a state of things been revealed with regard to the expenditure of public money, with so much brevity and conciseness. Scarcely would a parallel be found in the pages of Dickens or Thackeray, when those eminent satirists were dealing with the state of things under the Government of their day. What was the state of things now? A state of things amounting to more than a public scandal—amounting to a national disgrace—had been laid before the Committee. Some 80 or 100 Members, out of the 670 which composed the House of Commons, were present listening to this account of the absolute malversation of the public money on a large scale. If the Committee of Supply divided at the present moment, they would not assent to this Vote; after the statement which had been made, they could not possibly do so. But what would occur? To the 80 or 100 Members who had followed the discussion, would be added 150 or 200 Members who did not know what had been going on, and who would have no idea of the arguments which had been addressed to the Committee; and this Vote, amounting to £750,000, would be carried on a Division, in spite of the disgraceful disclosures laid before the Committee of Supply by his hon. Friend. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) thought that was a thing which the Committee of Supply might usefully reflect upon, and he ventured to bring it to the notice of the public. There was another point, also, in connection with Vote, and that was the tactics of Her Majesty's Government. He did not blame Her Majesty's Government personally for the tactics pursued, any more than he blamed any other Government. They were what he might call the hereditary tactics of that Bench with regard to getting Votes from the House. It was nothing more nor less than deluding, or humbugging, and baffling the House of Commons in these matters; and his hon. Friend had drawn attention to specific cases which, if true—and he presumed his hon. Friend was prepared to substantiate these—amounted to an outrage on the taxpayer. So far the Government had abstained from replying to the specific facts adduced. Pursuing the hereditary tactics of the Treasury Bench, which he had no doubt had been pursued by the right hon. Member for Mid-Lothian (Mr. Gladstone), and the right hon. Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler), they allowed other Members to get up, on the chance that by some of them, specific statements would be made which Ministers would be able to overthrow, and in overthrowing them conceal the effective attack made by his hon. Friend, and contrive to pass the Vote. He hoped the House of Commons would not be prepared to submit to such treatment in future. His advice to the Committee of Supply, was, that when ever an hon. Member, after great care and labour, had produced a really sound indictment against expenditure, no other Member should rise to address the Committee until a Representative of the Government had answered the indictment. By that means they would obtain a much more useful and business-like discussion than they got now. It was quite impossible to imagine what, in this instance, the answer of the Government would be. But, no matter what answer the Government might give, it would be impossible for them to pass this Vote without the aid of Members who were lying in ambush in various parts of the House. The responsibility would not rest with the Committee of Supply, because the Committee of Supply was present at that moment, and was not prepared to pass the Vote in its present form. The Government could not with decency ask the Committee of Supply to assent to the principle of paying the Private Secretary of the Lord Chancellor £1,500 a-year; they could hardly do it on the merits of the case; and they could only do so in the face of the fact that either a House of Commons or a Departmental Committee had reported that £900 a-year would be ample remuneration for that official, and that

Report had been neglected by the Government for the last 14 years. He did not see how the Committee of Supply could vote a salary of £1,000 a year to the Secretary of Presentations, after the statement of the hon. Member for Stockport. Even on the merits of the case, the Secretary of Presentations would be a dear luxury at that price; but here, again, they were confronted with the fact that 14 years ago, a Committee reported against the continuation of the Office. The same observation would apply to the Purse Bearer of the Lord Chancellor who received £400 a year, and whose Office was reported upon adversely in 1887. Then there was the Carrier of the Great Seal, who was paid £500 a year, and the Train Bearer £250. Is was not that those officials were of themselves worth the attention of the Committee of Supply, but it was that the existence of officials who had nothing to do was an illustration of our whole system. If Members were to examine other Votes as his hon. Friend had examined this, they would find the existence of the same scandals. Last night they had a debate, and the right hon. Member for East Wolverhampton was indignant because it was said that there was a superabundance of lawyers in the House. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) remembered having himself asked a Private Secretary of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid-Lothian whether he did not think great reductions could be made in the Civil Service Estimates, and the Gentleman in question said he did not know about that nor was he sure that a large reduction could be effected; he was unable to speak from actual knowledge, but he was sure that immense reductions might be made in Class III., which related to the legal expenditure of the coumtry. The right hon. Member for Mid Lothian had before now talked of the manner in which the landed interest had influenced the legislation of this country. He would ask the Committee to mark how the lawyers had affected our legislation. Their numbers and the extravagance of their salaries amounted to absolute brigandage on the taxpayers of the country. That state of things could not be too strongly characterized, and last night they saw the cloven hoof, when they heard it gravely put forward by an hon. Member opposite that a great Department should be created consisting only of lawyers. What was the use of appointing Committees and Commissions to examine into the Expenditure of the country if Government after Government paid not the smallest attention either to the evidence they extracted or the recommendations they made? He would ask his right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury, who had been long in the Public Service, and was actuated by a great desire for economy, whether the reports of these Committees and Commissions had been ever brought to his notice. He had had made these general remarks rather than deal with the Vote. It was very seldom they got the opportunity of drawing the attention of the country in a manner which would excite the imagination to the scandal connected with the Expenditure on the Public Service. By the most fortunate chance in the world this Vote was prevented from coming on last night. If it had come on last night there would have been no report of the debate upon it; but there would have been a scrambling report, which would have conveyed no idea of what had occurred. Fortunately, the Vote had been brought on now at a convenient hour, when there was an average attendance and every possibility of securing that attention should be paid to the matter. What he wanted to impress on the Committee was, that if, as he assumed, the Government were unable to upset the facts stated by his hon. Friend, they should refuse the Vote. He did not say they could refuse to pay people what must be paid them in justice and fair play. The Committee of Supply must find the money, and what they should do was to refuse to vote the money until the Government pledged themselves to introduce, before next year, such reforms as would obviate these scandals. Her Majesty's Government were always saying that they were economists. Here was a splendid opportunity afforded them which they ought to accept with gratitude and welcome of putting their zeal for economy in active operation. Let them realize fully what the impression upon the public would be, and let them say—"We will defer to the wishes of the Committee of Supply. We will not vote this sum to-day, and we pledge ourselves to give the matters which have been brought

before the Committee the most careful attention."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, he could assure the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) and the Committee that it was from no hereditary guile that he had abstained from rising at an earlier moment to reply to the statements of the hon. Member for Stockport (Mr. Jennings) before he heard the speech of the noble Lord. He had been very much interested and also amused by the exceedingly able speech which had been delivered by the hon. Member —nay, more, he thought that lawyers themselves might learn a great deal from the hon. Member's criticisms. He should be probably able to show that the hon. Member ought to have made a little more careful inquiry into some of the facts of the case than he appeared to have made. He did not, however, intend to criticize in any unfriendly spirit the important question that had been raised, and which undoubtedly required the careful consideration of the Committee before any action could be taken in regard to the Vote. Before replying to the remarks of the hon. Member for Stockport, he desired to notice one or two of the observations of the noble Lord. The noble Lord had spoken of exciting the imagination of the country on this subject. If the noble Lord used the language with which he had that evening embellished his remarks, he might excite the imagination of the country, but could hardly appeal to its calm judgment. The noble Lord had spoken, for instance, of the malversation of public money, of the brigandage practised on the taxpayers, and of officials doing nothing but deluding and humbugging with regard to the public expenditure of the public money. Now, no one was more competent to deal with the details of such questions than the noble Lord; and if the noble Lord had followed the example of the hon. Member for Stockport, and examined the question for himself, no doubt he might have pointed out, as the hon Member for Stockport had done, parts of the system in respect of which reforms were urgently called for, and he would have endeavoured to abstain from seeking to excite the imagination or the prejudices of the country by the use of what certainly appeared to be clap-trap phrases. The noble Lord had attacked the Government for not wishing to reply to the hon. Member for Stockport. He could assure the noble Lord that that was an entire mistake. His (Sir Richard Webster's) sole object in not rising at once to reply was to ascertain whether there were any other details on which hon. Members desired information, so that he might, as far as fell to his lot, or his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury, so far as fell to his, give an answer to all the questions put to the Government at the same time, instead of answering each point separately. Now, no one could read the Report of the Committee of 1887 without being of opinion at once that there were a number of the details of the Offices referred to that required overhauling and examination; but no Government could all at once make a reduction of any particular amount, and very little consideration of the Report would show that to be absolutely impossible. Perhaps the Committee would allow him to take some of the instances which had been referred to by the hon. Member for Stockport; and if, by inadvertence, he did not notice all of them, and the hon. Member would remind him of any omission, he would be prepared to give an explanation of the facts. The hon. Member was very severe on the Permanent Secretary to the Lord Chancellor. The Permanent Secretary was the first officer attacked by the hon. Member, who stated that a Committee which sat 14 years ago had reported that a clerk or officer could be found who would perform the duties then performed by the then Private or Principal Secretary to the Lord Chancellor at a salary of £900 a-year. He (Sir Richard Webster) accepted that as being the substantial statement of the Report of the Committee. He did not know that it was verbally correct; but he would take it to be substantially correct. But what happened afterwards? He would remind the Committee that all those matters were carefully considered by the Government of which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) was Chief and of which Lord Selborne was Lord Chancellor, and the whole state of things was placed on an entirely different basis. It was no part of his (Sir Richard Webster's) duty to

say whether that basis was right or wrong; but when it was said that successive Governments had refused to adopt the recommendations of the Committee to reduce the salary of the Permanent Secretary to the Lord Chancellor to £900, they were shutting their eyes to the fact. The fact was that the salary was fixed at £900 a-year in 1887; but it was in that year raised to £1,000 in consideration of the duties. Subsequently, when the whole Office was reorganized, a Permanent Secretary was appointed, and to the Office were attached a number of fresh duties. In 1884, under the Government of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian, on the Principal Secretary being appointed, the salary was fixed at £1,500, but was to be reduced to £1,200 until certain duties were transferred. In February, 1885, also under the Government of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian, the Office of the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery became vacant and was abolished, its duties being transferred to the Permanent Secretary to the Lord Chancellor, there thus being a saving to the country, and the salary was raised from £1,200 a-year to a maximum of £1,500 on the taking over of those fresh duties. He would ask the noble Lord and the hon. Member for Stockport, in fairness to Her Majesty's Government, not to condemn them for the arrangement which took place in 1885. There was a distinct bargain made by a previous Government by which this gentleman, now a Queen's Counsel, was first given the Office at a salary of £1,200; then further duties were added on another Office being abolished, and the salary was raised to £1,500, to which sum that officer was entitled by the sliding scale existing at the time of his appointment. It might be well to say, without any knowledge of what the duties were, that a man could be got to discharge them for £900 a-year, though he (Sir Richard Webster) could speak from personal knowledge of what the duties were that were fulfilled by this officer; and it would be absurd to say that they were not very confidential, onerous, and responsible duties, requiring the employment of a man of great ability and considerable position. The hon. Member for Stockport said it was ridiculous to pay £1,500 a-year when 14 years ago a salary of £900 was considered sufficient. The noble Lord said that for 14 years the recommendation of the Committee had been neglected. Perhaps the hon. Member for Stockport and the noble Lord would pardon him when he said that neither of those statements were correct.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked what the duties were?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, that among them were attending Committees in reference to the Rules of the Courts of Justice, communicating constantly with Judges as to alterations of the Circuits, and as to any reforms that were necessary for re-arrangement of the practice of the Courts. In addition to that, he had to discharge duties which must be undertaken by a person in a confidential position under the Lord Chancellor relating to questions of law reforms, questions which were introduced in Parliament itself, or by the Judges. The *gravamen* of the complaint of the hon. Member for Stockport was that, although the salary was fixed at £900 in 1877, the whole of the Resolution of the Committee had been since disregarded. The hon. Member maintained that there was no justification for paying a salary of £1,500 when 14 years ago it was considered that for £900 a-year they could provide a fit and proper person to act as Permanent Secretary to the Lord Chancellor. The holder of the Office must be a barrister of 10 years' standing, and he was required to devote the whole of his time to the duties of the Office. He had further to carry on correspondence with all the Public Departments; to attend to all lunacy business under the Lord Chancellor; to conduct all correspondence relating to Justices of the Peace; to draft and revise all orders relating to the Supreme or the County Courts; to examine all Parliamentary Rules of a legal character; and to call attention to all matters connected with the administration of the law which required the consideration of the Lord Chancellor. He (Sir Richard Webster) had no wish to occupy the time of the Committee by dealing with any one of those questions at very great length; but he might point out that very recently it had been found necessary in Parliament to deal with two legal questions—namely, the County Courts and the Mortmain Law. In connection with both the Bills

that were introduced upon those subjects the Lord Chancellor had repeatedly to be in confidential communication with the Permanent Secretary. He thought that if hon. Members really understood what the duties were which had to be performed by this gentleman, nobody would suggest that a salary of £1,500 a-year was an excessive salary. He was aware that many Members of that House felt it quite sufficient to say that a man was a lawyer in order to place him under a slur either as to his character or position. Personally, he did not feel degraded because he was a lawyer; on the contrary, he was proud of the position he held. He had now summarized the duties of the Office of Permanent Secretary. The next attack was one that was made by the hon. Member for Stockport upon the Secretary of Presentations—an Office now held by Mr. Thesiger, who had filled it for a great many years. The same gentleman, it was quite true, held the position of a Clerk in the House of Lords, for which he received a rising salary of £600, and in addition he received £400 as Secretary of Presentations. He (Sir Richard Webster) did not suppose that the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, or any other hon. Member, would suggest that they should at once proceed to cut down the salary of Mr. Thesiger. He would, however, read to the Committee a statement of the duties performed by Mr. Thesiger. As Secretary of Presentations Mr. Thesiger conducted all the Lord Chancellor's correspondence on ecclesiastical matters; and he could assure hon. Members that the work connected with that Office was of a very responsible character, and it was now performed by a gentleman who had had very great experience in connection with the delicate duties of the Office. There were continuous applications in reference to Government livings, as hon. Members well knew from the representations which were constantly being made to them. [Mr. LABOUCHERE made a remark which did not reach the Gallery.] The hon. Member for Northampton said that he did not take much interest in Church livings. He (Sir Richard Webster) did not think the hon. Member did take much interest in them, and, therefore, he would exclude the hon. Member from any observations he might make in reference to that part of the matter. All he desired to say was, that he knew from personal knowledge that there was an immense amount of work to be done, and he doubted whether that work could be competently performed by a gentleman who had not had very great experience, and some years' service in connection with it. There was a great deal of work to do in reference to the amalgamation and exchange of livings and business of that kind. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington said that the salary of £1,000 a-year was too much.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No; I did not. My point is this—that salaries are paid for duties performed by lawyers five or six times in excess of salaries paid to laymen for performing precisely the same duties.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, he was not aware that Mr. Thesiger was a lawyer. It would, however, be convenient to keep to the argument immediately before the Committee. He was dealing with the attack that had been made upon the Secretary of Presentations. It was impossible that he could deal with everything at the same moment. He understood the hon. Member for Stockport to object to the salary which was paid to the Secretary of Presentations. If that were not so, he would not trouble the Committee with any further observations, but he had felt it his duty to point out that the work performed by the Secretary of Presentations was of a very confidential and important character, and that it was performed by a gentleman who had held the Office for a great many years, who was still holding it, and who they hoped would continue to hold it. Were the Government to reduce the salary of Mr. Thesiger below the figure at which it now stood?

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Yes.

An hon. MEMBER: What Office does he now hold?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, that Mr. Thesiger held no other Office except that of an ordinary Clerk on the Establishment of the House of Lords, for which he received £600 a-year. His only other Office was that of Secretary of Presentations, for which he got £400 a-year.

MR. LABOUCHERE: £500.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, that the hon. Member for Northampton was wrong for once in his life—the salary was £400. No doubt there were a number of questions which might be discussed in Committee of Supply or elsewhere, when they were dealing with gentlemen who had a great deal more work to do than they could properly perform. In this case Mr. Thesiger was one of the Clerks on the Establishment of the House of Lords, and for that and the work he did as Secretary of Presentations he received £1,000 a-year. The proper way to deal with these matters was to attack the system rather than to attack the salary of a particular individual who received the salary, because he had to work a great deal more than the ordinary Clerks of the Establishment. He would now refer to the case of the Purse Bearer and the Train Bearer.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he had no wish to interrupt the hon. and learned Gentleman; but he would direct his attention to two sums of £50 which the Secretary of Presentations apparently received in addition to the salary of £400 a-year.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, he might inform the hon. Member that there were expenses in addition, and those sums represented those expenses, and did not form any part of the remuneration of the Office. He was desirous of dealing fairly with the charges which had been made by the hon. Member for Stockport. Certain allegations had been made which he was endeavouring to meet; those allegations, however, did not affect the question of expenses; but the question was, What were fair considerations which ought to affect the minds of hon. Members in giving an honest vote upon this occasion? He would now refer to the Purse Bearer and the Train Bearer. Of course, it was quite easy to say that there should be no official of that kind in connection with the semi-State occasions, or any other occasions, when the Lord Chancellor appeared in State. He was not aware whether the hon. Member for Stockport objected altogether to the Lord Chancellor or the Speaker of the House of Commons having a Train Bearer. He quite agreed that those officials were, perhaps, more ornamental than useful, and that a great part of their time was not occupied in the performance of very heavy duties. The exact position of the Purse Bearer was that he was a confidential clerk of the Lord Chancellor, and conducted that part of his correspondence which did not require to pass through the hands of a superior Secretary. He also discharged, on ceremonial occasions, the duty of Purse Bearer, and he had to attend on the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords, in the Courts of Chancery, and on all public occasions. It was true that they might abolish the Office of Purse Bearer, but it did not advance the discussion much simply to refer to an official because he performed certain duties. All he could do, in replying to the suggestions that had been made, was to point out as briefly as possible what the duties were that had to be performed; and, so far as the Purse Bearer was concerned, he simply stated that he was one of the officials connected with the Lord Chancellor, and that he held an Office in connection with which he had duties to perform. Surely it was not maintained that the Lord Chancellor should pay such officers out of his own salary. It was impossible, therefore, in dealing with the matter, to do otherwise than point out that there were certain duties to perform; and when such statements were made as those of the noble Lord that those charges amounted to brigandage upon the taxpayers, and that those people had no work to do, his (Sir Richard Webster's) reply was that they had work to do for which remuneration must be paid.

An hon. MEMBER: The Carrier of the Great Seal was also referred to.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, with regard to the Carrier of the Great Seal, that that official was a Messenger in connection with the Office of the Lord Chancellor. Formerly he had a much larger salary, and it had been reduced. The official now employed performed all the duties that were previously performed by the Purse Bearer, and acted, in addition, as Messenger to the Lord Chancellor. If hon. Members said that the Lord Chancellor could do without a Messenger, well and good; but he would point out that this official had certain duties to perform as a Messenger, whenever the Lord Chancellor was out of town, and on other occasions, and no one would say that there were not

very important documents which it was necessary to send to the Lord Chancellor when he was away from London. He had no desire to go into lengthy details in reference to those offices, but he felt bound to point out what the real merits of the attack which had been made by the hon. Member for Stockport were. This Messenger received a salary of £324 a-year, and if they thought that sum was a larger salary than an officer of that kind ought to receive, the matter must be considered when a fresh appointment was made; but they could not say to an official—"We paid you £324 last year, and this year we will not pay you more than £250." He had been very sorry to hear the observations made by the hon. Member for Stockport with regard to the Masters. If the hon. Member knew as much about the Masters as he did, he would not have made those observations.

MR. JENNINGS said, they were not his observations. He had simply quoted the words of the two important Committees, and of Sir Frederick Pollock.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, he had understood the hon. Member to say that two of the Masters scarcely ever went to their Office at all. He was well acquainted with the passage to which the hon. Member referred, and he probably knew a little more about the question of the Masters' duties than the hon. Member himself, or than any mere perusal of a few answers to questions put by a Committee could possibly convey to the mind of anybody. He was not now dealing with the question whether the Masters attended from 10 to 4 or from 11 to 5. That was altogether another question. Many of the Masters were appointed at a time when they were required to attend only from 11 to 4. That, however, was quite another matter. He understood the hon. Member for Stockport to say that, practically speaking, many of the Masters neglected their duties, and the hon. Member also said that one Master scarcely ever attended at all. He (Sir Richard Webster) had examined the passage from the Evidence before the Committee referred to by the hon. Member, and it certainly did not bear the construction which had been put upon it. Indeed, an injustice was done to the Masters by the hon. Member in the construction he had put upon some of the answers of the witnesses. The hon. Member had said that many of the Masters were appointed at the time when they were only required to attend from 11 to 4, and many of them only attended during those hours. That was a statement of fact which could be made without implying that in the future they might not be called upon to attend from 10 to 4 or 10 to 6. The fact as to the past affected the manner in which the Government could be called upon to deal with the question. If the officials who had control over the Masters chose to say to them—"You ought to come earlier, or to stay later," by all means let that principle be laid down. But the Government could not say to the Masters—"We will reduce your salaries unless you will attend for an extra time." What were the duties of the Masters and the salaries paid to them? Here, again, the hon. Member for Stockport had over-stated the matter. As a matter of fact, the salaries of the Masters averaged from £1,200 to £1,500 a-year. They were gentlemen who had to hear arbitrations upon matters referred to them which required a considerable knowledge of law; they had to tax costs which required great experience and considerable knowledge of practice; they had to hear summonses on interlocutory applications; they had to inquire into the conduct of solicitors and others against whom charges were made; and the lightest part of their duty was to attend Court *in banc.* The statement of Sir Frederick Pollock's as to their duties being discharged by Clerks referred only to a small and particular part of their duties—namely, their attendance in the Court of Appeal—and had no reference generally to their duties as Masters. He (Sir Richard Webster) was speaking from professional knowledge of the matter. When he was a junior at the Bar some of the Masters were earning large professional incomes; and, therefore, they might now be regarded as men of experience who were doing judicial work of a responsible character, and doing it well. He did not believe that any common lawyer would get up in that House and say that any real attack could be made upon the Masters with reference to the way in which they discharged their duties. Of course, nobody would pretend that they were all equally efficient,

or that when they had 16 or 18 men the whole of them would be equally competent to perform their duties. It was quite possible that the number might be reduced as vacancies occurred; but still they could not obtain men to do the work without paying them substantial salaries, and they could not suddenly reduce the salaries of men who had been doing the work for 15 or 20 years. They could not say that they would not employ them next year except they would consent to take a lower salary. What they could do was, as vacancies occurred from time to time, to refrain from filling up those vacancies, or, if it were possible, get a person to perform the duties at a less salary. The hon. Member stated that some of the Masters were seldom in their Offices, and the hon. Member added that there were two of them who never went to the Office at all. He (Sir Richard Webster) believed that the hon. Member had been entirely misinformed. Some of the Masters who had been in communication with him had expressed their willingness to give the hours of their attendance, and if he had known that the question was going to be raised that night he would have been prepared to answer every statement. It had, however, been brought on without the slightest notice.

MR. JENNINGS said, the Votes of the House showed that that particular Vote was to be taken.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, that what he had not been acquainted with was the nature of the points which the hon. Member intended to raise. The Vote before the Committee had more than 100 items on it, upon each of which some question might be asked. The hon. Member might have the full benefit of his interruption, and might take it for what it was worth. If he (Sir Richard Webster) had known that this point was intended to be raised, he would have been prepared to show what the actual number of attendances were, one of the Masters having volunteered to give him the information if it were required. If the hon. Member would inquire into the facts of the case, he would find that except in the case of illness there was no foundation whatever for the suggestion that the Masters of the Queen's Bench were not to be found in their Offices, or that they neglected their duties. As to the Office of "Petty Bag," it was one in which some interest had been taken by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). The hon. Member for Stockport said that although the fees had been abolished, it would be the duty of the Committee to keep a careful eye on the matter to see that the expense of this Office did not increase. Probably the hon. Member had not taken the same interest in the "Petty Bag" as the junior Member for Northampton, who year after year had asked Questions about it. Unfortunately for the suggestion of the hon. Member for Stockport, the Office was not filled up—it had been abolished, and the duties were now performed by other clerks; whether sooner or later the Office of "Petty Bag" would appear again in the Estimates it was impossible for him to say. All he could say was that there was no intention on the part of Her Majesty's Government at present of restoring the Office, or in any way re-establishing it, and the hon. Member ought to have congratulated them upon its disappearance. The hon. Member was under a singular misapprehension as to the Registrars of the Court of Probate and the Admiralty Divisions. A long time ago there was not by any means a sinecure, but a monopoly enjoyed by the Proctors of the old Doctors' Commons. The hon. Member for Stockport complained that one of the Civil servants was in the receipt of £1,800 a-year in the shape of compensation for some sinecure he had given up. The facts of the case were these. In 1854-5 the then Government of the day forced the Proctors to give up their monopoly. Previously to that date there were Proctors in Doctors' Commons who were qualified to discharge probate work, and entitled to do ordinary work as well, which work in connection with probate an ordinary solicitor could not do. The Government of the day threw all that work open, and made a very valuable reform among the Proctors. It was, however, arranged, by way of compensation, that every Proctor who had to give up what might be called the good-will of his business should receive a yearly payment of one-half the amount he had derived from the last year of his practice. That amount was to be paid to him for his life. Some of the Proctors

were in the receipt of large earnings—for instance, the late Queen's Proctor received for many years as much as £4,500 as the price of the good-will of his business. The bargain was one of an ordinary commercial character, and it was made, he thought, in the year 1855, and the effect of it was to deprive the existing Proctors of the good-will of their business, and to throw the practice over to the general body of legal practitioners. The reason why they received only half the amount of the profit they derived from the last year of their practice was that they might still continue to practise as solicitors; therefore what was taken away from them was only the good-will of their Office.

MR. JENNINGS said, that his main point was that in a particular instance the official to whom he referred had three different allowances made to him.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, the hon. Member put the matter as if compensation were being paid for the abolition of a sinecure Office; it was, however, nothing of the kind. It was the sum paid for the good-will of the Proctor's business, relinquished by the officer in 1855 on the re-arrangement of the Probate Court. That was all done with Parliamentary sanction, and he did not think the right hon. Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) would say that in this matter the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) had laid himself open to the accusation of a gross job. It was no question of a job, but simply payment for the relinquishment of a privilege, which was recognized to be in existence at the time the Office was abolished. It had nothing whatever to do with the services rendered by this gentleman to the State as Registrar to the Admiralty; for that Office he received £1,000 a year, and a further sum of £608 as an allowance for the loss of his Office of Proctor. It was all very well for the hon. Member for Stockport to say that all those compensations ought to be swept away at once; but when the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington spoke of those payments as brigandage, and as a system by which the Government of the day lent itself to the perpetration of a gross job, even so humble a Member as himself (Sir Richard Webster) was desirous of saying a word on behalf of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian, in whose time the change was made. He could not think that the right hon. Member could be accused of having lent himself to a gross job. The right hon. Member for East Wolverhampton knew perfectly well the purposes for which the privileges of the Proctors were abolished, and would be aware that he (Sir Richard Webster) had only stated the facts of the case. He had now examined four out of the six cases mentioned by the hon. Member for Stockport. He would now say a word or two on that part of the hon. Member's argument with which he was in entire accord; no one more recognized the need for a thorough reform. They ought to insist upon getting as much time as they possibly could out of their clerks, who were paid good salaries. In a small way he had had something to do in seeing that the work of clerks was satisfactorily performed. That, however, was a matter which would not be lost sight of, nor had it been. Already a considerable number of clerks had been required to retire, and a considerable number of transfers had been made. The Report of the Committee was only issued in the month of March, 1887, so that, practically, nothing could have been done in the interval which could have any effect on the present Estimates. He could assure the Committee that Her Majesty's Government fully recognized their duty in the matter, and the necessity of carrying out those changes, so far as they could be carried out; but there were many changes that could not be carried out without Parliamentary sanction, and so far there had been no time since the publication of the Report to obtain such sanction. Hon. Members were perfectly aware that it was not a particularly easy matter nowadays to get any Bill passed through that involved anything like considerable or detailed discussion. But, be that as it might, so far as the principle of getting an adequate amount of work out of their officers was concerned, they were getting rid of redundant clerks and transferring others in order to remove any excess which had hitherto existed. Any fair-minded person who addressed himself to this subject, not with a view to excite the public imagination, but to guide the public judgment, must admit that. The hon. Member had finished his observations by an

assertion that if the Estimates were examined many instances of gross favouritism would be discovered. What did the hon. Member mean by that? He did not think it was fair that allegations of that kind should be made unless the hon. Member who made them was prepared to get up in his place and say what he meant. The hon. Member was a man of great ability, and his writings and speeches were always amusing, but in justice to the Civil servants, when the hon. Member said that gross jobs had been perpetrated and favouritism displayed, he ought to refer to that part of the Estimates to show where he found the proof of his assertion. So far as he (Sir Richard Webster) was entitled to speak, he felt bound to say that there was not the slightest foundation in that suggestion, either in regard to the present Government or the Government of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. The hon. Member said there were any number of instances to be found of the existence of gross sinecures. Where were they? They were not now dealing with what took place in years gone by. If the hon. Member meant that clerks only working from 10 to 4 were cases of sinecures, then, of course, there were a great many sinecures; but if he meant cases of real sinecures, he ought to specify what they were. The hon. Gentleman had referred to the salary paid to the person charged with looking after the stationery; but in the absence of intimate knowledge of what the duties were he (Sir Richard Webster) was not prepared to say that £300 a-year was too large a salary, as to fill the Office a thoroughly reliable man was required. When hon. Members in that Committee talked of favouritism and jobs, they ought in common fairness to stand up and say to what they referred in reference to this particular part of the case. He would now deal with the categorical statements made by the junior Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). The hon. Member stated that he had received information as to unauthorized absences of clerks in the Masters' Department, and he had asserted that they had been absent either for pleasure or other purposes when they ought to have been discharging their duties.

MR. LABOUCHERE: For other business—not pleasure.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, he was speaking now of the charge that was made against the Masters of absenting themselves from their business for purposes of pleasure.

MR. LABOUCHERE: For other business, as Directors of public Companies.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, he was referring to the statement which had been made by the junior Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). He would remind the hon. Member who had interrupted him (Mr. Labouchere) that there were two Members for Northampton, and he (Sir Richard Webster) was alluding to the categorical statement which the junior Member for Northampton was good enough to say he would take upon himself the responsibility of substantiating. Now, the charges made by the hon. Member were serious. If those practices existed—although the hon. Member had not given the name of his informant, and he (Sir Richard Webster) did not like the evidence of anonymous informants—if there were jobs, they ought, undoubtedly, to be dealt with; and if the hon. Member would give him specific instances he would cause an inquiry to be made. He would, at any rate, be no party to the employment of persons who spent their time in pleasure or in the performance of other duties when they ought to be doing public work. He would apologize to the Committee for having detained them so long.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had not answered the question which had been put in regard to the Queen's Remembrancer.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, that as to the Queen's Remembrancer it was not accurate to say that there were no duties attached to the Office; but such duties as did exist were now discharged by the Senior Master, who received £300 a-year in respect of them. Considerable changes had taken place in the Office within the last few years; but there were duties in connection with the Sheriffs and some other matters which were still performed. He thought he had now dealt with all the matters which had been raised by the hon. Member for Stockport and the junior Member for Northampton. The question of compensation allowances he would ask his

hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) to deal with, as it did not fall within his province. With regard to the observations which had been made by the hon. and learned Member for Haddingtonshire (Mr. Haldane), as to the appointments to the Chief Clerk's Office, it was a matter which really did not arise upon those Estimates. He (Sir Richard Webster) knew that of late there had been some feeling aroused on the subject by a recent appointment; but he was led to believe that it was rather a personal question than one for which the Government could be responsible. He therefore hoped that the hon. and learned Member for Haddingtonshire would not persevere with his intention of dividing the Committee upon a matter of that kind. The matter had been one which rested with particular Judges rather than with the system for which the Government were responsible. Another point had been referred to by the hon. and learned Member for North Norfolk (Mr. Cozens-Hardy) respecting the Official Referees. Now, the life of the Official Referees, from a Parliamentary point of view, had not been a particularly happy one. They had always been made a butt on both sides of the House as to the performance of their duties. He was bound to admit that he did not think the particular appointments made in the first instance to this Office had been very fortunate. It was only honest to say that at once, and he would never shrink in that House from stating his opinion fully and frankly whenever he was called upon to state it. The matter was one which was very carefully considered by the Lord Chancellor at the time the two vacancies occurred; and as the Lord Chancellor found that the business of the Official Referees' Office was increasing considerably he decided to fill up the vacancies. He thought the hon. and learned Member for North Norfolk would find that the Return he had referred to did not really give the whole of the work done by the Official Referees. No doubt there had been a lack of confidence in that tribunal; but still, with the present occupants, he hoped that full confidence would return, and that there would be more work for them to do. His own opinion was that they might be made much more available in the interests of the suitors than they were at present. There were many cases tried out before a Judge which, dealing with figures and details, would be much better tried before an Official Referee; and in such cases it was far cheaper for the litigants to go before an Official Referee than before arbitrators whom the parties themselves had to pay. With regard to the last two appointments, he thought that the hon. and learned Member for North Norfolk was not quite accurate in stating that at the time of those appointments there was a falling-off in the business before Official Referees. He was informed that the Lord Chancellor on each occasion carefully considered the subject, and after inquiry as to the increase of work that had been done, and the further increase that was expected, came to the conclusion that it was desirable to fill up both the vacancies. But, however that might be, what were the Government to do? Those gentlemen had been appointed, and they could not be turned out; and it was the duty of the Government, therefore, to provide their salaries. He feared he might not have answered all the points that had been raised to the entire satisfaction of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington—[Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No.]—or the hon. Member for Stockport; but he could assure the Committee that Her Majesty's Government were thoroughly desirous of making such re-arrangements as would, while doing no injustice to present holders of Offices, lead to economy and efficiency.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) said, he thought the Committee ought to be much obliged to the hon. Member for Stockport (Mr. Jennings) for the statement he had made. The hon. Member had put before the Committee a strong case for inquiry, and for an expression of the opinion of the Committee. The Committee would also feel obliged for the remarks which had fallen from the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill). For the first time since 1873 the question of the general expenditure of the Administrative Departments of the Courts of Justice had been fully brought up in Parliament. In 1873 a very important debate took place on the subject; and the result of that debate was the appointment of a Committee over which he had

presided, and which had sat during the whole Session. The Committee went in much detail into the matter, and found that the Courts of Justice cost the public a large sum beyond the fees, and that many of the charges were extravagant. As the result of their examination the Committee recommended that a Royal Commission should be appointed, with two objects—first, to look minutely into the expenditure, much of which involved technical considerations, and which no Committee of the House of Commons could efficiently scrutinize; and, secondly—and this was by far the most important point to consider—by whom this expenditure of over £800,000 a-year was to be controlled, assuming, as the Committee did, that the present control was insufficient. He wished the Committee to bear this in mind. He had before him the Report of the Royal Commission, and also the Report of the Committee. In 1874 there was a change of Government, and power passed to the Party now sitting on the Treasury Benches; his right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. Gladstone) having ceased to be First Lord of the Treasury. Therefore, if the recommendations of the Committee and Royal Commission had not been carried out they on that side were not responsible. But both the Committee and the Royal Commission pointed out very great extravagances with regard to this expenditure, very great want of system, a large number of unnecessary Offices, and a very great imperfection of classification. No doubt, some of the defects of the system were cured by the Acts that were passed in 1877, and subsequently to that date. But the Royal Commission—and it was this fact to which he wished to call attention—by a majority of 4 to 2, declared that the control of the Treasury over this Department was not effective, and that it would be proper to trust some Department of the Government, directly responsible to Parliament, with power to administer and organize these Offices, so as to secure the greatest amount of efficiency as well as of economy. The Royal Commission discussed how this could best be done, and came to the conclusion that although the Lord Chancellor, in theory, was responsible for the administration of the Courts of Justice, and should have control over them, yet, in practice, he had little actual control over the Legal Offices. Of course, he had some control over the officers of the Court of Chancery; but his control over the Common Law Courts was nominal, and not real. After discussing different Departments upon whom the responsibility might be thrown, the Committee reported that they saw no difficulty in placing all questions having relation to the numbers, duties, administration, organization, cost, and responsibility for estimates of the Legal Offices in the hands of a Member of the Government, reference being made to the Judges in question where they were personally concerned. The unreformed position, so far as the control and responsibility was concerned, remained to the present day. The Lord Chancellor could not possibly spare the time to act as a Minister of Justice, and he did not sit in the House of Commons; therefore, he could not be brought under Parliamentary control. It was practically out of the question that the Offices could be well administered if the Minister responsible for them to Parliament was the Lord Chancellor sitting in the other House. On the other hand, speaking with the greatest respect for the ability of the Attorney General, he ventured to assert that the hon. and learned Gentleman could not by any possibility, with his ordinary duties, be responsible for the administration of the Offices; and, therefore, it was absolutely necessary, if they were to have a vigilant eye kept upon the Establishments—which, without such vigilant eye, would grow from year to year—it was absolutely necessary to give the control into the hands of some Member of the Government responsible to Parliament. The Committee found that the Treasury could not carry out the duty, because it was their business to stand behind the Public Departments, and not to act in an Executive character; nor could the Lord Chancellor, nor the Attorney General. It was impossible that they could exercise the functions of a Minister of Justice in this matter; and if they wanted to keep down the expenditure, and criticize the work of the Department, not every five or ten years, they must appoint someone whose duty it should be to criticize it constantly, and to be responsible to Parliament for it, it

was absolutely necessary that complete responsibility should be reposed in some Minister, probably the Home Secretary, if many of his duties were transferred, as they might be, to the Local Government Department. He ventured to appeal to the Committee that that was the real point to consider. Whether this officer or that was unnecessary or excessively paid—and he had no doubt there were many such cases—what they wanted was a general control over this very large expenditure, which could not be exercised by the Lord Chancellor or the Attorney General, but must be in the hands of some one Minister, who would be absolutely responsible for the whole of the expenditure. That was the principle laid down by the Royal Commission of 1874; and until it was carried out, although good service would be done in calling attention to particular mistakes and extravagances, no permanent good would be effected.

Mr. JENNINGS said, he thought that any hon. Member who had heard his statements, and also that of the hon. and learned Attorney General, would be surprised at the very small extent they had been fairly met in the reply of the hon. and learned Gentleman. He would give one instance—that of the Registrar of the Court of Admiralty. The Attorney General began by saying that he had made a most serious mistake in regard to that officer, and that the gentleman in question got only one salary instead of three. Yet it appeared that the Registrar did, as a matter of fact, get three salaries. [Sir Richard Webster: No.] Well, then, an allowance, for technically it was not a salary, but an allowance. All he could say was, that if anyone would pay him £2,000 a-year, he should not care whether it was described as salary or allowance. In this case the Registrar received £608 12*s.* a-year as a compensation allowance for abolition of Office; £26 6*s.* 9*d.* a-year as a second allowance, and £1,500 salary as Registrar; and what he (Mr. Jennings) characterized as a "job" was that any man should be allowed to receive separate "salaries" or "allowances" in that way. The Attorney General had attacked him as if he were a witness in the box, to be withered at a glance. He had denounced him for speaking of "jobs," without specifying what the "jobs" were. His reply was that everything he had described that evening was a job; some things gross and infamous jobs. He declined to be browbeaten by the hectoring tone of the Attorney General; and he was quite ready to state what he meant when he spoke of jobs. Would any hon. Member be prepared to go before his constituents and defend the case of the five clerks who were at this moment walking about the streets with nothing to do except to draw £700 a-year, and who had never crossed the threshold of their office since 1881? The hon. and learned Gentleman had not considered it necessary in his reply to notice that scandal at all, athough he took credit for having answered all the allegations which had been brought forward. The hon. and learned Gentleman had lectured him as if he had invented these cases, whereas he had simply quoted them from the Reports of two important Commissions, and had given the evidence of Sir Frederick Pollock, that the duties of the Masters could be performed by any competent clerk. With regard to the duties of Masters, he knew nothing about them, but Sir Frederick Pollock had stated that there was nothing in the work of the Office which could not be done as well by a clerk as by a Master.

Sir RICHARD WEBSTER said, the hon. Member would pardon him for saying that Sir Frederick Pollock had not said this with regard to the duties of the Masters, but only with regard to one particular duty. The question was as to the Masters attending the Court of Appeal, and the duties they had to perform; and the answer was, "There is nothing which a competent clerk could not do as well as a Master."

Mr. JENNINGS said, that it was also stated that the number of Masters was excessive, and that certain duties now performed by the Masters might be performed by mere clerks. That was the material part of his case which had been brushed aside by the forensic art of the hon. and learned Attorney General. As far as he could see, not one of the points which he had placed before the Committee had in any way been disposed of by the hon. and learned Attorney General. He contended that it was unjust to the taxpayers to pay enormous

salaries which were not earned, and that it was a gross injustice that new clerks should be taken into the Department while redundant clerks were walking about doing nothing. The hon. and learned Attorney General said they could not dispose of excessive salaries at the present moment, but the Committee could pronounce judgment on the system on which the Estimate was based, and lay down the principle that the system of redundant clerks and of over-payments should not be allowed to continue. That was his position and of many of his hon. Friends around him, who were as anxious for reform in Public Departments as himself. He earnestly hoped that his hon. Friends, who were anxious for economy, and who had addressed their constituencies on the subject, would refuse to sanction a system under which there were five clerks with £700 a-year who had never crossed the threshold of the Office.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, that he was afraid the hon. Member for Stockport (Mr. Jennings) would not meet with very much support from hon. Gentlemen opposite, who, although they were very fond of making general speeches about economy, when the necessity for economy was proved by one of their own Friends, would not follow him into the Lobby. He had listened with great pleasure to the speech of the hon. and learned Attorney General. They had heard a good deal about Tory Democracy of late years, but here was a fine old crusted Tory speech which would have pleased Lord Eldon himself. An abuse and a job had been pointed out, and they were told that if it were done away with the integrity of the Empire would disappear. The hon. and learned Attorney General had appealed, in the first place, *ad misericordiam*, and said that lawyers were not fairly treated in that House. He did not think that lawyers were worse than other people, but it so happened that there were more places which lawyers could get, and that was why they were always in favour of places being retained. The hon. and learned Gentleman had asked whether they were going to reduce this Vote for Train Bearers and Purse Bearers and what not who had received salaries of £500 and £800 for several years? These men, like locusts, had established their right to eat into the Public Exchequer, and it was monstrous, said the hon. and learned Gentleman, not to allow them to do so for the remainder of their lives. He (Mr. Labouchere) did not see why men should go on receiving salaries of £500 and £800 a-year merely because they had done so for a number of years. The hon. and learned Attorney General had said the Government were to be congratulated upon having done away with the Petty Bag, but he thought that the hon. and learned Gentleman ought to have congratulated himself (Mr. Labouchere), because year after year he had protested against this sinecurist, and year after year the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. H. Smith) and his Predecessors had got up and explained that if this Petty Bagman were done away with most important functions would not be fulfilled. But the Petty Bagman was done away with, and yet the Empire was not destroyed. Hon. Gentlemen on those Benches had got rid of him, and they would take care that he was not put back. The complaint as to the Permanent Secretary to the Lord Chancellor was that he was now receiving £1,500 per annum, whereas he formerly received but £900. The hon. and learned Attorney General said that this gentleman had extra functions to fulfil, but he did not think he had told the Committee what those extra functions were. [SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: I did.] But surely the Committee had a right to get from our officials seven hours work per diem, and if this official could do the extra work within the seven hours he ought not to receive an extra salary. The hon. and learned Gentleman had gone on to explain about the Secretary of Presentations. That gentleman was a clerk in the House of Lords and received £600 per annum for doing his work there, and £400 in addition for being Secretary of Presentations to the Lord Chancellor. These, said the hon. and learned Attorney General, were most important functions, and well worth £400 per annum. What were these important functions? To reply to Members of Parliament who asked the Lord Chancellor to give some of their friends a Lord Chancellor's living. He had never asked the Lord Chancellor to give him a living.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: Perhaps the hon. Member will allow me to correct him. I said nothing of the kind, or any-

thing approaching to it. I said that the Secretary of Presentations had to conduct a correspondence with reference to about 685 livings.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he would ask how many Members of the House of Commons were in the habit of applying to the Lord Chancellor for Lord Chancellor's livings—not that he believed that they would get anything unless they were relations of the Lord Chancellor? In effect, the country had to pay an official £400 a-year for refusing livings to private individuals. Then, the Lord Chancellor had three Private Secretaries, who each had two clerks to do their business. Then there was the Purse Bearer and the Train Bearer, and with respect to these the hon. and learned Gentleman said that the Lord Chancellor had to appear in State on some occasions, and it was on these occasions that he was accompanied by his Purse Bearer and Train Bearer and that he went with them to attend the Court of Chancery. Now, he saw the right hon. and learned Member for Bury (Sir Henry James) sitting close to him, and he would ask him how many times the Lord Chancellor had been in the Court of Chancery during the last three years? Not half-a-dozen times—and yet that was the case put forward by the hon. and learned Attorney General. But the hon. and learned Gentleman went further, and said that sometimes all three Secretaries were away and that the Purse Bearer and Train Bearer had occasionally a little secretarial work to do. Then the hon. and learned Gentleman had justified the salary of the Messenger of the Great Seal on the ground that he once had a higher salary. He did not see why they should not cut down the salaries of others. This was a case of one man tumbling over another; there was only work for one clerk, and these gentlemen were in their position because the Lord Chancellor had the patronage, and he was not likely to recommend that the Office should be done away with. They might be quite certain that unless the Committee gave a strong opinion on this matter Lord Halsbury would, as soon as a vacancy occurred, proceed to fill it up. The Committee did not want any general promise that the matter should be looked into, but a distinct and specific pledge that some of these offices, at all events, would be done away with. The hon. and learned Gentleman had defended these offices on the ground that they were necessary for the State of the Lord Chancellor, and he had not held out the slightest hope that they would not be filled up when vacancies occurred. The hon. and learned Gentleman had referred to the Masters in Chancery. [SIR RICHARD WEBSTER: The Masters of the Queen's Bench.] He would simply call them Masters, and he asked whether the hon. and learned Gentleman would lay upon the Table a Return of the public Companies of which any particular Masters were Directors, and show the House whether they attended meetings during the period in which they ought to be performing their official duties? He knew, as a fact, that a considerable number of these gentlemen, when they ought to be performing their official duties, acted as Directors of Companies and received fees as Directors. He hoped the hon. and learned Gentleman would look into the matter himself. He made these observations well knowing what he was saying, and trusted the hon. and learned Gentleman would assure the Committee that he would investigate the matter and communicate the result to the Committee.

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, the subject to which the hon. Gentleman referred had never been mentioned before. The Masters in Chancery were not referred to. If the hon. Member would bring to his knowledge the fact that any of the officials in the Chancery or the Queen's Bench Division were in the habit of attending Directors' meetings, and being paid for it, he would, of course, look into the matter.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, that the outcome of the hon. and learned Attorney General's speech was, that he considered that there ought to be some reform in the manner in which the duties were distributed. That was the reform proposed; and that they knew meant nothing unless they had a distinct understanding that the offices should not be filled up when they became vacant. The hon. and learned Gentleman had said—"Tell me of a case of gross favouritism," but would he put on the Table a list of the relatives of the Lord Chancellor who had been appointed? There never was such a jobber since the time of Lord ——, well, he would not mention any particular Lord

Chancellor. The hon. and learned Attorney General said the duties were to be distributed, and suggested that the salaries of the redundant clerks were to be cut off. But that was precisely what was complained of. When the Government wanted to parade their economy before the country they cut off the salaries of the little men and left the larger salaries where they were. For instance, there was the hon. Gentleman opposite, who was Civil Lord of the Admiralty. What did he do for his salary of £1,500 a-year? He went about the country and made Tory speeches. The amount he received was a great deal too much for what he did. But that was the sort of thing done by a Conservative Government; they would not put down any Office by which a particular class benefited, but when an Office by which poor people benefited was in question they were willing to scrimp and reduce. The hon. Member for Stockport (Mr. Jennings) demanded that these sort of perquisites to Judges and others, which they distributed to their relations, friends, and toadies, should be done away with.

MR. RADCLIFFE COOKE (Newington, W.) said, he hoped hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House, who were very much interested in the speech of the hon. Member for Stockport (Mr. Jennings), would support the appeal that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith), or some other Minister of the Crown, would give an assurance somewhat less vague than that of the hon. and learned Attorney General that these matters would be looked into by the Government. He did not think that the arguments of the hon. Member for Stockport had been impugned, although he had fallen into some slight errors. It seemed to him to be admitted by hon. Members on both sides of the House that some of the salaries received by members of the Civil Service were perfectly indefensible; and it seemed to him that when it was proved that a man in the Public Service was over-paid he ought not to continue to receive the same salary. He trusted the hon. and learned Attorney General would give the Committee an assurance that decisive action would be taken in regard to some of the cases which had been specified, which would so satisfy the supporters of the Government that they would consider themselves bound to follow the Government into the Lobby without at the same time breaking the pledges of economy which they had given to their constituents.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) said, he would not dwell on the method by which the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken endeavoured to reconcile his loyalty to his Party with his professions of economy. It would be a great pity if the Committee were diverted from the judicial consideration of this Vote by the few isolated cases of extravagance which had been brought forward that evening. He agreed with the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) that the Government possessed in the hon. and learned Attorney General a consummate advocate. The hon. and learned Gentleman had certainly conducted the defence of the Department with marvellous ability, and certainly avoided what were the strong points of the case of the hon. Member for Stockport, which he had not answered, still less that of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill). He did not think it fair to say that those Members of the House who belonged to the Legal Profession, the enormous majority of whom were barristers, were in the habit of voting money in order to promote their own professional advantage. Last night he had listened to a debate which promised to lead to a saving in one branch of Government Business. That was the result of the labours of a Committee presided over by his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bury (Sir Henry James), in which he was associated with another lawyer on that side of the House, and had also the assistance of Lord Justice Bowen.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he had not imputed motives to any lawyer in regard to a Vote in that House, but had merely referred to the stamp which lawyers of former days had impressed on the administration, greatly to the advantage of the lawyers of the present day.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER said, he thought the spirit of the debate, and that of last night, had shown that those Members who were most familiar with this branch of the Public Service were not those who were least disposed to

advocate economy. The Vote involved an amount of £760,000 simply for the Courts of Judicature, and this did not cover all the branches of judicial administration. He appealed to the Government as to whether the scale of the Vote was not constructed on the most liberal basis? It was not only that there were more officers than there ought to be, but that those officers were paid on the highest scale of remuneration, and that, according to the Report of the Commissioners, they did not render the amount of service to the country which ought to be rendered by them as servants of the Government. With reference to the Masters, the Committee, on which sat Lord Coleridge, Lord Justice Bowen, Mr. Justice Mellor, the present Mr. Justice A. L. Smith, and Sir Horace Davey, had reported that the Masters were not obliged, like the Judges, to attend from 10 to 4, or from 10·30 to 4 o'clock, but that absence was of almost uniform recurrence; that the seven Masters appointed under the Act of 1879 had not been called upon to undertake the general duties of Masters, and that it was the opinion of the Commissioners that each Master should be called upon to participate to the best of his ability in the duties and work appertaining to his rank and office, and that any Master who was now unwilling to accept the position should retire with the pension to which his services entitled him. They also said that the Masters should distribute their work over the whole office hours; and then they went on to give a very strong opinion as to the number of Masters being excessive. The evidence on which these recommendations were founded conclusively bore out the statement of the Commissioners. He would ask the Government whether they were prepared, in the first place, to take the Report as a whole, and whether they were prepared to embody its recommendations in the future administration of the Legal Department. With reference to vested interests, he was not prepared to say that he agreed with the hon. Member for Stockport as to completely disregarding the vested interest of all gentlemen who had forsaken, for the service of the country, their other paths in life. But when the Government paid a man for the whole of his time they ought to get what they paid for. Then there was the question of the hours which these gentlemen should give to the Public Service, and these matters the hon. and learned Attorney General had said could not be dealt with in a rapid manner. He would give him an illustration to the contrary. The Royal Commission presided over by the hon. Baronet the Member for the Blackpool Division of Lancashire (Sir Matthew White Ridley) a few days before the Recess reported upon the whole of the Civil Service, and expressed a hope that steps would be taken to carry out the recommendations of their first Report, among which was that the hours of service should be fixed at seven. It was within the power of the Treasury Department to do this by a Treasury Minute. He did not know what the Treasury had done, or was going to do, but he knew that the Inland Revenue Department, under the guidance of Sir Algernon West, had already carried out this rule, that every clerk in the Department should serve seven hours a day. There appeared to prevail an opinion in certain Government Offices that there should be no record kept of the number of hours of service, but he hoped that this would be done in every Department, as was the case in the Bank of England and other large establishments, where it was the rule that the hours of coming and going of the highest and lowest in the service should be recorded. The Commissioners on this point said—

> "The subject to which we would call attention is the desirability of making attendance books compulsory on members of the Civil Service. We are in favour of making the rule general throughout the Service."

The hon. Gentleman the Member for Stockport asked the Committee to vote for a nominal reduction of £500 in order to express to the Government and the country that the House of Commons was dissatisfied with the Vote as a whole; that the Vote should be grappled with in its entirety; and it was in order to strengthen the hands of the Government, and from no Party motives, that he hoped the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman would be carried.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he desired to say a few words in answer to one or two of the points which had fallen from the hon. Member behind him. The hon. Member for Stockport

(Mr. Jennings) was apparently still under the impression that the payment which was made to the Registrar of the Admiralty on the abolition of certain rights which he possessed was in the nature of a salary. A sum had been placed on the Consolidated Fund, and he (Mr. Jackson) held that the payment to him sanctioned by Parliament, and made in virtue of something taken from him by the State, was a payment of the same character as if his house had been taken from him and a certain sum paid in compensation. What was the position of this gentleman when that transaction took place? He no longer possessed the monopoly of practising in this Court, but he was free to go into the world and earn his living in any other way, and the Government of the day appointed him to this position because they considered him to be the best man available for their purpose. He thought the hon. Member for Stockport would see that the two questions stood entirely apart, and that one was no more connected with the other than it would be if one amount were paid for salary and the other for compensation. The hon. Member for Stockport had referred to the five redundant clerks, with reference to whom he used the term "job." Now, a job had been defined to be the corrupt use of patronage; but surely the retention of these gentlemen in the position which they held under statutable authority — namely, the Act of 1879, was one which it was not in the power of the Government to over-ride. Parliament at the time, in its wisdom, preserved to these gentlemen who were then in Office all the salaries and rights which they possessed, and it was absolutely beyond the power of Government to dispossess them. He would remind the hon. Member that some time ago he had succeeded in inducing the House to express the opinion that retirement on abolition terms ought not to be granted to individuals under a certain age. The Government considered that on that occasion the House of Commons expressed its deliberate and separate opinion, and that they had, therefore, acted on the principle of avoiding in every case in which it was possible the retirement of comparatively young men on compulsory retirement terms. He need go no further into the question of the clauses of the Bill dealing with this matter; but he might point out that the hands of the Government were tied by the Act of 1879, which preserved to these officers all the remunerations to which they were entitled, the right of compensation for the loss of chances of promotion, and the right of payment of fees which they were entitled to receive. Therefore, he ventured to say that when his hon. Friend spoke of these transactions as jobs, the most that could be said of them was, that the Government had allowed men to continue in office who had a statutable right to the salaries paid them, and had not called upon them or compelled them to retire on abolition terms. So far as he was personally concerned—and he believed he spoke the opinion of every Member of the Government — as time permitted and opportunity offered, it was their bounden duty to get rid of all useless offices. With reference to the five redundant clerks, they had been called upon to retire. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Compelled.] The Government had no power to compel them; but they had been called upon to retire. The Committee, in concluding their Report, stated that it remained for them to submit that the re-organization of the Department and the retirement of unnecessary officers should be effected as soon as practicable, and that officers incapacitated by age or infirmity or other cause should resign on pension. The Committee did not recommend that any violent course should be taken to add to the Pension List, but that, as vacancies occurred, the Government should avoid filling them up, and he was entitled to say that this course would be pursued. He thought he might give the Committee an instance of what had occurred last week in the Chancery Pay Office, where the office of Deputy Assistant Paymaster became vacant by the death of the gentleman who held the position. That position had been filled up and sanctioned by the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) only on the condition of the permanent abolition of a principal clerkship, which would result in a saving of £800 a-year. This, then, was an individual case of the practice and intention of the Government to make these successive appointments dependent, first, on the

fact that the office itself was necessary to be continued, and that the work of the office could not be done in any other way. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) had spoken, he thought, in very reasonable terms, and with a great deal of what he said he entirely agreed. The right hon. Gentleman had alluded to the question of making the seven hours' rule with regard to all Government Offices, and he had pointed out that this had been done in the Inland Revenue Department. He must, however, remind the right hon. Gentleman that a change of this kind could not be effected without some cost. He entirely agreed with the view that all Government Offices ought to be made into seven-hour offices, and he believed that would be carried out in every case where it was practicable; but it had been the custom hitherto in changing from six to seven hours to compensate the officials by additions to their salaries. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!" and "Why?"] He was very glad indeed to obtain from the House of Commons an expression of its view that the Government would be justified in adding one-sixth more labour without any addition to salaries. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] If the House considered that right it would strengthen the hands of the Government considerably, but the Government had been under the impression that a contract made with a man—[*Cries of* "Where, where?" *and* "Their whole time."] An hon. Member said they ought to give their whole time; did he mean the whole 24 hours? [Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER: No; certainly not.] Yes; but that was decided at the time they took the Office. He mentioned the fact that compensation had been paid when the hours had been changed to show that the question was not so easy of settlement as the right hon. Gentleman thought, and that where the office hours had been changed the practice had been to make an increase in the salaries.

MR. C. S. PARKER (Perth) asked, if that was the case in the Inland Revenue?

MR. JACKSON: Yes; it was. He did not think it necessary to touch on other points which had been replied upon by the hon. and learned Attorney General, and would only repeat that, so far as the Government were concerned—and he believed that this was the wish of the Committee—they would continue, as vacancies arose, to abolish all offices which could be abolished, and not fill up vacancies unless the work demanded it. This had been for some time, and was now, the practice which the Government were pursuing whenever an office became vacant.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, with reference to the argument of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury that the Government were doing all in their power to reduce offices, he quite agreed that they exerted their powers to the uttermost, but there were cases in which the Government were absolutely powerless to abolish an Office which was useless, because of the opposition of the Lord Chancellor. This was the case with the office of Official Referee. His hon. Friend who represented the Treasury held a strong opinion, and he himself was strongly of opinion at the time, that the office was unnecessary, and it was proposed to give effect to this view, but they were over-ridden by the Lord Chancellor, who filled up the office in the teeth of the Treasury. That showed how important it was for the House of Commons to strengthen the hands of the Government, and how beneficial it would be for the Government, if the House did what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) had recommended—namely, express its dissatisfaction by voting a merely nominal sum. That was the course which he hoped the Committee would take, and it was one which, so far as he could gather, the Government seemed to invite, while, at the same time, he was certain it was the only course which would have the smallest effect in checking needless expenditure.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER said, he wished to point out that the difference between six-hour and seven-hour offices was the initial difference between £80 and £95. That was the only difference which the Treasury had recognized. He would read the evidence of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury's own Colleague, Sir Reginald Welby, who, with reference to the Higher Division clerks, said, in answer to a question put by himself (Mr. Henry H. Fowler), that there was no document in existence which constituted a contract with the clerks for

six hours' work. There was no contract in the matter further than the statement of the customary hours to a clerk on entering the office.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have listened to this debate with very great interest, and perhaps I shall receive the credence of some hon. Members when I say that I have uniformly welcomed, and the Government have uniformly welcomed, the assistance of the House of Commons in dealing with, or attempting to deal with, extravagance or abuse of any kind whatever. I recognize the position of the Government as one of great difficulty, undoubtedly; but I look upon them as responsible for conducting the affairs of the country with efficiency and economy, and I therefore welcome cordially the assistance of the House of Commons in obtaining efficiency and economy. But the Government have to consider also the responsibility which rests not only upon them, but upon every Government in relation to maintaining good faith and respecting statutable rights and statutable claims. Now, so far as this Estimate is concerned, a vast proportion of it is based on the statutable rights which have been deliberately confirmed by comparatively recent Acts of Parliament. I do not understand that hon. Members desire that we should arbitrarily deprive any man in the Public Service, at the present time, of any right he possesses under any Statute or under any ordinance, contract, or the like. My hon. Friend's desire, and the desire of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, is this—that this very large expenditure should be brought under review upon the responsibility of the Government, so that an office which is not actually necessary, in the judgment of the Government, when it becomes vacant, shall not, in the interests of the Public Service, be filled up again. It is desired that there should be no vested right recognized at present in an office of emolument, unless it should be shown to the satisfaction of the Government that the duties to be discharged are necessary, and that the pay which should be allotted to those duties is reasonable and just under all the circumstances of the case. Well, we recognize that it is our duty to see that these principles are carried out. I may claim, I think, for myself that during the last two years that I have had the honour to hold my present position, I have not filled up one single office when it became vacant, without having first satisfied myself that that office was necessary in the Public Service; and I have abolished many offices and reduced the salaries of others—not of inferior clerks, but of positions of high importance. That is the principle which we propose to follow, so far as we have power to do so, in reference to this matter. But I will go further, and undertake, on the part of the Government, that the whole question of this Report shall be examined into. We have already proceeded to make some progress in dealing with the principles they recommended. Offices which have become vacant, and which they recommend should not be filled up, have not been filled up. More than that, if it appears necessary that we should obtain further legislative authority from Parliament, we will ask for that authority and obtain the necessary power. I do not propose to go into the particular cases which have been quoted by my hon. Friend behind me, or by hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) asked that some Minister should become responsible for these matters, apart from the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Secretary to the Treasury, and apart, I suppose, also, from the First Lord of the Treasury.

MR. CHILDERS: The Treasury have confessed that they cannot alone exercise the control necessary over these establishments, and that there should be some Minister responsible.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I am not prepared to say that it would be well to relieve the Treasury from its present responsibility.

MR. CHILDERS: The Treasury, it must be remembered, stands behind every Minister in respect to his establishment. Of course, it would be unwise to diminish the responsibility of the Treasury as to any establishments.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I will not pursue the argument further; but will merely say, on behalf of the Government, that I recognize it to be their duty to find an Officer, a Minister who shall be responsible for seeing that none of the appointments, now the subject of debate, shall

be filled up unless he is satisfied that the duties to be discharged are necessary in the public interest, and that the pay to be allotted to those duties is not more than adequate and reasonable. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton asks us if we are prepared to take the Report as a whole, and carry it out. We are prepared to give effect to the Report as a whole, and to carry it out. Of course, it must be understood that we hold ourselves bound, in regard to any specific recommendation in the Report, to satisfy ourselves before carrying it out that it is one in itself desirable. We may go even beyond the Report in certain cases; but the principle of the Report and the general tenure of the recommendations —its objects and aims—were cordially and entirely agreed with; we accept it, and we intend and desire to carry it out. I do not think I can say more than that, except to add that we regard the Motion for the reduction of the Vote as one which rather hampers than strengthens our hands. The debate undoubtedly has strengthened our hands and assisted us, and we give the most unqualified assurance to the House that we cordially agree with the spirit and object of the right hon. Gentleman opposite and my noble Friend behind me, and other Members, in seeking to reduce salaries which are too high and useless expenditure, and to remedy all abuses. We take the full responsibility upon ourselves, and we trust that the Committee will accept that assurance.

MR. JACKSON: May I be allowed to give a personal explanation? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton appeared rather to challenge a statement I made in reference to the increase to pay given on the change of an Office from a six-hours to a seven-hours Office. I think his explanation, and his quotation from the evidence before the Commission, related only to the Higher Division, and I did not understand him to challenge in any way the statement I made as regards the Lower Division. I understood the arrangement made with these officials was a contract, and I venture to repeat that now. I believe it is a contract, based upon and defined by an Order in Council, which separates the two classes—the six-hours Offices and the seven-hours Offices, with initial salaries in each Office, having a difference of £15 a-year, so far as my memory serves me. When a change is made from a six-hours to a seven-hours Office, the men who are engaged in the Lower Office make a step from the one grade to the other, and in that sense has an increase of £15 a-year made to his salary. I apologize to the Committee for intervening in this way; but it is only for the purpose of making clear that there is really no difference between the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton and myself.

SIR JOHN SWINBURNE (Staffordshire, Lichfield) said, that before the Committee was called upon to vote he should like to point out how diametrically opposite were the speeches of the hon. and learned Attorney General, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, and the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, from the practice of the Government. He held in his hand a Return asked for by the hon. Member for North Norfolk as to the Referees. There were four Referees, receiving each £1,500 a-year, and each having a clerk receiving £200 a-year. The duties of these gentlemen, however, were insignificant. One of them had on an average only 18 cases a-year brought before him; another had 27 cases, another 25, and another 23. In spite of the fact that these gentlemen had so little to do, when two vacancies occurred not long ago, the Lord Chancellor did not hesitate in filling them up, and the country was now saddled with that unnecessary expense. The hon. and learned Attorney General had said that he was full of hopes and trusts that these Referees would be referred to very frequently indeed; but somehow or other suitors did not seem to appreciate their services. The beginning of Term after the Long Vacation was generally the most busy time amongst legal officials. Well, 18 working days had passed since the beginning of the present Term, and during those 18 days, ending this day, the four Referees had only had nine cases before them; while on seven out of the 18 days not one of the four Referees had anything whatever to do. He wished it to be understood that he was not attacking the Referees personally, but merely the policy of the Government. The Referees had nothing to do with it, and the Com-

mittee could not deduct anything from anybody's salary this year. But they had been assured over and over again, from the Front Ministerial Bench, that the policy of the Government was to refrain from filling up vacancies in these cases. The real policy of the Government, however, was clearly shown by the Return to which he alluded. If the Lord Chancellor insisted upon making such appointments as this, in direct opposition to the wishes of Her Majesty's Government, he thought that the Government should call upon the Lord Chancellor to vacate his Office.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had complained of the word "job" being used, and had challenged him to mention a single case of jobbery. Well, he should endeavour to give the hon. and learned Gentleman a case; but, in the first place, he must say that the statement they had just heard from the hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, so far as it went, was highly satisfactory, and was in very strong contrast to the speech of the hon. and learned Attorney General, who, he was bound to say, so far as reform went, gave very little indication of his being personally in favour of it. He (Mr. Molloy) utterly disagreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Wolverhampton (Mr. Henry H. Fowler) in this matter. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that the lawyers were not opposed to economy; but that was against his (Mr. Molloy's) experience in that House. He had always found lawyers, himself, opposed to economy, and this experience had been confirmed by debates during the present Session. The hon. and learned Gentleman wanted him to give a case of jobbery, and here was a strong one. The Official Referees had been referred to. Well, two appointments had been made, both in 1878, that was to say after the Lord Chancellor and those concerned had had this Report before them.

MR. JACKSON: May I point out that the Report in question does not recommend the abolition of the Referees?

MR. MOLLOY said, the hon. Gentleman was perfectly right. What he (Mr. Molloy) had meant had been the Return and not the Report. The Lord Chancellor and the Treasury had had the Return in their hands, and the facts were, therefore, perfectly known to them. He would only take two cases in the Return, showing the amount of pay and attendance of the Official Referees. Here was the first: In seven years one Referee had put in 750 days' work. Each day, however, was not a whole day. If the Referee came down to the Office, and merely read his letters, spending half-an-hour there, the attendance was shown in the Return as one day's work. The heading was—"Number of days during any portion of which sittings were held." Assuming, therefore, that the 750 days only represented half-day's work, they found that this Referee did in the year only 50 days' work, for which he received £1,500 a-year and the assistance of a clerk at £200 a-year. The fees obtained by this Referee amounted, in the whole seven years, to £1,000, whilst the salaries amounted to £11,900. Now, here it was put before the Lord Chancellor that the Referees had so little to do that they did not put in more than 50 days' work out of the 365, and that the whole receipts amounted to little over £120, although these gigantic salaries were being paid. With that fact staring him in the face, and in spite of the representations which had been made to the Government and the House, the Lord Chancellor had appointed fresh Referees when vacancies had occurred, and, in so doing, he (Mr. Molloy) maintained the noble and learned Lord was guilty of an absolute job. He mentioned these cases in reply to the challenge of the Attorney General.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 129; Noes 148: Majority 19.—(Div. List, No. 286.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, that before moving to reduce Sub-head G by £1,000, he should like to make a personal explanation, which he was sure the hon. Gentleman the Attorney General would accept in the spirit in which he offered it. The hon. and learned Gentleman used the words "anonymous informant," in relation to something he (Mr. Bradlaugh) had put to the House and as naturally in much of the matter he again had to put before the House, he should give no name the same phrase would probably be used against him again.

So far as the previous matter was concerned, he (Mr. Bradlaugh) would say that the gentleman who had written to him was one of the gentlemen examined before the Committee, and that he (Mr. Bradlaugh) had applied to him for information about 12 months ago. Information had come to him (Mr. Bradlaugh) suddenly and unexpectedly, and he did not believe that the gentleman who gave it would have the slightest objection to his name being mentioned, but not having his permission to mention the name, he (Mr. Bradlaugh) had thought it necessary to withhold it. On this Sub-head G he wished to submit a grievance of the public, as suitors. It was true that some alteration had been made in the system to which he was about to draw attention, and although other alterations were being contemplated in the circuit arrangements, he did not believe it would affect the case he intended to present to the Committee; and he was strengthened in this view by Resolutions passed by the Bar Committee itself, notably in the South Eastern Circuit, which Resolutions seemed to show that the grievances, which he had examined into carefully with a view to raising the question on this Vote last Session, remained up to the present time precisely in the same state as they were in last year. Now he submitted that great inconvenience was occasioned to suitors, and especially to the Metropolitan public, by the continued absence of the Judges from London, through their being occupied, as he should presently show, with a class of work which they need not perform, and through their performing the work which they might perform otherwise, in a manner that did not tend to the public advantage. In saying this he did not want to make a personal attack on any one of Her Majesty's Judges. He desired to speak of the Judges in this Committee with the same respect as he should speak of them if he were addressing them themselves. In the first place, he submitted to the Committee, as an evidence of great delay in public litigation, that there was one case in regard to which he had put a question to the hon. and learned Attorney General very early this Session, in which it was shown that, after argument before Mr. Justice North, the case had actually taken one year and five months before judgment was delivered. Though he admitted that that was a very exceptional case, and one which might arise from matters not connected with the cause to which he was going to refer, yet it also might be one of the results of that complaint. He submitted that the Judges only sat in London in full strength for rather less than five months of each year, and that principally arose from the Circuit arrangements, which had been prevalent for a considerable time. The legal year began about the 24th of November, when they were all back in London, leaving somewhat more than a month for work, for on Christmas they rose. After Christmas, all the Judges of the Queen's Bench Division went on Circuit, leaving only Judges sufficient to form a Divisional Court, and it was nearly the middle of February before they returned. It then sat for about six weeks until Easter, and after the Easter Vacation there was another Circuit, leaving at best one month's full strength to Whitsuntide. After the Whitsuntide Vacation there was full strength for about one month, and then the Judges went on the Summer Assizes, and did not sit again in London until after the Long Vacation, making practically a total of about four-and-a-half months' full-strength Sittings in London in the ordinary year; and even those four-and-a-half months were not devoted solely to Metropolitan cases. Gentlemen around him belonging to the Legal Profession were probably better informed upon this point than he was; but he believed that there were a large number of cases, which, under the old practice, used always to be carried to Assizes, which were now tried in London, and which cost enormous expense to suitors. The solicitors and witnesses were brought to London, and a great deal of expense was incurred, because of the impossibility of trying the cases at the Assize, in consequence of the Judges augmenting their criminal business with the trial of Quarter Sessions cases, in the hearing of which Judges should not be employed at all. In a letter which appeared in *The Times* of to-day, signed by Mr. Lofthouse, honorary Secretary to the Bar Committee, it was said that—

"The average number of Quarter Sessions cases dealt with at the Assize, when

Easter falls neither early nor late, is about 1700, but that this year, by reason of the Autumn Assizes being retarded by a month, the number of cases will be about 2,000."

Now, he (Mr. Bradlaugh) submitted to the Committe that it was a waste of the valuable time of the Judges—a waste of the time which ought to be devoted to civil suitors—to occupy them with the trial of cases which could well be tried, and in fact could be better tried, under the superintendence of the Chairman of Quarter Sessions, and which should not occupy the time of a Queen's Bench Division Judge. The Judicature Committee expressed themselves very strongly on this point. He would not occupy the time of the Committee by going into that; but there was a serious matter connected with it upon which he desired to say rather more than the Judicature Committee said. In every Assize there were a number of eminent Queen's Council—he was not sure that all of the Queen's Counsel, but a number of them—put on the Commission. If the whole of the Queen's Counsel going on Assize were not put on the Commission, there were, at any rate, always a number of these Gentlemen put upon the Assize, and he knew, of his own knowledge, that these Gentlemen were often put upon the Commission so soon after they had taken Silk, that one might assume that a very large number of Queen's Counsel were so put on. Then he alleged that there had been a departure in modern times from the ancient practice, or the practice of 25 or 30 years ago, by which, whenever there was a heavy criminal calendar, one, two, or even three Queen's Counsel, if there were conveniences for them, sat in separate Courts, trying what he might call Quarter Sessions cases. This, he believed, cost the country nothing. He thought he was correct in saying that Queen's Counsel had to do that work, or were expected to do it by the etiquette of the Bar and the practice of the Bar, for nothing. Not only did this practice cost the country nothing, but it was not a bad training for the Judicial Bench which most of these eminent gentlemen aspired to, and which, in turn, most of them occupied. He did not know that there had ever been a serious complaint of the Commissioners so acting. He thought he should be correct in saying that if there was a case of extraordinary seriousness or difficulty known beforehand, that that case was generally removed from the Commissioners' list and taken by the Judge himself, or if any unexpected difficulty arose in the trial itself, the learned Commissioner always had the Judge close at hand to consult on the subject. There was no doubt whatever, from the evidence given before the Judicature Committee, that this practice had been almost completely departed from in modern times. There was a suggestion which might not be correct, that an allowance of £7 10*s.* per day, which was made to the Judges whilst they were on Circuit, was an inducement to them to prolong the Assizes. He would not make that suggestion himself, but it might be said that this allowance allayed the desire of the Judge to get through the business by other help than his own, and it seemed to him (Mr. Bradlaugh) a disadvantage that this practice had arisen. There were instances in which Judges had stayed three weeks, or even a month, in one Assize town, with only a few serious cases to try, and an enormous bulk of cases which ought only to be dealt with at Quarter Sessions. What was the consequence? Why, that the solicitors who were aware of these things naturally did not enter the cases for trial at those Assizes. The clients suffered on the one side and on the other, because the only tendency then was to take the cases to London, where a trial could be secured. There was a great cry raised from time to time that the delay to suitors arose from the need of more Judges. He would respectfully submit to the Committee, however, that there was no such need, but that what was wanted was a better distribution of the power of the Judges. The Judges of the Supreme Court should not be employed at all in trying these petty cases. These cases should be taken away from them, and the Judges should be, he was going to say compelled, but he did not know that that would be a good word to use, but, at any rate, the Judges should be induced to resort to the old practice—a practice which he submitted was attended with great advantage to the country—of obtaining the assistance of the Queen's Counsel whose names were on the Commission, and who were often sitting in Court and were compelled to remain in the Assize town doing nothing

whatever, because it was seldom that their services were required in these paltry Quarter Sessions cases. He would not trespass further than to make this very bald statement to the Committee. This statement, he felt, would have been very much better made by some member of the Legal Profession, but he could well conceive that every member of the Legal Profession might, going his circuit or his Assize, feel difficulties by way of challenging what was supposed to be the practice of any particular Judge. He (Mr. Bradlaugh) himself desired that it should not be thought that he was making this commotion to-night in any way as a personal attack on any one of the Judges. What he wished to attack was the system which had grown up during the past 20 years or so. He would suggest that the Assize Judges should not be employed in this petty kind of work, because the suitors in a Court of Justice were entitled to the earliest services of the Judges in order to determine the expenses they would be put to in litigation; and in moving this reduction, he (Mr. Bradlaugh) moved it hoping that the Law Officers of the Crown might be able to give the Committee some assurance that the Government had paid some attention to these matters. He trusted that he had not used any words of aggravation or unfairness, and that he had stated the complaint as moderately as he could, but he alleged that it cost scores of thousands, even hundreds of thousands of pounds to the public every year, not only in the delay in the settlement of matters in litigation, important alike to plaintiff and defendant, but in the piling up of costs to an extent which was never dreamed of 25 or 30 years ago. He moved to reduce Item G, Circuit Allowances and Expenses, by the sum of £1,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item G, Circuit Allowances and Expenses, be reduced by £1,000."—(*Mr. Bradlaugh.*)

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne) said, that the hon. Gentleman the junior Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had been mistaken in only one observation he had made, and that was when he said that some legal Member of the House could have taken this question in hand better than he had done himself, for in reality, in all the details the hon. Member had given of this serious grievance, both in the facts he had stated and the deductions he had drawn, he had been as accurate as anyone could be, and had represented the strong feeling of the Profession for some years past most faithfully. He (Mr. Addison) trusted that the hon. and learned Solicitor General (Sir Edward Clarke), whom he saw in his place, would take the speech which the hon. Member (Mr. Bradlaugh) had made as a speech which was really re-echoed by nearly all the lawyers in the House on that (the Ministerial) side, and he had no doubt on the other Benches. The Judges were undoubtedly doing their very best to accommodate and to arrange the Circuit business. They had a great deal of business to attend to, and no doubt it would be difficult for them to make arrangements out of those now in operation without an increase of Judges, which the hon, Member (Mr. Bradlaugh) declared he did not believe to be necessary. But whether necessary or not, such an increase was held to be impracticable. They had, therefore, to consider the best means of carrying out the system under arrangements which should not detain other Judges too long on Circuit without increasing their number. The various duties they had to perform had been pointed out by the hon. Member. They had to attend in the High Court and at the Old Bailey, and three of them, at any rate, had to attend to another inquiry, about which he would say nothing at present, but which, so far as he could see, would occupy the attention of these three Judges for a considerable time. The grievance which had been brought before the Committee was ore which had really risen, so far as his (Mr. Addison's) recollection went, more lately than the hon. Gentleman opposite supposed. Years passed so quickly, and, as we got older, our notions of time got more vague, but his (Mr. Addison's) impression was, that it was not more than 10 years ago since the change they were discussing was introduced. Up to that time the Magistrates committeed to the Sessions prisoners ordinarily triable at the Sessions and committed to the Assizes prisoners ordinarily triable at the Assizes. It seemed to have occurred to some Judges about 10 years ago that it was their duty to clear the gaols, and in

Lancashire they actually altered the form of the Commission for the purpose of trying Quarter Sessions prisoners, and the effect was that 10 or 12 serious cases and 60 or 70 Session cases came before them for trial. Now the Judges tried these cases without advantage to the public, because, he made bold to say, that there were no tribunals in England that tried these cases better than the Courts of Quarter Sessions, whose sentences were more regular and more just, and who understood better the manners and customs of the people with whom they dealt in the degree of guilt of the prisoners who came before them than anyone else could do. His (Mr. Addison's) experience was confined chiefly to Lancashire, but he thought he might say that there were no tribunals in the world which did their work better than the four Courts of Quarter Sessions of Lancashire. That being so, the work of these Quarter Sessions had been to a large extent actually taken away from them for no purpose that any member of the Legal Profession was able to conceive, unless it were to waste the time of Her Majesty's Judges and take them away from London. This was a grievance which he had pointed out more than once. In a Bill before the House in the last Parliament, he had made the suggestion that prisoners triable at Quarter Sessions should be tried there and nowhere else, except under an order of a Judge in Chambers. When they were discussing so many impracticable law reforms before the House—so many which it would be impossible to carry, and certainly which it would be impossible to persuade the Front Bench the importance of—a simple reform, such as this he proposed, might well be adopted. He had called the attention of the Government to the matter, and the Government had made a reply which showed that they utterly failed to appreciate the gravity of the case which had been made out. That being so, he thought the hon. Member for Northampton, and those who acted with him, should support the Bill which he believed would come before the House next Session for carrying out this simple object. The next remark made by the hon. Member (Mr. Bradlaugh) was that he was unable to conceive why a practice, which was adopted by the Judges when he was a youth, of employing Queen's Counsel to hear certain cases, should not be departed from. Whether it was a useful thing for Queen's Counsel to try cases, it was not for him (Mr. Addison) to say, as one of that Body, but it certainly seemed to him that Assizes were drawn out to an inordinate length. He trusted the hon. Member for Northampton and his Friends would support the Bill to which he had referred next Session, and that that support would have an influence with the Government which their most faithful supporters had been unable to secure. He hoped that some day or other the reform which he advocated would be brought to the knowledge of and be appreciated by his hon. and learned Friends on the Front Ministerial Bench, whom he believed were anxious to do all they could to relieve the Assizes of the country.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir EDWARD CLARKE) (Plymouth) said, that no doubt this was an interesting and important subject which had been most fittingly brought before the House by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) and the hon. and learned Member for Ashton-under-Lyne (Mr. Addison). It was very well known that one of the most difficult questions which had stood before the House for years past had been the arrangement of the Circuits; and public feeling had varied a good deal in regard to what these arrangements in the main should be. Not many years ago there was a feeling of having more frequent Circuits all over the country, and there was an expression of public opinion in favour of grouping the counties and holding Assizes in different centres for the trial of prisoners. No doubt there had been much that was experimental in the arrangement of the Circuits during the last few years. The experiment, for instance, of having four Circuits in the year had proved not to be satisfactory. It had not produced the results expected, and he was extremely glad to say that the experiment which was made of grouping counties, and having criminals from one county taken for trial to another county, had been practically abandoned. It was an experiment which he was very sorry ever to see made, for in the administration of criminal justice it seemed to him of importance that the trials should

take place as close as possible to the spot where the offences were said to have been committed. It was certainly essential to the interest of the poorer prisoners — and most prisoners were poor—that their trial should come off near to the place where they and their friends lived. Therefore, as he had said, there had been much that had been experimental during the last few years; but he quite recognized the importance of the specific point to which attention had been directed that evening, and that was the extent to which the time of the Judges had been taken up by trying small cases which ought properly to be tried at Quarter Sessions. He had certainly a very high opinion of the way in which, at most Quarter Sessions, the Chairmen discharged their duties; but still, it was a good thing that, from time to time, these Bodies should see how those cases were dealt with by Her Majesty's Judges; and there was some—he did not say a very great, but some—counterbalancing advantage. But it did not at all atone for the mischief which had been spoken of, and it was much to be regretted that the time of the Judges should be so largely occupied in trying cases which should be tried at Quarter Sessions. But he was rather surprised that his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne should speak of the Government in this matter as being insensible to his blandishments, but as being likely to capitulate to the assault of the hon. Member for Northampton. This was not a subject with which the Government, having made no preparation to deal with it, would propose to deal with in consequence of anything which had taken place that evening. He had before him a copy of a Bill passed through the other House, a Bill the Government would be extremely glad to pass into an Act during the present Session if there were any opportunities of their doing so. That was a Bill by which it would be possible to make arrangements for holding sittings of Quarter Sessions just before the days fixed for the holding of the Assizes. While there might be discussion as to which was the best way of carrying out the object in view, it would be admitted that the Bill was a substantial attempt to prevent the Judges, when they went into an Assize town, finding standing for consideration a number of Sessions cases. In the way suggested the difficulty might be met. He could not discuss the terms of the Bill now, but if it came before the House for consideration the whole matter would have to be discussed upon it. He desired to say a word with regard to Commissioners. His own experience did not go back very many years—in 1865 he joined what was then called the Home Circuit—but although the Home Circuit had a very great deal of business to be discharged at the different Assize towns, it was not a customary or a regular thing to have a Commissioner sitting for the trial of causes. Commissioners were from time to time called upon to sit, but only in cases, as a rule, where it was found that so much business existed, or that the cases had taken so long that the time the Judges had allotted for that particular place did not appear to be sufficient for the regular conduct of business. He should be very sorry to see Commissioners resorted to as a regular part of Assize work, although it was a great convenience that the Judge should have associated with him members of the Bar on whom he could call to assist him in cases of any considerable pressure of work. He (Sir Edward Clarke) was quite sensible of the spirit of the speech of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). The hon. Member desired not so much to make an attack upon the Judges as to recognize the difficulty they themselves were in in having to deal with a number of Sessions cases, and to point out the undoubted fact that the Public Service would be best served by Judges being relieved of these cases and left to deal with the larger and more important work. He hoped the hon. Member would see the view of the Government was that some remedy should be found for the mischief, and that he would give his assistance to any scheme which might commend itself to his judgment as being one likely to provide a remedy.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he should certainly support the Government in any scheme calculated to meet the mischief, but he did not quite understand whether the Solicitor General said that if any measure came for discussion the Government would try to secure some enactment which would prevent Quarter Ses-

sions cases being tried at Assizes. The mere appointment of Quarter Sessions on a particular day might possibly entirely fail from a number of reasons. In that case, would the Government go so far as to prevent what he would describe as Quarter Sessions cases being tried except at Quarter Sessions, save on some order of the Court being made when the special circumstances of the case required it?

SIR EDWARD CLARKE said, he could not now discuss the details of the Bill one way or the other, but what he wished to convey was, that the intention and desire of the Government was to cause the transfer to the Quarter Sessions of the trial of causes which were really Quarter Sessions cases, but which, under the present arrangements, were tried by Her Majesty's Judges. Whether that would be by forbidding trial at the Assizes, or facilitating the trial of the causes by Quarter Sessions by making arrangements which would provide sittings of the Quarter Sessions before the Assizes, was a matter of detail upon which, at this moment, he could not express an opinion. The object, however, was clear, and that was to transfer the trial of these causes to the Quarter Sessions.

MR. BRADLAUGH said he was of opinion "facilitating" would not meet the view of those for whom he pleaded. What was really required was some hindrance to the possibility of Quarter Sessions cases being tried at Assizes.

MR. AMBROSE (Middlesex, Harrow) said that this was really a most important matter. Instead of having, as formerly, two Judges to attend to the civil business of Assizes, almost the whole of the time of one of the Judges was occupied in taking criminal business because there had been thrown upon the Judges the trial of Sessions cases. He had no hesitation in saying that Chairmen of Quarter Sessions and Recorders were quite as capable, and in many instances more capable, of taking these cases than Her Majesty's Judges, because the business was more in their line. Many of the Judges had been engaged in civil business only, and they came to criminal business comparatively inexperienced, whilst Chairmen of Quarter Sessions and Recorders brought to the subject large knowledge and experience. What was the result of the present state of things? Not only were the Judges longer out of London—not only was London deprived of the services of the Judges—but the country districts were deprived of the amount of service from Her Majesty's Judges in regard to civil business that they were accustomed to receive formerly. The whole difficulty arose through the view entertained by Mr. Justice Watkin Williams. Some prisoners used to be committable to Quarter Sessions and some to Assizes. According to the Statute, if the offence was triable at Quarter Sessions the Magistrate committed the prisoner to Quarter Sessions, and if the offence was triable at the Assizes he committed the prisoner to the Assizes. Those cases committed to the Assizes were tried by the Judges, and those committed to the Quarter Sessions were dealt with by the Chairman of Quarter Session or the Recorder, as the case might be. Mr. Justice Watkin Williams started the point that when the Judges were sent out by their Commission to deliver the gaols, it was not their duty to leave any prisoner in gaol. The point seemed to be accepted, and from that time to this the Judges had been labouring with the difficulty of having to deliver the gaol of Quarter Sessions prisoners. He knew that many of the Judges did not like it. In many instances it was competent for the Recorders so to arrange their own Sessions that they came immediately after the Assizes, and if they did the Judges were compelled to do the Recorders' work. There was no sort of necessity for this, and it was a great hindrance both to country civil business as well as London business, that the Judges should be occupied in trying cases which could be quite as well tried, if not better, by Chairmen of Quarter Sessions. There was another point which had been started in recent years, and which had tended to occupy the Judges very much. About the same time as the idea of delivering the gaol of all prisoners was accepted, it was started that there ought to be four gaol deliveries instead of three. It was said that prisoners ought not to be kept too long in prison, and it was right that at all events there ought to be a gaol delivery every quarter. He really could not see why, if they were to argue that three deliveries were too few, they ought not to go on to four, and from four to five, and from five to six, and so on. The fact

was, there were a great many more Assizes than there was any real necessity for. He wanted to speak with reserve on the matter; but he did not think he would be betraying any confidence when he said that the Judges themselves were of opinion that there was no necessity for four Assizes. In arranging for four Assizes the Judges were rather yielding to what they believed to be the outside demand than to their own opinion that there was any necessity. He believed that the holding of four Assizes resulted in a great waste of judicial power. Personally he was obliged to the hon. member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) for having brought this question before the Committee.

MR. BRADLAUGH said that after what had fallen from the Solicitor General, and from two hon. and learned Members of the Committee, he thought he would be acting wisely in asking leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) said, he desired to direct attention to a matter which was discussed last year at some length by the Committee; he referred to the Pay Office of the Supreme Court, and the funds which were kept there—the unclaimed funds about which so much misapprehension prevailed in the public mind. Last year the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) was good enough to promise to give his attention during the then coming year to the point. On the part of many persons there was a belief that the funds standing in the name of the Paymaster General to the Court of Chancery were of almost untold magnitude. There used to be numberless advertisements in all kinds of newspapers implying that there was something like £100,000,000 sterling lying in the Court of Chancery and only awaiting claimants. The advertisements set forth that the Government would be only too glad if applicants would come forward. The number of advertisements which the professional agents of the Court of Chancery, as they called themselves, published, implied no doubt that there was an immense amount of credulity in the public mind on the subject. He believed, however, that the discussions which had taken place in the House of Commons, had to a certain extent removed the illusion. In the past year the number of advertisements of the character he had mentioned had been largely reduced in this country, and now, indeed, if such advertisements were found, it was only in the inferior class of newspapers. He could testify from very recent personal experience that this was not the case elsewhere. There was no part of the world to which the English people went—neither our Colonies nor the United States—in which these fraudulent agencies did not still prevail. Within the last 10 days he had seen in an American newspaper the same old lie about £90,000,000 sterling lying in the Court of Chancery, and about the desire of the British Government that claimants should come forward. They had already heard from the officers of the Government that there was nothing like that amount of money lying unclaimed in the Court of Chancery. He believed that one cause of the misapprehension in the public mind—for it was a gross misapprehension—was that next to nothing was known about these funds, and that the little that was made known was of a kind to stimulate the imagination. Once every three years was published a list containing thousands of names, and, so far as the outside ignoramus could tell, everyone of the names might mean fortunes of thousands of pounds. He believed the real fact was that there was hardly a fund in the list which exceeded £15,000, and that the entire funds did not amount to more than £1,000,000 sterling. The suggestion he made to the Secretary to the Treasury last year was that all the possible information on the subject should be given to the public, and that in particular the total amount of the fund should be made known, and that the amount of the individual fund should be published. He had the honour of knowing the Gentleman who recently filled the office of Deputy Paymaster to the Court, the late Mr. Skinner, and he thought it was no breach of confidence to say that that Gentleman thought something could be done in the direction indicated. In consequence of the favourable reception his suggestion met with last year, he had ventured again to bring the subject before the Secretary to the Treasury. He should be glad if the hon. Gentleman was able to announce that he had seen his way to do something in the matter.

THE SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman the member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson) certainly did a public service in calling attention, as he did last year, to this subject. It was true he (Mr. Jackson) promised to take into consideration the suggestion he made, and see whether it was possible, without doing greater mischief, to give effect to it. He did examine into the matter, and he did consult with those whom he had a right to think knew more about the circumstances than he did. Having done this, he was forced to the conclusion that he could not make a recommendation which would give full effect to the hon. and learned Member's suggestion, without raising other and perhaps more serious difficulties. In the public interest it could not be too strongly emphasized that the fund was not at all that which advertising agents, who were simply misleading the public for the purpose of making profit for themselves, represented it to be. The total of the fund was not at all to be compared with the extravagant sums which were mentioned from time to time. Considerable benefit would result from the publicity which the hon. and learned Gentleman had given to the subject. He was glad to hear the hon. and learned Gentleman himself found that some good had resulted from his action. He hoped that the present notice which was taken of the matter in the House of Commons would be found to be of service in warning the public against the misleading statements which were being circulated. He should be very glad, either in answer to a Question from time to time, or in some other way, to make known what were the real facts of the case, as far as they could with propriety be made known.

MR. E. ROBERTSON asked, what particular difficulty the hon. Gentleman saw, in every instance, in making a change? Suppose there was an item in the list, "Jones against Smith." It was not stated how much money that item represented. Why should it not be stated in the margin that that fund amounted to £10, or £20, or whatever the amount might be, instead of leaving the matter to the imagination of the credulous, and, he was afraid, avaricious public. There were many people who, when they saw their names in the list, supposed it meant a fortune to them. He had received scores of letters from persons asking him to call at the Chancery Office and get sent to them £20,000 which stood in the list in a name corresponding with the writers'. Why should not the list, which was the stock-in-trade of certain so-called agents, show what was the amount of each fund?

MR. JACKSON said, he was afraid he was not able, off hand, to give the reason, because he could not call it to mind. But he thought it would partly meet the hon. and learned Gentleman's case if they did, in some form or other, show how comparatively small the amount of the fund was. He would see what could be done.

MR. E. ROBERTSON said, that a statement did appear regularly every three years. What he wanted to do was to make the statement much more complete and less misleading. He thought it would be better not to publish the list at all than to publish it in its present form.

MR. COGHILL (Newcastle-under-Lyme) said, that many complaints were made about the absence of the Judges from London. One of the chief causes of the complaints was that the Judges give themselves so many holidays. Why should the Judges have four vacations in the year? They had a long vacation of two-and-a-half months. They had three weeks' holiday at Christmas, and a fortnight's holiday at Easter and Whitsuntide. Why should not the Whitsuntide holiday be abolished altogether? No doubt there were certain persons who were very much overworked in the practice before the Judges, but it did not follow that the courts should rise altogether at Whitsuntide, as they did at present. The question of the allowance of £7 10*s.* per day to the Judges while on circuit had already been alluded to. The allowance arose in this way: A few years ago the Chancery Judges were sent on circuit in the same way as Common Law Judges were. The practice was discontinued, and the Common Law Judges complained that they were put to the expense of £500 each, in going circuit, while no such expense fell upon the Chancery Judges. To make all equal, the Common Law Judges were there-

upon allowed £7 10*s.* a-day while on circuit. He put it to the Secretary to the Treasury whether this payment ought not to be abolished. The right course of procedure, at the time the allowance was agreed upon, was not to level up, but to level down. Chancery Judges could have been got for £4,500 a-year. There were plenty of men practising at the Chancery Bar who would have been perfectly willing to have taken a Judgeship at that figure, and the Secretary to the Treasury would admit it was a perfectly sound principle that they ought not to pay for services more than the market value of the services. If the Chancery Judges were paid £4,500 a-year, and the Common Law Judges expected to pay their own circuit expenses, all would be upon an equality. It seemed to him that the administration of justice might be very much more economically and more efficiently conducted than at present.

SIR EDWARD CLARKE said, the arrangements with regard to the allowance of £7 10*s.* per day arose from the fact that it was hard on the Judges who were called upon to go on circuit to have to pay expenses amounting to £500 a-year. The Chancery Judges had for a long time had £5,000 a-year, and it was well known that for some time after the Equity and Common Law Divisions were joined in the Supreme Court of Judicature, the Judges went circuit in turn. The experiment, however, was not a satisfactory one. The Chancery men had never had anything to do with criminal justice, and they often found themselves in a difficulty when they came to deal with criminal cases on circuit. If the burden of going circuit was to be thrown entirely on the Common Law Judges, it was only fair they should be relieved of the expenses attending going circuit. Besides, the arrangement made was a very economical one from the point of view of the public. The immediate increase to the public expenditure was about £3,000 a-year, but in consideration of the arrangement it was agreed that the Judges should, as vacancies occurred, not have the second clerk which they previously had. When the arrangement was fully effected, the result would be a saving to the public purse of about £2,000 a-year. He had not the smallest doubt the hon. Member (Mr. Coghill) was right when he said there were Chancery men who would accept Judgeships for a smaller rate of remuneration than was now paid, but there would be no more dangerous and mischievous thing than to take that as a test. It was important to the country to choose as Judges, not simply men who had practised at the bar, but the best men. With regard to the question of holidays, he was afraid it would be impossible to get Judges to sit from the 28th of October until the 8th of August without a break. Besides, the holidays which were enjoyed by the Judges at Christmas and Whitsuntide were holidays which were, so to speak, common and popular holidays.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he desired some information concerning the Clerks of Assize. He noticed that the bulk of these officials received £1,000 a-year. Had they any other work to do besides that at Assizes? Furthermore, he would like to know who appointed these gentlemen; whether they had to be a certain number of years at the Bar before they were eligible; and how many years Mr. Justice Stephen's son had been at the Bar?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) replied, that the Clerks of Assize had no other duties to perform, but they could not practise at the Bar. They were required to have certain qualifications, and he had no doubt Mr. Justice Stephen's son possessed the necessary qualifications. His recollection was that that gentleman had practised at the Bar a considerable time. The senior Judge made the appointment.

MR. E. ROBERTSON said, he did not know how far the patronage of the Judges extended, but he asked lay Members of the Committee to take up a copy of the Law List; to look at the names of the minor and comparatively obscure judicial officers, and compare them with the names of the gentlemen on the Judicial Bench. They would find a most extraordinary and most significant repetition of the names of the Judges in the names of the minor officers. They would find Pollocks and Mellors and Denmans in one generation, and Pollocks and Mellors and Denmans in the next generation. It was not "Amurath to Amurath succeeds," but Mellor to Mellor and Pollock to Pollock. He was confident that if the

public knew to what an enormous extent judicial patronage was exercised, apparently for the benefit of the families of the persons interested, there would be a great deal of indignation aroused.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) £4,680, to complete the sum for Wreck Commission.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) said, he desired to ascertain from the Government their intention with regard to the appointment of Wreck Commissioner. It was now four or five months since the death of Mr. Rothery, a gentleman who, for 10 or 12 years, had presided over the Court with great ability, and when, shortly before the Recess, he had asked the President of the Board of Trade what were the intentions of the Government on this matter, he was informed that they had not decided upon the course to be pursued in filling up the Office. The post was created in 1875 or 1876, in consequence of the agitation aroused by Mr. Plimsoll. He believed he was right in saying that the Commission had performed their work satisfactorily, and the Royal Commission, over which he himself had presided some years ago, expressed the opinion that the Wreck Commission had been productive of a great deal of good, and had thrown a great deal of light on cases leading to loss of ships and loss of life at sea. Under the circumstances, he asked what course the Government proposed to take with regard to filling up the Office?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, that no definite steps had been taken as regarded the filling up of the post vacant by the death of Mr. Rothery. The matter was being very carefully considered, and he might say that representations had been made to the Lord Chancellor to hold his hand with regard to the appointment for the time being, in order to enable very serious consideration to be given to the Report of the Commission on Saving Life at Sea. In the meantime, he was told that no inconvenience arose from not filling the appointment. He believed the Commissioners on Saving Life at Sea were rather leaning to the opinion that it was desirable to hold the inquiries by means of Inspectors. Apparently, legislation would be necessary to give effect to many of the recommendations of the Commission, and it seemed desirable to the Board of Trade that they should have a little more time seriously to consider how they could best shape their proposals and give effect to the largest number of the recommendations of the Commission.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, there must from time to time be a considerable number of serious cases of loss of life at sea which ought to be inquired into, and certainly the Royal Commission were of opinion that the Office should be continued for that purpose. He could not altogether consent to the saving of money by the suppression, either wholly or in part, of this important Office, and in view of the supreme importance of holding inquiries where serious loss of life and property occurred, he owned that he should be much opposed to the abolition of the Office.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, any ordinary Magistrate, assisted by trained assessors, could do the work without the country being put to the expense of £3,000 a-year.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) £198,030, to complete the sum for County Courts.

DR. CLARK asked for an explanation of the increased charge shown in the Department of Registrar and Bailiffs. Was this due to increase of salaries, or were these persons paid by fees?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, there had been no increase of salaries of any kind. The reason for the increased payment was that owing to the increase of business, increased fees were paid in certain cases.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) pointed out to the hon. member for Caithness that on his Motion a Return had been made which gave all the figures for Registrars.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £596, to complete the sum for Land Registry.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £370, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1889, for the expense of Revising Barristers in England."

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) said, he thought the time had come when the whole question of the Revision Courts of Registration of Electors should be dealt with, and he rose to protest against this large expenditure, by moving to reduce the Vote by the sum of £210. The practice of the Revising Barristers was to strike off the register as many persons entitled to vote as he could be convinced he should strike off by any acute registration agent. If a Conservative Agent convinced him that 1,000 persons ought to be struck off, and a Liberal Agent showed that 1,200 ought to be removed, they would be struck off; but, on the other hand, if those two agents were to join to represent that a certain person had been left out of the list who was entitled to vote, the Revising Barrister had no power to put on the person in question. His protest was against the entire system. We were, under the present system, wasting £20,000 a-year, besides the amount of the Grant in Aid; and yet there was at present nothing in the nature of a perfect register of electors of the United Kingdom. The cost of the register which did exist was almost entirely borne by the candidates in the respective constituencies. This was a very heavy tax on those who became Members of the House, and he thought the subject ought to be taken into the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, so that if the present or a similar Vote was to be continued, the powers of the Revising Barristers should be made to extend not only to the striking off, but to the placing on the register of duly qualified persons.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the sum of £160 be granted for the said Services."—(*Mr. Howell.*)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, he could understand with the hon. Gentleman that improvement was desirable, and he only wished to correct one misapprehension on his part—that it was the sole duty of the Revising Barrister to strike voters off the Register. As a matter of fact, the bulk of his work was dealing with new claims. He would be the last person to say that no improvement was possible, but on the other hand, he was able to say that the Revising Barristers had done their work very well, and in this particular year, the Government had effected an economy which would be of considerable advantage to the country.

MR. HOWELL said, he had no intention to cast any slur on the Revising Barristers.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) said, he hoped that the present method of making up the Register would shortly come to an end. It was quite true that the Revising Barrister had among his functions that of putting voters on the Register, but if anyone were to visit the various Courts, he thought he would have great difficulty in understanding the different decisions given by Revising Barristers throughout the country. There appeared to be no standard to go upon, and his experience of the proceedings in the London Courts was that one Court would admit a claim to registration which another would refuse. He considered it wrong that the Revising Barrister should have power to add a new voter to the Register only when some voluntary society had taken the trouble to lodge the claim. He thought that the question of the entire revision of electoral registration must very soon come before Parliament. He did not think the Revising Barristers entirely met the conditions required from them, or that they acted upon any standard in the discharge of their duties; and he therefore differed from the Attorney General as to the manner in which the work was done. They had before them a number of lists which they had not seen before, and according as there were persons to argue the cases or not, so the work was carefully or hurriedly done. He hoped, even now, that the Government would be able to say that they did not think this was the best possible system for arriving at the result required.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's) said, the Government had already declared their views on this subject. Questions had been put to them this Session, and last Session also, with regard to registration. The Government said they were not satisfied with the present condition of the law, and that they had declared their intention of dealing, as soon as they conveniently could, with the whole question. They were of opi-

nion that all those entitled to vote should be on the Register, and they would not themselves be satisfied with any revision of the law which did not meet that requirement. The hon. Gentleman might be sure that, as soon as the matter could be dealt with, it would be so in a manner which would be satisfactory to him.

MR. PAULTON (Durham, Bishop Auckland) said, he did not quite gather whether the right hon. Gentleman intended to convey that the law was in a satisfactory condition or not. If the Government considered that the law was in a satisfactory condition, he should have something further to say on the Vote. He wished to call attention to a case, which, so far as the law stood, was perfectly clear, but with regard to which the decision of the Revising Barrister had been entirely wrong.

THE CHAIRMAN said, a legal error on the part of a Revising Barrister was a matter to be dealt with in a Court of Law; but the question of misconduct on the part of a Revising Barrister might properly be raised on this Vote.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £6,243, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Police Courts of London and Sheerness."

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) said, he wished to draw the attention of the Committee to a circumstance which had caused great inconvenience and loss of time, and consequently money, to a number of persons who were constituents of his own. On the 13th September, about half-past 12, a message was sent to the magistrate at Dalston Police Court to say that there was no magistrate at Clerkenwell; the sitting magistrate accordingly had to go to the Clerkenwell Court, with the result that a large number of persons who were present at the Dalston Court on School Board summonses, were compelled to leave the court and return in the following week. This circumstance, which had resulted in the loss and injury he had described, he sincerely hoped would not occur again. He wished, also, to refer to the condition of the cells in which persons were detained at the Police Courts. He did not propose to speak at length on the subject of the over-crowding which frequently took place in these cells, and which frequently led to persons, either innocent or taken into custody for the first time, being put in the same cells with habitual criminals. On this subject he would simply remark, that if anyone desired to manufacture criminals, a more effectual course could not be taken than placing the innocent in compulsory association with the guilty. But he particularly desired to draw attention to the fact that there were no female attendants to take charge of female prisoners. In the first place, this was a cruel injustice to women who happened to be detained, and who might be perfectly innocent, and it seemed to him to be scarcely fair to the male gaolers that the duty of attendance should be imposed upon them. As soon as a woman was convicted she was placed under the exclusive care of female warders, so that they had this anomaly, that the treatment of women presumably innocent, was worse than that of the guilty. He admitted that if they were to provide female attendants, there would be a certain amount of additional expense; but there were certain cases in which expenditure was necessary in response to the claims of decency and humanity, and he thought that this was one of them. This question had been before the House last year, and some observations were made from the Treasury Bench sympathizing, to a certain extent, with the hon. Member who then took up the ground which he was taking up that evening; but he believed that nothing practicable had been done in the direction, and that it was but a Platonic sympathy which was then expressed. For this reason, unless he received a perfectly satisfactory assurance from the Treasury Bench, he proposed to divide the Committee on a Motion for the reduction of the Vote in order to raise what he considered to be a very important question.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £6,143, be granted for the said Services."—(*Mr. Pickersgill.*)

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPART-

MENT (Mr. STUART WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) said, since the Report of Mr. Justice Wills's Committee was made, the Government had been in communication with the Office of Works, the magistrates, and Mr. Edward Ducane, as well as a number of other persons who could render assistance in considering the questions raised by the Report of the Committee. References were made in the Report to various subjects, among others, the undue agregation or congestion of prisoners, sanitary arrangements, bad lighting, improper communication between the cells, and improper facilities for communication with the public, respectable people being associated with persons of filthy habits and language, bad attendance, the want of female attendance, and insufficient provision for keeping prisoners separate. The Committee would see that the remedy for all these evils at one swoop would be a task of some magnitude. It appeared that before anything could be done to provide comprehensive relief, it was necessary to ascertain to what extent it was possible to diminish the congestion of prisoners by improving the van service, under which they were brought to and removed from the Police Court, because it would have been obviously improper to rush into a large expenditure before ascertaining that there was no other means of diminishing overcrowding. Direction had been given that, whereas the van used to arrive with the remanded prisoners from Holloway at 10 in the morning, and the remanded prisoners discharged into the cells already filled with persons under night charges, and otherwise in custody, henceforward the remanded prisoners should be brought to the Police Court at some hour near to the time when they were likely to be wanted for the purpose of being tried. The hour of half-past 11 had been fixed, in the hope that the van would be able to take back prisoners whose cases had been disposed of. It was proposed to give a trial to this new system, and when that had been done the Government would be able to form some idea of what amount of alteration would have to be made. There where 14 police stations in the Metropolis, and it would be necessary to have a large number of cells to prevent over-crowding. In some cases the police stations and Courts were under the control of the Commissioners of Police; and in six cases there were police stations adjoining the Court, and the Committee recommended that in such cases it should be ascertained whether the cells, which were in good order, could be made available for the purposes of the Court. Accordingly, an arrangement had been made for additional cells in this way. They proposed to ask the Treasury to sanction the payment of a nominal rent by the Police Court, to meet possible damage to the cells and other necessary items. This arrangement would give a certain amount of temporary relief, but not all that which it was intended to provide by improvements. With regard to the question of female attendants, this was a matter of great importance, and the improvement of the present system had the warmest sympathy of his right hon. Friend. A place that was unfit for a male prisoner was *à fortiori* unfit for a respectable woman; but this question depended, to a certain extent, on structural improvements. In the meantime, he was engaged in inquiring whether the wives of gaolers or female searchers, who were near at hand, could not be made temporally available until more permanent arrangements could be carried out. The question of the food supply to prisoners had also received attention, as also what would be the probable additional cost, and he was not without hope of being able to meet the recommendation of the Committee in that respect. He hoped the Committee would see that the Department had not been insensible to the very valuable recommendations of the Committee, which, he believed, there was a prospect of being carried speedily into effect.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, the reply of the hon. Gentleman, although to a certain extent satisfactory, was not, he feared, sufficient to satisfy either the Committee or the public. The method of dealing with this question by the hon. Gentleman was one of delay—it was, he said, a question of bricks and mortar, and he seemed to argue that the matter must be delayed because the Department would have to ask for more money. The only immediate action which the Government proposed to take was the more frequent running of the police vans for the pur-

pose of relieving the congestion at the Police Courts. That would have no effect at all, except as to the length of time during which the cells were overcrowded; the concourse of people in the cells and waiting rooms of the Courts would still continue, although they might come earlier and go away sooner. He did not think the Government had realized the gravity of the Report which had been made, and which was framed in the strongest possible language, and was to the effect that the present accommodation was extremely defective in almost every respect; that it was unworthy of a civilized country, and especially disgraceful to the Metropolis of this country; and that a large measure of improvement was immediately and urgently demanded. The Government met this urgent demand by saying that the police vans were to run backwards and forwards more often, and that in six months, perhaps, the question of a larger number of cells would be considered. No one who had read the Report could agree that any delay should take place in satisfying the demand. There were persons brought before the Courts who were not guilty, and others who were not only not guilty, but brought there through some spiteful action, and the bare idea of putting such persons for half-an-hour in such company as they met in the cells ought not to be tolerated, and the case called for the immediate attention of the Government. A case in point had been brought forward in which a decent and innocent woman, who was guilty of nothing but a technical breach of the law, was fined 2*s.*, and locked up in a cell with a prostitute, who, the gaoler said, was the foulest-mouthed woman he had ever known, and whose utterances confirmed his report. There were portions of the Report which, for reasons that would be readily understood, he could not read to the Committee. Yet they were told that the question of cell accommodation was for future consideration. ["No, no!"] He had listened attentively to the hon. Gentleman's statement that in about six months something was going to be done with regard to structural alterations. But the statements which had been laid before them as to the mixing of the sexes, the contamination of innocent women and youths, and the horrible insanitary condition of the cells, ought to be sufficient to induce the Government not to delay for a single day the work of reconstruction; and in order to strengthen their hands he hoped his hon. Friend would carry his Motion to a Division.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) said, he spoke as a specialist in this matter, having passed a night and one day in the Bow Street police cells, and if other Members of the House had had like facilities, this subject, he believed, would have been brought before the House before now. He did not happen to have the Report in his hand, or he should have read every word of it, because he believed it was only by bringing before the Committee the real facts of the case, and showing how women and men were herded together in the London police cells like slaves in the middle passage, that the sense of humanity which resided on both sides of the House could be fairly awakened, and then he was convinced that, cost what it might, the matter would be set right in two days. After the events which occurred that day year, which they called "Bloody Sunday," he was confined in a Bow Street police cell. On one side of him there were two drunken prostitutes, on the other three Whitechapel boys, whose language, to quote Bret Harte, was "painful, frequent, and free"; after this, a respectable man was brought in on suspicion of having assaulted a policeman, and they had to listen to this filth and obscenity the whole night long. What he pleaded for—it was an unusual thing for a Radical to ask—was the outlay of a little public money in order to remove this reproach from our London Police Courts, and place them on a level with those of Paris and other cities. He had taken the trouble, when in Paris, to inspect the police accommodation in the cells. He had gone there with a Member of the Paris Chamber of Deputies; and he must say that in the French capital they were 100 years in advance of us in respect to these matters. He had not observed in Paris that crowding together or absence of sanitary arrangements noticeable at Bow Street. He had seen men and women there, but order and cleanliness was preserved, and when men had commenced to sing indecent songs they were checked—which was not done in

the case of some of the occupants of the cells, one of which he had been confined in a night and a day. He had appealed to the Home Secretary on this subject. He had made a charge as to the treatment of prisoners by the police, 12 months ago, to the very day. He had told the right hon. Gentleman how, himself confined in one of the cells, he had heard groaning and scuffling close to him, and had heard a prisoner use these words—"You need not give a fellow such a doing." He had been unable to see what took place on that occasion; but in the morning he had seen go past his cell men with bandaged heads, who, the night before, had had nothing the matter with them. Those were serious charges to make, and he certainly should not make them if he had not heard and witnessed what he described. He was prepared to make those statements on oath, if necessary. He appealed to the Home Secretary to let the country know if he was in possession of any special facts relating to these grievances, in order that the Committee might know how they stood with regard to them, and in order that a man who might be falsely accused might not be exposed to violence and abuse in the secrecy of the police cells, and then have no redress open to him, being unable to provide himself with witnesses. He asked any gentleman in that House, who prided himself on being an Englishman, to lay aside all paltry questions of economy, and to urge on Her Majesty's Government the desirability of spending a little money for the purpose of removing this reproach to our civilization.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, he was sorry to detain the Committee—["Oh, oh!"]—and he hoped that in saying that it would not be supposed that he did not take interest in the matter. On the contrary, it was because he felt such warm interest in the matter that he had appointed this Committee. He entirely agreed with what had fallen from more than one Member—namely, that economy was not to be thought of for an instant when there was an evil to be removed. When an evil was proved to exist, it must be removed, at whatever cost; and the Government, in this instance, had endeavoured to effect measures of proper reform in as reasonable a way as possible. They had taken the steps which, obviously, it was their first duty to take, by providing increased van accommodation for the removal of prisoners. This step was to prevent a congestion of prisoners in the Courts. The Committee had emphatically referred to this point, remarking that in some of the Courts much might be done to relieve the cells by some arrangement for removing the prisoners in batches, as soon as their cases were disposed of. They had suggested that, instead of putting different classes of prisoners together, the remanded prisoners should be brought up after the night charges had been disposed of, and arrangements were being made to carry out that suggestion, and prevent the detention of different classes of prisoners in the same cells at the same moment. This was a difficult matter to deal with, as the Committee foresaw, for they had stated that it was beyond their power to suggest details; but he thought that by the steps which had been taken he had arrived at a satisfactory result, and that without having been guided in the matter by an undue and shabby economy. The cost of constructing a new cell on the improved principle was £68—that was the estimate in the Report of the Committee. But before new cells were constructed land had to be acquired, so that some time must elapse before the accommodation could be augmented in this way. He could assure the Committee, however, that there was not the slightest intention of shelving the question. All the Government wished to do was to act as reasonable men would do under the circumstances; and when they had brought about a proper average distribution of prisoners—discriminating between remanded prisoners and night charges—and when they had minimized the accumulations to the utmost, they would inquire as to what fresh structural accommodation was necessary. It would not be fair to the taxpayers of the country to spend more than was absolutely necessary for the purposes they had in view. Many of those at the Home Office felt as warmly on this subject as did hon. Gentlemen opposite, though they did not hold anyone to blame. The existing accommodation at most of the Police

Courts was providedwhen the population of London, and the number of charges to be dealt with, were enormously less than they were at present. The evils complained of had grown up by degrees; and difficult as it might be to provide the necessary accommodation, he must say that, having had time to see what new arrangements were necessary, measures would be at once adopted to carry those measures out.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said, the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary declared that he had under his consideration—and, no doubt, he had had for a very long time—the question of improved cell accommodation. He (Mr. Stuart) wanted to give one fact in respect to that matter. That part of the Metropolis under the Metropolitan Police had increased during the past 10 years by 20 per cent; but the cost of the Metropolitan Police Force had, during that time, increased by 44 per cent, and the money laid out on assistance to destitute prisoners awaiting trial had increased 14½ per cent. These figures were taken from the Annual Police Returns for 1878 and 1887, and they showed conclusively the backward state of the provision such as the hon. Member (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) desired to see provided; and he (Mr. Stuart) certainly thought that when on many minor matters—which he should have occasion on a later Vote to call attention to—there had been such large increases connected with the administration of justice, it was desirable that proper accommodation for the poorer and more miserable class of the population should be provided with greater rapidity than that for any other class. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would act with greater rapidity, perhaps, through his attention being drawn to these matters. He (Mr. Stuart) regretted that he was not in the House when this question was first raised. He, however, had heard one question raised by an hon. Gentleman—namely, the physical treatment of certain prisoners awaiting trial by police constables. He did not wish to prolong the discussion in any way; but he intended to read one piece of evidence which was in his hands at that moment. After the troubles which arose exactly a year ago in Trafalgar Square, he (Mr. Stuart) and some of his friends——

THE CHAIRMAN: I did not interrupt the hon. Member for North-West Lanarkshire (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) in his speech; but it appeared to me most of it would have been more relevant if delivered on the next part of the Estimate—namely, the Police Vote. His observations, in a great measure, had reference to the conduct of the police, and that statement, I think, would also apply to the observations of the hon. Member who is now speaking (Mr. Stuart).

MR. JAMES STUART: I think the time of the Committee would be saved if I were allowed to finish my observations on this matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: The time of the Committee would be best saved by proceeding in a regular manner.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) asked what time would be occupied by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary in making the calculation as to the number of prisoners for whom accommodation would have to be provided? He did not understand the recommendations of the Committee with reference to structural changes to depend upon this inquiry. The right hon. Gentleman said that inquiries were being made; but it was right to point out that, whilst these inquiries were being made, the disgusting proceedings to which attention had been called were taking place. He (Mr. H. H. Fowler) happened, when at the Home Office, to have the alterations of the Police Courts under his consideration; and he had come to the conclusion that it was absurd to attempt a reconstruction of the various Metropolitan Police Courts in a piecemeal fashion, spreading the work over a number of years, and depending entirely on such annual grant as the Treasury might feel disposed to give. He would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman why the Metropolitan Courts should not be dealt with financially, just as Birmingham, Liverpool, or Manchester would deal with their police buildings? Those towns would not find the means for providing this accommodation out of the taxation of one year, but would raise a loan for the purpose. He heard the Home Secretary say—"He knew all about that." No doubt the right hon. Gentleman knew all about it. The right hon. Gentleman knew it was necessary to

spend a large amount of money to put the police cells in a proper and decent condition; and no doubt, if the management of the police were handed over to the County Councils, the London Council would raise a large amount of money to get the necessary work properly done. The necessary outlay would probably be £200,000, which, at an annuity of 5 per cent, would entail an expenditure of £10,000 a-year; but for this the work could be carried out at once in a complete and satisfactory manner. Certainly, it was desirable that some immediate action should be taken. He commended the Home Secretary for his judgment and fairness in appointing a Committee to investigate the case. All sections of the House were desirous of supporting the right hon. Gentleman in carrying that thing out. There would be the financial difficulty to overcome; but he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) hoped the right hon. Gentleman would grasp that nettle at once, and insist on the Police Courts being put in a decent condition.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) complained of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down making reference to remarks uttered in an undertone. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman would strongly object to him (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) making known what had been said between them in private conversation on this matter—a thing which he should not dream of doing. He (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) had very strong reasons for believing that the right hon. Gentleman had, in his general remarks, been referring to what was going on when he was in Office, with regard to making great improvements in the cells of the police stations in London, and effecting those improvements with borrowed money. Well, this policy had been carried out by two special Acts of Parliament, and the expenditure of a sum of £200,000 was authorized in 1886, the subject being treated as a matter of capital expenditure, and not as current expenditure. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman and the Committee that the Home Office would not scruple to propose that structural changes, should they prove to be necessary, should be carried out, and carried out with borrowed money. He did not, however, anticipate that any very great structural changes would be found to be necessary.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) said, he did not think that in his answer to the hon. Member for Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill) the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had made quite a satisfactory statement as to the necessary reforms in the London Police Courts, especially in the provision of female attendants to look after female prisoners. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to have acknowledged the defect in the present system; but all he said as to the remedy was that he was trying to do something, and that probably gaolers' wives would undertake the duty in question. It could not be expected, however, that gaolers would marry wives in order that they might carry out duties of this kind. He was sure that no arrangement would be satisfactory, except the engagement of persons especially selected for this work, and paid for this work alone. Every now and then one heard a case of some poor wretched woman being intruded upon at night by the police officers in the cells, and the narration of such occurrences stirred up one's indignation. He was exceedingly sorry that no satisfactory answer had been given on this question; and unless a promise were obtained from the Government that women would be attended to by their own sex when in the cells of the London Police Courts, he should urge his hon. Friend who had moved the Amendment to press it to a Division.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) said, that not a word had fallen from the Treasury Bench other than to admit that the Report of the Committee, to which reference had been made, showed that the cell accommodation in the London Police Courts at the present time was in a horrible state; and yet they were told that the only attempt which was being made to alter this state of things was an experiment in the way of the improvement of van accommodation. If land were required for structural alterations, and the Government did not possess compulsory powers for obtaining it, they should bring in a Bill for the purpose. He regretted that the people of London were not permitted to manage these

things for themselves, believing that if they were, they would be much better attended to than at present.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, he would put hon. Members who represented London constituencies to the test as to whether they were really as earnest in these matters as they professed. He did not doubt that these police cells were now in a very bad state; but the question was, who was to pay for improving them? No one had ever been able to give a valid reason why the country, as a whole, should be called upon to pay for the London Police Courts. The cost of the police in Provincial towns was defrayed by the Municipalities.

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman is, perhaps, not aware that a Motion has been made to reduce the Vote with reference to a special matter. The hon. Member is now speaking on the Vote as a whole.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he was in this difficulty; he desired to explain why he did not intend to vote for the reduction. He found himself unable to vote for the reduction, for the reason that if the Amendment were carried there would be something left, and he desired to oppose the Vote as a whole. Should he pursue his remarks now, or must he make them later on?

THE CHAIRMAN: It would be more regular for the hon. Gentleman to make his observations afterwards.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 91; Noes 150: Majority 59.—(Div. List, No. 287.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £233,520, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for contribution towards the Expenses of the Metropolitan Police, and of the Horse Patrol and Thames Police, and for the Salaries of the Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners, and Receiver."

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, the announcement which had been made by the Government during the past few days took away from the Motion he was about to make in regard to the Chief Commissioner's salary some of the interest which would otherwise have attached to it; but the specific declaration made that day by the Home Secretary, that the resignation of Sir Charles Warren was only in consequence of the attempt to enforce against him the Order as to the publication of Departmental matters, and that the Government accepted the responsibility for all the other questions which had been challenged, rendered it necessary that he should make a full statement to the Committee. During the last 25 years, he (Mr. Bradlaugh) had had some opportunity of judging of the relations which existed between the people of the Metropolis and the Commissioners of Police; and the alteration in those relations was now so great that those who, like himself, wished for fair and reasonable agitation on the part of the people, regarded the state of things now existing with some alarm. The Commissioners of Police had had, over and over again, to deal with very vast assemblies in the Metropolis; and when it had been necessary for them to resort to physical force they had done that without revolting public opinion. The general disposition of the people had been to obey the law, and to regard those who had the control of the police with something like respect. That had now entirely changed, and it was due to the conduct of the Commissioner of Police who had recently resigned—conduct which, he understood, was endorsed and approved by the Home Secretary, who was now entering the House. Although the Motion was, in point of terms, obliged to be directed against the Chief Commissioner, he wished the Committee to understand that, in point of fact, it was directed against the Home Secretary, who accepted the responsibility, and was bound to accept the responsibility, for all the matters which he should challenge him upon that night. In the first place, he complained of the conduct of the police in the distribution of voting papers in connection with the Marylebone Free Library. In that case and in others the Commissioner had challenged him to make complaints, and they should be inquired into; but, whenever he had made complaints, conditions had at once been annexed which had prevented the investigation being of the slightest value. In the case of the Marylebone

Library, the charge was that the police, with the knowledge of the Commissioner, had delivered voting papers as part of their duty, and, with the voting papers, other papers, asking persons to vote in a particular fashion. The evidence on that matter was overwhelming; and he submitted to the Home Secretary, in writing, at least a dozen instances, and was aware that, also in writing, at least 20 more instances could be given. He now wished to know what investigation was held; how it was held; who was permitted to be present; and what evidence, if any, was taken? It was absurd, when complaints were brought against the police, to hold hole-and-corner investigations, and then to taunt Members of that House who brought the charges by saying that they had no evidence whatever to support those charges. He now came to more serious matters. He made, some time ago, charges against the police of having assaulted persons after they were in custody; and the right hon. Gentleman thought it right to say that he had kept back the charges without disclosing their nature to the authorities, and that he had made those charges without the shadow of foundation. At that time the Commissioner of Police had sworn evidence of every one of the charges which he had made; and the Commissioner must have either wantonly and wickedly misled the Home Secretary, or the right hon. Gentleman could not have sufficiently inquired into the matter submitted to him. When he had brought these questions to the Home Secretary's knowledge, he found that the depositions had been filed. The right hon. Gentleman had himself laid on the Table a Return, showing that sworn informations were filed on December 3 last year. Those informations were in the hands of the Solicitor to the Treasury, and the Chief Commissioner of Police was, to his knowledge, himself present in Court when some of the depositions were made. It rendered the performance of a Member's duties in that House exceedingly difficult, if that Member was held up by a responsible Minister of the Crown as one who had "made charges without a shadow of foundation." The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had undertaken to investigate any charges if he (Mr. Bradlaugh) would furnish a statement of them; but when he furnished that statement, outlining the evidence he proposed to give, the right hon. Gentleman made a stipulation that there should be no specific charges dealt with that had already been before a legal tribunal. The right hon. Gentleman knew very well that every one of the cases had been before a magistrate; and he offered him the barren privilege of not being able to prove any one of the allegations which he had made in the House, and which the right hon. Gentleman described as not having "a shadow of foundation." This was only as affecting the moral responsibility of the right hon. Gentleman for the conduct of the Chief Commissioner, which he (Mr. Bradlaugh) was about to attack. He contended that the conduct of the Chief Commissioner was to be measured, with reference to the conduct of the police, by the description given by the Home Secretary in that House of the statements which he had made. In that pathetic manner which had so much affected all of them, the right hon. Gentleman had spoken of the police getting "out of hand." He might speak of them getting out of hand when they were charged on oath—on sworn depositions—with striking prisoners in their custody in the police station. In one case, which had been adjudicated upon by a magistrate, Police Constable Harry Greenwood was charged with striking a prisoner twice in the face at Bow Street Police Station. The right hon. Gentleman had charged him (Mr. Bradlaugh) with making charges without a shadow of foundation, and had said that if any of these things had occurred they would have been investigated. Well, he desired to know who had investigated this case of Constable Greenwood, and what kind of investigation it was—whether it was a public or private investigation, for he had not much faith in police investigations? Then he had brought before the notice of the Home Secretary the case of the man Schumacher, who stated that before he was released he had to sign a statement. The right hon. Gentleman had said that Schumacher had signed some voluntary statement; but that it was not put to him as a condition of his release. Had the right hon. Gentleman the Minute before him of what took place at the investigation at Scotland

Yard? He (Mr. Bradlaugh) could prove that the man was asked to sign the statement—he could prove before a Select Committee of the House that this question was put to the police officer—"Did you ask Schumacher to make this statement?" and that the answer was "Yes." It would not do after that to tell the Committee that charges without a shadow of foundation were made in that House for outside purposes. Whatever had been his relations with the authorities of this country, he had always kept them within the limits of law and order, which was more than could be said for the police, for whose proceedings the Home Secretary was so ready to accept responsibility. Then there were the charges against Frederick Goodwin, 105 "G," who was accused, on sworn depositions, of knocking a complainant off his seat in the police station with a violent blow, and of striking another complainant on the mouth with his clenched fist. Sworn depositions in those cases were filed on the 3rd of December, and were in the hands of the Treasury Solicitor on the 4th of December; and yet in that House, when the matter was under debate, the Home Secretary thought it due to his position to say that he (Mr. Bradlaugh) had made charges which were without foundation. He trusted that even at this, the eleventh hour, they would hear from the right hon. Gentleman some expression of regret for allowing so grave a charge to have been brought against him in the House of Commons, and to have remained without the slightest modification, although by speeches and questions he had directed the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the filing of these depositions. He told the right hon. Gentleman that he had there every one of the office copies of the depositions, except the four depositions which were referred to in the Return, and which, therefore, he was content to leave as it stood, the right hon. Gentleman having admitted that the depositions were in the hands of the Treasury. What kind of discipline must there be in the police force when it became the habit to assault persons when in custody? That was not the habit some years ago; in the Police Force of London there was good temper and good feeling shown on the side of the police. There was also great forbearance exhibited by the police. He had often tried their tempers very sorely indeed. When he had brought large masses of the people together, he remembered that the task of the police was a very severe one. He did not mean to say that nothing was done on these occasions, either on the side of a portion of the people or of the police, to provoke bad feeling, but the general tendency was a good tendency. Until this last year or two, the Commissioners of Police had avoided doing anything to provoke a breach of the peace. As to the assaulting of persons in custody, let him say that if he could imagine—which he could not—that he was ever in a position of Ministerial responsibility, he should consider it his duty to exhaust all means of information before he allowed the possibility of such charges to be slurred over, or boasted that the summonses were dismissed without costs when one man was in criminal custody already and could give no evidence. What he wanted to refer to now was a graver matter still. He would not discuss whether the people who assembled in Trafalgar Square should, or should not, have assembled there; but he thought that every Member of the Committee would agree with him that, supposing them not to have had the right, it was the duty of the Chief Commissioner of Police to have exhausted every reasonable means of keeping the people within obedience to the law before he resorted to brute force against them. Could the right hon. Gentleman stand up and say he thought the Commissioner of Police did that? If the right hon. Gentleman ventured to say so, he would put this case to him. A number of clubs, from different parts of London, marched to the Square. He (Mr. Bradlaugh) had nothing to do with the assembly; he was against it. He opposed it, and such advice as he could give was given against it, so he spoke quite freely as far as this particular matter was concerned. But marching through the streets had been done over and over again. If the same law applied to political workmen's clubs as applied to the Salvation Army, they had a right to march through the streets, and those who used force against them were lawless and law breakers. That was the view of the highest Judges; he was not now dealing with the question of meeting in Trafalgar Square. Sir Charles

Warren had his police—the police he did not blame, because they acte dunder Sir Charles Warren, and he did not blame him altogether, because he assumed Sir Charles Warren acted under the orders of the Home Secretary. [Mr. MATTHEWS assented.] He was glad he was right in that—glad for the sake of the discussion he was raising in the House. Because while they could only deal now on this Vote with the official who gave the orders to the police, everyone who voted in the Division Lobby for the proposed reduction would condemn the conduct of the Home Secretary, who allowed men to be ridden down in the public streets; allowed men to be bruised and beaten badly; allowed men to be so treated that some had died since. Such was a bill of indictment that had not had to be levelled against a Home Secretary in this country for 50 years past. A number of men were marching up Holborn playing music, or what they called music. The police charged them, broke their drums and instruments, and bludgeoned the men most unmercifully. That was not the way to deal with things in England; this, at any rate, was not Ireland. He never felt more tempted himself than when he had this to deal with, because he felt that his own conduct, previously in going to the Square, in holding meetings there, in claiming a right there, had given some colour to these poor folk that in their hour of trouble they might turn to him. But he felt that the disposition of the military and police was intended to be so brutally used, that he counselled the men to submit to the wrong for the moment; but he did not intend that they should submit to it entirely, nor did he intend to submit to it now. He never overstated facts knowingly, and he expected that even the highest officers of the Crown would deal with him on the same footing when he was presenting the grievances of the people to the House. A large number of mounted police were in different parts of London, and they were encouraged to disperse the people by riding among them, and on them, and over them. He had heard of this kind of thing being done in Russia, and in Germany, but not in England. How was it that such a complete change had come over the disposition of the people of the Metropolis? As long as his life had been, this City had been orderly. There had been ebullition of feeling; there had been meetings for many objects; there had been great demonstrations of every character; but there had never been the outrage on public liberty that had been perpetrated while the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Matthews) had held Office, and he impeached the right hon. Gentleman before Parliament and before the people of England. Was it true that men in custody were assaulted? It could not be said it was not true, because the Government's own Return showed it. It might be said that the charges were made, but that they were not true. What steps did the Government take to investigate them? He had put several Questions in the vain hope that when the Home Secretary saw he had been misled by the Solicitor to the Treasury, or by the Chief Commissioner of Police, or by both, that feeling, which in other matters he had shown, of courtesy and kindliness—he (Mr. Bradlaugh) had had many instances of it—would have induced him to be reasonably fair in a matter of this kind; but he (Mr. Bradlaugh) stood with the absolute charge of falsehood made against him by the Home Secretary himself in the House. He was charged with keeping back facts which had never been brought before a magistrate. The Home Secretary knew, or ought to have known, what the facts were, because he had control of the very documents in the Home Office, which made out the opposite to all the right hon. Gentleman then said in the House.

MR. MATTHEWS: Will the hon. Gentleman give me the date?

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he forgot the date. He remembered that he began his speech one night, and continued it the next. He had quoted from *Hansard* the reply of the Home Secretary—a reply which gave him great pain. He tried to challenge it in every fashion he could, but he had never had an opportunity of dealing with it in its completeness until now. It could not have been possible he could have been fairly charged with keeping back these matters. Charges were absolutely entered at the Bow Street Police Court among the summonses issued on sworn informations, whether true or false he did not care—informations which had never been inquired into, and which the right hon. Gentleman refused to allow to be

inquired into, on the ground that they had been adjudicated upon by the dismissal of the summonses. If that was not what he meant, the right hon. Gentleman should not have allowed it to have been written to him (Mr. Bradlaugh) in the right hon. Gentleman's name. In moving the reduction of this Vote, he asked the Committee, without regard to politics, first to express their opinion that the irritated state of public feeling in the Metropolis had been aggravated by the conduct of Sir Charles Warren, who imagined himself to be a military commander in London, instead of a civil officer, who imagined himself to have the duty of suppressing the people, instead of protecting them; and, secondly, he asked the Committee to condemn the Home Secretary, as the endorser of that policy.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by the sum of £1,500, the Salary of the Chief Commissioner."—(*Mr. Bradlaugh.*)

MR. MATTHEWS said, the hon. Member had made a personal complaint against him. He assured the hon. Gentleman that nothing was further from his wish than, even in the warmth of debate, to let drop the least expression which could give pain to any hon. Member of the House. In the report of his own words which he held in his hand, he could find nothing of the offensive character that the hon. Member complained of; but all he could say was that, if he did use words imputing to the hon. Member that he made charges which he knew to be unfounded, he begged, without the slightest qualification, to retract any language of that sort, and to apologize to the hon. Member. That was certainly not the purport of the charge which he intended to make against the hon. Member. What he did mean to say, and what he found he was reported to have said, was that the hon. Member mentioned the names of certain police constables, whom he held had been guilty of assaulting persons in their cells. Those names were new to him (Mr. Matthews) at the time of the debate; he had never heard of them before, and he protested against the police having such charges brought against them in the House suddenly and without Notice, when the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had had weeks and months in which he might have brought them before a magistrate. Upon that occasion he pledged himself that even then, if the hon. Member would bring a *primâ facie* case of misconduct against the police, the matter should be thoroughly inquired into by the Director of Public Prosecutions. That was the language he found he had himself used. He did not know to what report the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bradlaugh) had referred, but if he was reported anywhere to have used language of the character the hon. Gentleman had quoted he sincerely regretted it, and hoped the hon. Gentleman would accept from him this apology as an atonement. As to the substance of the matter, he must adhere to what he had said before—namely, that the only reasonable way in which charges of this grave kind could possibly be investigated was before a magistrate. The hon. Member referred to a Return of a later period, from which it appeared, no doubt, that Coleman had not filed an information, had not lodged a sworn deposition, but had simply obtained a summons against a police constable named Greenwood.

MR. BRADLAUGH said, he put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman with reference to that point. The right hon. Gentleman would find it reported that he had asked him whether, on the 2nd or 3rd of December, four depositions were not filed in support of the charges of Coleman, White, Crawford, and another; and whether the office copies of those depositions were not taken by the Treasury on the following day? The names of Crawford, White, and Coleman, were all used by him in the debate in the House.

MR. MATTHEWS said, he had with him a list of the names used in the debate by the hon. Gentleman. Coleman, no doubt, was one of the names mentioned; the others were Ellis, Morris, Sullivan, and Cruikshank.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Those are witnesses to the assaults.

MR. MATTHEWS said, that the hon. Member would forgive him—he had the hon. Member's speech before him. The hon. Member cited those four persons as persons who had been assaulted by the police. He said, for instance, that—

"A man named Ellis would prove that he asked at Bow Street Police Court whether he

could have bail. The idea of bail, he said, seemed to have exasperated the police, who thereupon cuffed and kicked him down the passage into his cell, using a foul expression about the bail. Surely these were sufficiently grave charges, and needed investigation? He would only trouble the House with three more cases. John Morris offered this statement:—'When I got to King Street Police Station, there was a line of men in uniform, and some in plain clothes, on each side. They all kicked and cuffed me cruelly as I passed down. My head and face were cut by them, and bled.' A man named Neil made a statement respecting another called Sullivan:—'I followed him to Vine Street Station, and whilst he was being taken I saw one of the police strike him on the back of the head with a stick. He was then taken inside the Station. I tried to make inquiries about him from the Inspector. There was a man in plain clothes inside the Station. I was punched on the jaw by him, and pushed down the Station steps.'"—(3 *Hansard*, [323] 42.)

These were three distinct charges never investigated before any magistrate, and never brought before a Court of Justice; and he said to the hon. Gentleman at the time that if he would bring before him anything like a *primâ facie* case in regard to any one of the three men, he would instruct the Director of Public Prosecutions to prosecute the constables who were charged with conduct of that kind. What other satisfactory inquiry could he offer? The hon. Gentleman himself had poured all the vials of his scorn upon inquiries conducted by the police, and he thought that the hon. Gentleman was right. He (Mr. Matthews) was continually obliged to address inquiries to the Chief Constables or to the Superintendents of Police, and of taking the best information he could get from them; but they were not satisfactory inquiries. They were hole-and-corner inquiries; they were inquiries conducted by men who, of course, were animated by a feeling of *esprit de corps*—he was not blaming them, or suggesting anything wrong—and who involuntarily wished to stand by their own subordinates. He would like to know whether it would not have been offering hon. Gentlemen a most unsatisfactory inquiry if he had limited the inquiry to a Departmental inquiry, an inquiry which was quite sufficient if the object was to punish a policeman by way of reducing his pay, or class, and so forth? For that purpose, no doubt, an inquiry before a man's superiors was satisfactory; but the hon. Member brought charges which involved very grave and despicable conduct on the part of the Police Force, if true. He (Mr. Matthews) was responsible. He accepted the responsibility most fully; he would never tolerate or allow such a state of things to continue if established; and in proportion to the gravity of the charge must be the satisfactoriness of the inquiry. The hon. Member made these charges in the House, and he submitted to the hon. Gentleman, perhaps in language of warmth—he regretted it if it was so—that that was not the way to make charges of the kind. What the hon. Member ought to have done was to have got the men to have gone before the magistrates, and not only to have obtained summonses, and then, as Mr. Coleman did, get them dismissed——

MR. BRADLAUGH: He was in gaol.

MR. MATTHEWS: Not always.

MR. BRADLAUGH: He was in gaol yesterday, and, I believe, he is still in gaol.

MR. MATTHEWS said, he was very sorry for Mr. Coleman; he did not know that his period of imprisonment was so long. But these all procured the summonses to which the hon. Member referred; but none of them appeared. A solicitor appeared, but called no evidence, and allowed the summonses to be dismissed. In the case at Bow Street—which was dismissed with heavy costs upon the parties not being there to adduce any evidence in support of their charges—the heavy costs were imposed by the magistrate to indicate his opinion of the conduct of those who brought charges such as these against the police, so as to raise a prejudice against them, but without any evidence or even intention to support them. That was what he complained of; and the hon. Member, who was always fair to his opponents, would not deny that there was just ground for complaint. The hon. Gentleman said truly that the right conduct of the police to the people was a matter of importance. He said truly that anything like brutality on the part of the police was a thing which anyone in his (Mr. Matthews') position ought to reprobate and put down most sternly. That was perfectly true, and in proportion to the gravity of the charges, in proportion to the obloquy cast on the police, was the necessity for a full, fair, and sworn inquiry before one

of the magistrates of the land. It was not by telling captivating statements—the hon. Gentleman always interested the House when he spoke—that these charges ought to be sustained. He hoped that the hon. Member, who was a fair-minded man, would regard this as a satisfactory answer to the point he had raised. He did not propose to follow the hon. Gentleman into a discussion of the Trafalgar Square incidents of last year; they had already, he thought, been adequately discussed; he had nothing to retract from he then said, and nothing to regret. He fully accepted the responsibility of what was then done, and what then happened. No one regretted more than he did the incidents which took place in the course of those months. No one saw the growth of that agitation with greater concern than he did, seeing that it was absolutely necessary to put a stop to it. No one, too, was more rejoiced than he was at the admirable good sense that had been exhibited by the great majority of the inhabitants of the Metropolis in setting their faces against the proceedings which were then taking place, and becoming both a danger and a nuisance. He watched that good sense of the people of the Metropolis with extreme satisfaction. It was a gratifying fact that Trafalgar Square, which had hitherto been undisturbed for a great many years, had now been restored to the use of the peaceable and orderly inhabitants. He was unwilling to follow the hon. Member further into this topic, but he would follow him into some other of his observations. The hon. Gentleman complained a good deal of the use made of the police in regard to the distribution of voting papers under the Free Libraries Act. He had already given the hon. Gentleman all the information he had been able to obtain upon the subject. This was a small matter, and he did not think that any responsibility belonged to him. Although it was true the police distributed voting papers, it was no part of their police duties. It had, however, been a practice, since 1837, for the police to take charge of the distribution of parochial voting papers. In 1869, Sir Edmund Henderson proposed to discontinue the practice, but the Local Government Board raised considerable objection, and the practice had continued from that day to this. The police, however, distributed the papers in their own time, and on their own responsibility; it was no police duty at all. The hon. Gentleman alleged that policemen went round distributing papers requesting voters to vote against the establishment of Free Libraries. He (Mr. Matthews) made inquiries, and the information he got from the Commissioner of Police was that, having demanded explanations, all the policemen denied having distributed such papers. But the matter did not rest there. He (Mr. Matthews) received a letter from a Mr. Edward White, who told him he was a member of a ratepayers' association, and that that association had engaged boy messengers in order to distribute the obnoxious papers asking the electors to vote "No." That exactly agreed with the information he got from the Commissioner of Police—namely, that there were boys who were engaged in distributing those papers; but, no doubt, they accompanied the police in a great many instances. He had a letter from the Commissioner of Police stating that the police had no instructions to distribute such papers, and he had the assurance of a member of the association of ratepayers that he and his fellow members had gone to the expense of engaging boys for the purpose of distributing the papers. Mr. White also informed him that the Free Libraries Association sent their election papers by post. That, no doubt, was the better plan. He hoped this explanation would commend itself to the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Member had said that a man named Schumacher was compelled by the police to sign a statement, and had asked why he (Mr. Matthews) had denied the fact? He had not got the papers before him, but his memory was sufficiently good to enable him to answer the question. He called for a Report from the local Inspector in whose presence the statement was signed, and it appeared that there was not the slightest ground for the supposition that the man was forced to sign the paper previously to his release. The man was released, not for having signed the statement, but because he had given an explanation of an apparently suspicious circumstance. The man made the expla-

nation, and he was asked to put his statement in writing, and he did so, but quite of his own accord. What reason was there to distrust such an account as that?—it was in accordance with probability. The man had made a satisfactory explanation of what was apparently guilty conduct of a member of the Police Force. That explanation satisfied the police, but before allowing the man to go, he was asked if he objected to put his statement in writing. What was there in that at all improbable?

Mr. BRADLAUGH said, he would explain. After the charge was entered on the sheet, it should have gone before a Magistrate for adjudication in the proper way, and there should not have been the irregular transaction of releasing a man upon some statement being signed by him.

Mr. MATTHEWS said, that with what the hon. Gentleman said now he agreed entirely, and, as he told the hon. Gentleman yesterday, the Inspector had been severely reprimanded. It was quite irregular, after a charge was once entered on the sheet, to allow that charge to be disposed of other than by a Magistrate, but that was not what the hon. Member found fault with just now. He found fault with him (Mr. Matthews) for not instituting some further inquiry into his assertion that the man's statement had been extorted from him. He repeated that when the hon. Member made complaints, amounting to criminal charges, he must substantiate those charges in the only way the law of the country allowed—namely, by evidence in Court. That offer he had always made to the hon. Gentleman, to that offer he adhered, and he should never be able, he was afraid, to make any larger offer on a subject of this kind.

Mr. MONTAGU (Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel) said, he would not occupy the time of the Committee more than a very few minutes in referring to the organization of the police in his constituency, and in mentioning what passed between the police authorities and himself about a couple of months ago. On the 9th of September he read the account of the fourth or fifth terrible murder which had taken place in his constituency, and he thought the time had arrived when a reward should be offered for the discovery of the criminal. On Monday the 10th of September he came to town, saw the Inspector of Police at the Leman Street Station, and asked him whether the Government intended to offer a reward? The Inspector replied that he did not know whether they did or not. He (Mr. Montagu) then said he believed the Home Secretary was absent from town at the time, and that some delay might arise in offering a reward. He, therefore, desired that the police should offer £100 reward at his own expense, but through the agency of the police. The Inspector promised to submit his proposal to the Commissioner of Police, and asked him to put the offer down in writing. On the 17th of September he received a letter from Whitehall Place, stating that the Commissioner of Police had laid the offer before the Secretary of State, who did not consider it advisable that any reward should be offered in the case. On the 18th of September, there having been some delay in his receiving the reply, he wrote to the Commissioner a letter, in which he said that the opinion of the Secretary of State that no reward should be offered for the discovery of the Whitechapel murderer was not in accord with the general feeling on the subject. He stated that the argument advanced by some that the possible increase in the amount of the reward might prevent prompt discovery did not apply in his case; but, nevertheless, had the decision of the Home Secretary been promptly obtained, he should not have interfered in the matter. He also stated in the letter that, under the circumstances, it was too late to withdraw his offer, and in case information was received which led to the conviction of the murderer he must pay the £100 to the person entitled to receive it, and that it remained for the police to decide whether notices of reward should be posted in Whitechapel by the police at his expense. He likewise stated in his communication that when he made his proposal, he was not aware that the Government had ceased to offer rewards in cases of murder. He particularly wished to call the attention of the Committee to two points. The first was that the Commissioner of Police did not evidently very much object to the reward being offered, otherwise he would have refused the offer at once, and so stopped his (Mr. Montagu's) action. Instead of doing

that, however, he submitted the offer to the Home Secretary. It would be interesting to know whether the Commissioner was in favour of offering a reward, and differed from the Home Secretary on that question. The second point was that the police persistently refused to post up notices at his expense, although shortly before, in the case of a man who was shot, they did post up notices offering a reward of £100 which was privately offered. Now, although he did not agree with the policy of the Home Secretary in regard to offering rewards, had the refusal reached him promptly he certainly should not have intervened in the matter. He still held the opinion that in such a case of horrible crimes committed, so far, with impunity, some divergence from the general rule in regard to rewards should be made. If a Government reward, accompanied by the qualifying pardon which had been published, had been promptly offered, there might have been some information received which would have led to the detection of the criminal. There was no doubt that this wild beast had a lair, and that someone must see him go to and from it. Let him remind the Committee that since he had offered the reward his action had been justified by the offer of the Corporation of the City of London of a reward of £500, and also by the offer by two staunch supporters of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, gentlemen who represented Divisions of the Tower Hamlets, of rewards. That was his reply to the reflections upon him and others who had offered rewards which were conveyed in the answer of the Home Secretary yesterday. He certainly did not consider the strong remarks contained in the answer of the right hon. Gentleman were entirely justified. One word he had to say about the organization of the police in his district of Whitechapel. The residents of Whitechapel and Spitalfields felt that they had not sufficient police protection. They thought that in a district where poor people abounded in greater proportion, and in, perhaps, greater wretchedness than elsewhere in England, adequate provision should be made for police protection there. They recognized the fact that the poverty in that district did result in vice and crime, and that although the police in Whitechapel were said to do their work very well, their number was certainly limited. He had the best authority for stating that trade, owing to the scare which the recent murders had caused, had been terribly depressed. In some cases the receipts of prominent tradesmen in Whitechapel did not now reach one-half of the sum they reached at the same period last year, which was not a prosperous year. As a matter of fact, many people did not care now to go into the streets after dark. Some weeks ago he presented a Petition to the Home Secretary signed by the most respectable tradesmen of his constituency, asking for increased police protection for the district. He had received no definite reply as to what the Home Secretary intended to do; all he had received was a simple acknowledgment of the receipt of the Petition. East London very rarely appealed for outside help, but when it was a question of life and death, and also of the success of the trade of the district, he trusted that the appeal made by his constituents would not be made in vain.

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) said, it was not his intention to make any complaint against the Home Secretary, or to bring any charge against individual constables. The Home Secretary, in reply to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), had dealt with some incidents of the past; what hon. Members wanted was some declaration as to the future, especially in view of the resignation of Sir Charles Warren. Londoners, and his constituents among them, earnestly desired that the Police Force should be a civilian force under a civilian head. They believed, rightly or wrongly, that during the last two years it had been systematically demoralized by its administration; they thought the military idea had been made the one dominant principle, much to the detriment of the force, and really to the danger of the whole social order of London. The Committee must recollect the people had every right to be apprehensive; they were denied during the debates on the Local Government Act any control over or any voice in the management of the Police Force. He did not intend to go into the question of popular control any more than he meant to deal with the question of cost, but he asserted that during the last few years, by the militarizing process which

had been going on, by systematic attempts to separate the police from the people, a state of friction had been produced between the head of the police and the Local Authorities, such as, he thought, tended to produce very unsatisfactory relations between the different governing powers in London. Let him give a single instance of what occurred only last year, an instance very much illustrating the whole case. There was a funeral of some local celebrity who belonged to a friendly society. In the olden days a mere communication to the District Superintendent would have secured an adequate police force without application to headquarters; but such a system of red-tapeism had been established, that the application had to go up to Scotland Yard, and he believed no answer was returned until two days after the funeral had taken place. The Home Secretary must know that the militarizing process had been carried much further. He must know that the police used to mix freely in their lodgings with the people outside, but that an attempt had been made to restrict them to barracks, and that definite rules had been formulated as to enlistment, which tended practically to make the ranks of the Police Force accessible mainly to old soldiers. The upshot was very unsatisfactory. The result was foreseen some time ago, and this was not the first time that the Home Office had been warned against it. The right hon. Gentleman's Predecessor had been warned against trying to make the Police Force military in its character and tendency. As far back as 1869, an ex-police magistrate now living wrote an article in which he strongly condemned the attempt. The men were gradually transformed into a *quasi*-military force, drilled, distributed, and managed as soldiers. The body thus wanted alertness and mobility, and the individual members almost inevitably were defective in self-reliance. Instead of being a handy civic force, composed of intelligent units, each of whom was a local power on the side of society, they constituted a motley, cumbrous, and badly-organized army, which was never required as a whole, and was nearly useless in detail. In their policemen they did not want stiff, methodical, and dependent machines; they wanted a self-acting force, whose best drill was to be found in constant contact with their fellow-men and in the diligent pursuit of strictly police duty. He (Mr. Lawson) implored the Home Secretary, now that he was able to, to appoint a man in whom the population of London would have trust, to do his best to restore public confidence and public sympathy with the police. He suggested to him whether it might not be advisable to take as the new head of the Police Force one of the men who had won their spurs in the Provincial towns under municipal control? He was certain that if any soldier of the same type as Sir Charles Warren were appointed exactly the same results would again ensue. He did not wish to make a personal attack upon Sir Charles Warren, but immense importance attached to the appointment. What Londoners wanted was a civil head who would put a stop at once to the militarizing tendencies which had characterized the administration of the last few years.

MR. FIRTH (Dundee) said, he desired to confirm very shortly the language which had been used by his hon. Friend the Member for West St. Pancras (Mr. Lawson) as to the necessity for a change in the system of the administration of the London Police. He certainly felt compelled, as a protest against the state of things which had gone on for two or three years past, to vote with the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh). He did not think that the present state of things had been appreciated and understood by the Home Secretary. He did not think that the right hon. Gentleman had completely understood how people in London had become divorced further and further from that sympathy with the Police Force, from that sympathy with the Civil Force, which ought to exist in a community. He had no reason whatever for making this statement, particularly now that Sir Charles Warren had gone, except from an absolute conviction of its truth. There could be no doubt whatever that the military dispositions of Sir Charles Warren, in connection with the Trafalgar Square meeting, were perfectly in character. Let him tell the Home Secretary what the gravamen of the charge was. There came from every part of London on that

day representative, responsible men belonging to the industrial classes, and their report of what happened was taken down by members of the Bar. It was taken down by responsible men under circumstances which left no doubt of its truth. A more horrible record was not to be found than that which existed in the report. The depositions of 150 witnesses, most of them of the highest responsibility, were taken as to the conduct of the civilian force at the quarter of a mile points from Trafalgar Square, where there were no representatives of the Press. It was not too much to ask that there should be an inquiry into the evidence sworn as to the conduct of the police in the kicking of people, in the knocking down of old men and women and defenceless people without any sort of excuse.

MR. MATTHEWS asked where the depositions were?

MR. FIRTH said, the right hon. Gentleman could have the depositions, as he might have had them months ago; a summary of them had already been printed. There was nothing in the world more interesting and remarkable than the absolute innocence of expression, and childlike and bland manner, which the Home Secretary put on when such observations were made. He assured the right hon. Gentleman that there was not a shadow of doubt in the minds of those of them who had nothing to gain or lose by a judgment in the matter of the truth of the statements which had been made. If the Home Secretary would undertake, in case he was satisfied that more than 100 responsible witnesses would give evidence of the gross misconduct on the part of the police, to have an inquiry, all the depositions should be laid before him. That was a fair proposition, which he (Mr. Firth) and his Friends were prepared to make. Sir Charles Warren had gone. He hoped he (Mr. Firth) should be among the last men to say anything with respect to a man who was gone, a man who was manifestly unfit for his position. He trusted that, in making the new appointment, the Home Secretary would choose a man who would possess the confidence of the people of London, and who would not deal with the people on the military lines which had characterized police administration of late.

It being Midnight, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*.

Committee also report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 14th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Vote 9.

Resolutions [November 13] *reported*.

PUBLIC BILL — *Withdrawn* — Church Sites (Compulsory Powers Repeal) * [28].

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE—ALLEGED CONVICTION OF TWO INNOCENT MEN.

MR. MILVAIN (Durham) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether an inquiry has been made by or on behalf of the Solicitor to the Treasury into the confession of a man who alleges that he and another committed a burglary at Edlingham Vicarage, in the County of Northumberland, for which offence two other men were convicted at the Northumberland Winter Assizes in the year 1879, and have been ever since suffering penal servitude; whether any Report has been made by the Solicitor to the Treasury in respect of such confession; if so, whether such Report supports the theory of the truth of the confession and the innocence of the prisoners; and, has he taken any, or or what steps does he propose to take, in consequence of such Report?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): There has been a careful inquiry and Report made on the subject of the burglary at Edlingham Vicarage in the year 1879, of which two men were convicted in that year. The circumstances that have been elicited are most singular and unprecedented. After careful consideration I have directed criminal proceedings to be taken against two other men; and it would, therefore, be improper that I should express any opinion on the

matter. In the meanwhile, and pending the issue of these proceedings, I have directed that the two men who were convicted in 1879 should be released on licence.

AUSTRALIA—QUEENSLAND—APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR—SIR HENRY A. BLAKE.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, What were the exact words of the telegram from the Prime Minister of Queensland asking to be informed of the name of the proposed Governor before the actual appointment; and, whether the Government of South Australia has communicated a similar request to the British Government regarding the new Governor of South Australia; and, if so, what reply has been sent by the Secretary of State?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): In the absence of my hon. Friend I have been asked to read his answer to this Question. The following is the telegram referred to, which was received on the 18th of October:—

"Urge that I may be informed confidentially of name of proposed Governor of Queensland, before the Secretary of State for the Colonies decides definitely upon the matter."

The letter addressed to the Agent General for Queensland in acknowledgment of this telegram was read to the House on Monday last. I take this opportunity of also reading the telegram received from the Government of Queensland on the 8th instant, and the reply to which has been given to the House. The telegram from the Chief Secretary, Brisbane, to the Agent General for Queensland, London, was as follows:—

"Referring to your telegram of the 19th of October, inform the Secretary of State for the Colonies that Sir Henry Blake's appointment is not acknowledged to be satisfactory; its announcement has been received with general astonishment and indignation. His career should not have marked him out as fit for governing a Colony possessing responsible Government. A more unfortunate appointment could not have been made. Sir Samuel Griffith authorizes me to join his protest with mine. Thus all sides in politics are represented."

A letter was received yesterday afternoon from the Agent General for South Australia to the effect mentioned in the second Question. Her Majesty's Government has not yet had time to consider the reply to it.

PUBLIC MEETINGS (METROPOLIS)—THE MEETING ON CLERKENWELL GREEN.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked, Whether the Secretary of State for the Home Department could give the House any information with respect to the dispersal of a meeting on Clerkenwell Green by the police on Tuesday night?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, he had not yet heard anything of the matter.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £6,243, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for contribution towards the Expenses of the Metropolitan Police, and of the Horse Patrol and Thames Police, and for the Salaries of the Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners, and Receivers."

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.) said, he should like to say a word upon this very important question, because he thought that justice had hardly been done to Sir Charles Warren. Sir Charles Warren was selected as one of the most fit and proper men to undertake the very important post which he had occupied with general satisfaction to the police during the last two or three years. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) thought his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews), in the statement which he had made, had not given to the Committee those full reasons for his retirement which they had a right to expect, looking at the distinguished position which Sir Charles Warren had held. He did not wish to cast a single word of blame upon his right hon. Friend, but he thought the Committee were entitled to hear and to know that Sir Charles Warren, so far as the efficiency and the discipline of the Police Force was concerned, had endeavoured most honestly to discharge his duties. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had heard it as an open secret that the force themselves

regretted extremely the course which had been taken with regard to Sir Charles Warren. ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Members might cry "Oh, oh!" but he was in a position to say that he had heard this on very good authority. He understood that the police regretted the loss of a man who, having regard to every Department and every detail of that complicated machine, the Metropolitan Police, desired, to the best of his ability, to put the Force into the best possible working order. Sir Charles Warren had spared himself no time or labour in the discharge of the onerous duties that were entrusted to him. Well, he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) would go a little further than that, and would venture to say that unless full and implicit confidence was reposed in whoever had the control of the Police Force, that man's influence would be tied, and he would be unable to do his duties; and it became a very serious question when they had a man hampered, as he would venture to say the head of the police had been hampered, by a dual control, carried out in the way it had been carried out, between himself and the Home Office, that he was unable to do the work in the way in which he would like to do it. No one would deny that Sir Charles Warren had discharged his duties with regard to Trafalgar Square to the best of his abilities, and he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) was bound to say that if the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had been a little more determined with regard to the course of proceedings at that time—

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): You would have had a revolution!

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: There would not have been so much discussion of these Trafalgar Square occurrences. But what he particularly rose for the purpose of saying, and what no one would deny, on whatever side of the House he sat, and whatever opinion he might hold, was that the Police Force ought to be supported, because upon the Police Force we alone looked for the protection of this enormous and vast Metropolis. [*Cries of* "No, no!" and "Certainly not!"] Great responsibility rested upon hon. Members who made charges which might be true, or might not be true, but which certainly, unless they were true and could be proved, could only tend to diminish the efficiency of the police. He thought there was no one who would say that the hon. Gentleman the junior Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), if the statements he made last night were absolutely accurate and could be proved, should not have brought his statements forward at the time the occurrences took place, when the man or men in the Police Force who had misbehaved themselves in the way described would have been brought to task. In rough terms the allegation was that some unfortunate man who was convicted and had to go to the cells, passed along a line of policemen who pushed, kicked, and struck him as he went. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) saw sitting opposite to him the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt), who had been Secretary of State for the Home Department, and he ventured to say that the right hon. Gentleman would corroborate him that there could be no discipline in a Force which would allow constables to act in the manner alleged. He ventured to say, however, that discipline did reign in the Metropolitan Police Force. He would now go to a more important question. They knew that a new appointment must be made to the head of the Metropolitan Police Force, and surely when such an appointment was being made, Parliament ought to know exactly in what position the police stood in regard to the Home Office. They ought to know whether the head of the police was really to be the head of the Body, so far as discipline and management was concerned, and if he was to have supreme command. In Provincial Districts, the Chief Constable had absolute control over the discipline of the Force. It was true the local authorities could stop his pay or dismiss him if he did not do his duty, but he had the sole responsibility for the organization of and the maintenance of order in the Force, and he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) failed to see, in this regard, why a man selected in the Metropolis as head of the Police should not have a position analogous to that of a Chief Constable in the Provinces. Then there was the question of the Detective Department, and he thought that before any appointment was made they ought to know exactly what was going to happen in

that Department. Was it to be a half-and-half sort of Department under the Home Office, or was it to be entirely under the control of the head of the Police? If it was to be under the control of the head of the Police, it should be absolutely under his control; if it was to be under the Home Office, it should be a separate Department—the two things should not be mixed up together. The public had a right to know who was responsible for the efficiency of the Detective Department as well as for the efficiency of the Police Force generally. He had said this much because he thought that when a man had done such distinguished service as Sir Charles Warren, when he left the Service something should be said in recognition of the zeal and energy he had displayed.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM said, he would ask the House to believe that in censuring the conduct of the late Commissioner of Police he was not actuated by any personal spite. He believed that Sir Charles Warren was an honourable and straightforward man, and a man of courage; but at the same time he was the most illfitted man, perhaps, in the British Empire to fill such a position. He said this with a free conscience that in this gentleman's dismissal he had neither heart nor part, and if he were asked suddenly to answer the popular cry of "Who killed Cock Warren?" he should say "Gent-Davis." But he trusted that the Government would not send him in *partibus infidelium* and so commit some unfortunate *infidels* at a distance to a charge of a military officer who had not scrupled to over-ride our constitution, and to treat British citizens half a mile from the House as if they were rebels in some island in the South Sea. The police outrages for which the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary took upon himself the responsibility, had borne fruit, and only last night there was a meeting at Clerkenwell Green, and the retiring procession was dispersed with violence by the police for no cause whatever. He must ask the attention of the House for a few minutes whilst he read from the columns of *The Daily News*. He knew *The Daily News* was not an Anarchist paper, but a hard and fast, buying in the cheapest and selling in the poorest, *bourgeois* sheet—a very dull paper since it had not been served up with the sauce of Andrew Lang. He (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) was present at a meeting last night with Mr. Morris, the poet, at Clerkenwell Green, which was attended by 15,000 or 16,000 persons, a meeting to protest against any interference with the right of public meeting in Trafalgar Square, to express satisfaction at the dismissal of Sir Charles Warren, and to call for the resignation of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary. *The Daily News*' account of what transpired was as follows:—

"Considerable satisfaction was evinced at the retirement of Sir Charles Warren, and the hope was repeatedly expressed that Mr. Matthews would quickly follow his example. A large body of foot and mounted police was stationed in the vicinity, but they did not exercise their authority until the proceedings were far advanced."

He (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) had finished his speech at 9 o'clock, and he had spoken subsequently in the House. The events he would now read occurred about 10 o'clock.

"At about half-past 10 the speaking at one of the platforms came to an end, and the East Finsbury contingent thereupon re-formed itself into a procession and started from the Green with banners flying, drums beating, and a few lighted torches held aloft. Six mounted and a dozen or so foot police immediately charged the procession, and amid a scene of much animation the torches were extinguished, the drums silenced, and the banners lowered. A large crowd bore round to the right and proceeded up the King's Cross Road, accompanied by a number of police, including three patrols, who made repeated efforts to disperse the gathering. The people, however, held together, and proceeded in a body towards the Pentonville Road. On arriving outside the police station the number of constables was largely recruited, and the Superintendent in charge gave orders to his men to scatter the crowd. Several charges were at once made, a few blows being exchanged, and in a few minutes the road was cleared."

He would ask the House whether this did not sound more like a description of what might be expected to take place at Donnybrook Fair, or at a rowdy meeting in Texas, or in the Rio Grande, than in the capital of the civilized world? The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary stated that he was responsible for all that the police did. Was he satisfied with having upon his shoulders the responsibility for such doings as these, in which the violence of the Police Force fell upon the poorest classes of Her Majesty's subjects? He would ask the right hon. Gentleman

the Home Secretary whether he contemplated with much satisfaction the assurance he gave last night with regard to this responsibility? He (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) would assure the right hon. Gentleman of the circumstance which could not be within his knowledge. It was this: For the last year he had urged at many meetings, and had pleaded in private with men of the more violent section of advance in this country, on behalf of the right hon. Gentleman, and he did not hesitate to say before God and this House, that he had stood between the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary and death many times. But how could he be responsible for men of this kind in the future? Was it not likely that if this state of things was allowed to continue, and British citizens were allowed to be beaten down at a public meeting without the reading of the Riot Act, the people would turn in the end, and we should have some frightful horror—such as occurred in Chicago—to debate in that House. God grant that this thing might not go any further. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, who was so ready to assume responsibility for the Acts of Sir Charles Warren, had assumed responsibility for the blood of the two men who were killed through this man's folly last November; but he (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) appealed to the right hon. Gentleman, as the responsible Minister of the Crown to whom the last appeal was to be made, on behalf of the poor, destitute, miserable, starving, down-trodden citizens, for whom the Government of this country existed, and by whom the Government was maintained, to take them under his protection, and to put a stop now and at once, before worse happened, to a state of things which could not but lead to social turmoil, and to a state of things vastly different from that for which they prayed every day in this House—namely, the peace, tranquility, and prosperity of this realm. Was it the object of the present Government to put down the right of public meeting in the open air altogether? The danger of holding meetings out of doors was getting so great that he was beginning to shrink from it. ["Hear, hear!"] What he meant was, that they would be unable to get speakers—even Members of Parliament were beginning to shrink from taking part in public meetings out of doors in this land of liberty and free speech. There appeared to be a great and growing tendency to interfere with the right of public meeting in the abstract, and the people were not disposed to tamely submit to this. He did not know whether he should be supported by the Front Opposition Bench on this subject, though he could not help saying that it might be well if something was said by the Liberal Leaders to show that there was more than a difference of mere name between the two Parties. When he read the story of the Good Samaritan, he often admired most the conduct of the good, honest thief who knocked the wayfarer down, rather than that of the Levite who pretended not to see the wounded man. In discussing this question of the Chief Commissioner he was not at all sure that the people of London were any more safe under those who knocked them down than under their pretended friends who refused to see them when they were on the ground. It was said that political partizans who aspired to office would crawl through a public sewer to obtain it, and he could assure the Liberal Front Bench that before they changed places with right hon. Gentlemen sitting opposite to them, if he (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) had any influence, he should be instrumental in emptying such mud on their heads here in London that it might choke some of them, or, at all events, the savour would stick to them during their political lives. It was, he understood, intended to increase the Estimate for police to £20,000. But there was no necessity for this. At present there was a policeman for every 500 of the population, and if that was not sufficient, London must be one of the most revolutionary cities the world ever knew, instead of, as he believed it to be, one of the most quiet and peaceful. With the exception of Ireland, of St. Petersburg, and the Eastern portion of Moscow, there was no city in the world with so large a proportion of police. It was a very great mistake to suppose that by these high-handed measures the police were rallying the small shopkeepers to their sides. On the contrary, so far from this agitation against the militarism of the police being confined to the lowest of the population, it found an explosive echo

in the hearts of the small shopkeepers, who knew that the whole of their capital might be destroyed in an hour's riot, and who attributed now that the causes of such riots would be the unnecessary interference with what the people had been accustomed to consider their constitutional rights. He would warn hon. Members, Conservatives as well as Liberals, of the desirability of considering whether it was not a dangerous thing to push the populace of London as it had been pushed during the last year; and whether it was a good thing to press upon the people of this Metropolis that there was a blood feud between rich and poor.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) said, he should like, as a Metropolitan Member, to say one or two words concerning the question raised yesterday by the hon. Member for West St. Pancras (Mr. Lawson) and one or two other hon. Members, and that was concerning the relations between the Metropolitan Police and the people of London. He had lived in London all his life and had mixed with people of all classes as much, perhaps, as any hon. Member of that house, and he must emphatically protest against the statement made yesterday that the people of London were becoming antagonistic to the police. He declared emphatically that that statement was utterly incorrect. Of course there were a certain number of persons who were always antagonistic to the police—if it were not so, they would not require a police at all; but so far as the mass of the people were concerned there was a very kindly feeling existing between them and the police—as great now as it ever was—even greater. This had been proved conclusively during the last two or three years. During the past two or three years, certain demagogues and others had done their utmost to lash up a feeling of irritation between the masses and the police. These people had been at work night and day, in season and out of season, not only in the streets, not only at meetings, but even in places that it would not be correct for him to refer to; and not only had this been done by small persons, but even those men who had held high positions, instead of doing their utmost to maintain the position and credit of the Police Force, had done their best to degrade it and stir up ill-feeling between the police and the people of the country. He ventured to say that it should not go forth to the public that that House agreed with these persons. He was assured that the House did not agree with them, and that the great bulk of hon. Members on both sides of the House knew that there was a strong feeling latterly, not only of good feeling, but even of affection, existing between the poor people, even the children of the Metropolis, and the police. Those who visited amongst the poor knew that this was the case, and that in all difficulties and dangers and troubles, the people went to the police as a matter of course for protection in a friendly way. He sincerely trusted that this would always remain so, and, as a Metropolitan Member, he emphatically entered a protest against the statement that this feeling was being got rid of in London. He had not the honour of the acquaintance of Sir Charles Warren, but he must say that it seemed to him that this gentleman had been sacrificed to the cry which had been raised against men who did their duty. The last Chief Commissioner of Police was sacrificed because he allowed the mob to have their own way, whilst the present Chief Commissioner seemed to have been sacrificed because of his firmness in maintaining the order of London having made him obnoxious to certain demagogues who made a great deal of noise in the Metropolis. He (Mr. Bartley) thought it a very evil day for the Metropolis, indeed, if they were going to allow their Chief Commissioner to be *chassèd* from his place because he was not popular with one class or another. One hon. Member had suggested that the next Commissioner appointed should be a person who was more popular; but for Parliament to consider popularity as one of the qualifications of the Office was to depart altogether from the principles by which good service could be secured. The late Commissioner, whatever faults he might have had—and we all had faults—had done his duty well, and he (Mr. Bartley) could not help regretting that he had risen at the present moment. He did not wish to make any speech, but just to enter this protest in defence of the police, about whom

he ventured to think he knew as much as some people who talked a great deal more than he did upon the subject.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): I think, perhaps, as I have had probably a longer practical administrative acquaintance with the police than any Member of the House, it would not be fitting that I should remain longer silent in the discussion that has been raised on this Vote. This discussion is, I confess, to me, in many respects, a painful one. The condition of things which has arisen at Scotland Yard is to me a painful surprise, and is an entirely new state of things. During my five years of Office the relations of the different authorities at Scotland Yard and the Home Office were, I am glad to remember, in perfect harmony. I do not recollect any difference arising between us. I do not wish to disparage the authority of the Chief Commissioner of Police, which ought to be upheld at its highest point; but my view has always been—and it is the only reasonable view—that the relations between the Secretary of State and the Chief Commissioner should be those of confidential Colleagues—men who are working together under great responsibility, for the preservation of peace and order in the Metropolis. I was, I must say, filled with astonishment at the discussion which took place last night. I never before heard the question raised as to how far the Secretary of State has the right to direct the Chief Commissioner of Police, or how far the Chief Commissioner is bound to conform to the wishes of the Secretary of State. In my opinion the Secretary of State who unduly interfered with the Executive authority of the Commissioner of Police would be extremely unwise; but, on the other hand, for a Commissioner to declare a condition of independence of the Secretary of State is a thing I never could have conceived possible. Such a state of things would be intolerable. That an authority should be created in the Metropolis, not responsible to the Government or to the Municipality, but possessing the absolute control of an army of 14,000 men, at whose mercy the Civil community would be, would be a state of things that no Statesman of any Party has ever contemplated. That such suggestions should have emanated from any Commissioner is the more remarkable. In the article written by Sir Charles Warren, that officer, in giving an account of the origin of the Metropolitan Police, says—

> "The Scotland Yard Office was established by Sir Robert Peel in 1829, and acted under the immediate authority of the Secretary of State to direct and control the whole system of the Metropolitan Police."

Therefore, here is a statement as explicit as possible that the action of the Commissioner of Police, and the control of the police, is under the direct and immediate authority of the Secretary of State. You may discuss the question whether that authority should be under a Municipal or Executive Government; but the notion of declaring such an authority independent of either is a doctrine so un-Constitutional as to appear absurd, whatever Party may be in power. What would Sir Robert Peel himself have thought of such a doctrine? The Statute that constitutes the Metropolitan Police places the direct responsibility in the hands of the Secretary of State. In the Preamble of the Statute it is stated that—

> "The object is to constitute an Office of Police, which, acting under the immediate authority of one of His Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, shall direct and control the whole of such new system of police within those limits."

Of course, power is given to the Secretary of State to remove the Chief Commissioner, but it does not stop there. When we look at the sections of the Police Act, we find that it is not merely a general authority, but we find these words—

> "The Commissioner may, from time to time, subject to the approbation of one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, frame such orders and regulations as may be expedient."

Therefore, even the orders issued by the Commissioner are subject to the approbation of the Secretary of State. There cannot be any doubt about the matter. It is not a dual control at all. The man who is responsible to the House for the police is, and ought to be, the Secretary of State, and the Commissioner of Police is no more independent of the authority of the Secretary of State than the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department. It is a matter entirely at the discretion of the Secretary how far the principle of responsible authority shall interfere with Executive

action, and the less any interference happens the better. Of course, the Commissioner is the man who knows the Force under him, what is its work, and how it can be best accomplished; but for the policy of the police, so to speak, the Secretary of State must be, and is solely, responsible. For instance, whether public meetings are to be allowed or prohibited in the Metropolis is not a question of police, but a question of policy, for the Secretary of State to decide. I have always found the Commissioner able and willing to consult and advise with the Secretary of State, and, I may say, to give advice in many cases, and that is the most beneficial state of things that can obtain. I do not wish to cast blame on anyone; but I heard with regret of wars and rumours of wars at Scotland Yard—of differences between the Chief Commissioner and the head of the Criminal Investigation Department; of difficulties with reference to the financial officers of Scotland Yard, of which I myself had no experience. But nobody knows better than myself the difficulties of the position in which the Commissioner of Police is placed; more particularly the man who enters freshly upon the Office. The unfortunate situation at present is, that in reference to the two most important Departments—the Chief Commissioner and the head of the Criminal Investigation Department—it is necessary now to have two men, entirely new to the work with which they are to deal, and that, of course, is an enormous disadvantage which we must deal with in the best way we can. But, with reference to Sir Charles Warren, I desire to speak of him with all the respect which is due to an officer of his high character and great abilities, who, according to his conscience, has discharged his duty. I will not enlarge upon the technical question of his writing to magazines with respect to the Police Force. I will only say that that is a practice more honoured in the breach than the observance. But that really to my mind is not a mistake of a material character. What is far more important is Sir Charles Warren's idea of the position of the public with regard to the population with which he has to deal as revealed in that article. The criticism I should pass on that article is, that it is conceived in an alarmist spirit. Now, I think that is an entire mistake in the attitude of a Chief Commissioner of Police towards the population of London. There is nobody in the police or out of the police who is so dangerous or mischievous as an alarmist; he generally creates the perils which he fears. From my experience I believe there is no foundation whatever for an alarmist spirit with regard to the population of London. There is, as we all know, a criminal population among us. That is a misfortune I am afraid we shall never entirely get rid of. But there is no one who has any experience of the Home Office, or has watched the statistics of the population of the country or of London, but must feel the greatest satisfaction with the progress made in the diminution of crime—a progress most rapid, marvellous, and satisfactory. I credit that partly to the excellent administration of our Prison Department, to which I think that too high praise cannot be given, and partly to the admirable administration for many years of the police. The notion that the police of England or of London are defective as a Body in the detection of crime is entirely unfounded. It is the habit of some English to disparage what belongs to themselves. If there is anything which we do not like we say, "How much better they do it abroad." I do not believe for a moment that they do these things better abroad. Some people imagine—I do not know whether they get it from penny novels—that there is some extraordinary mystery about the detection of crime. Those mysterious and fanciful Lecoqs do not exist in real life at all. We shall have failures in particular cases; but, on the whole, I believe the police system of this country is an admirable system, and has been extremely successful. Something has been said as to the policy of public meetings. I was a little sorry to hear some cheers when the hon. Member for North-West Lanark (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) said that he was almost disposed to give up public meetings. I do not agree with that sentiment at all.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: Allow me to explain. I did not say that I should give up public meetings. What I said was, that I attended public meetings every day with greater danger, and the same would happen to the right hon. Gentleman if he attended them.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am not speaking about the sentiments of the hon. Gentleman at all, but the cheers, which seemed to testify that those who uttered them approved of the suspension of public meetings. That is not my view at all. I do not share the opinion of those who hold that, apart from the criminal classes, there is a large floating population of what is called "the dangerous classes." I do not believe in the existence of the dangerous classes to any very great extent in the Metropolis. I believe the policy founded upon fear of the dangerous classes is a policy founded upon foolish panic. Public meetings have constituted a great part of the public life of this country, and are everywhere to be found in the provinces. There is the town moor at Newcastle, there are open spaces in Leeds and Manchester and the great towns, where people may meet and discuss. No doubt sentiments are often expressed at these meetings with which I do not agree, and which some may condemn; but I believe public meetings form a most valuable part of the public life of this country, and I should be extremely sorry if, merely in consequence of the density of the population, that element of public life should be denied to the Metropolis. Some years ago I entered into a controversy with the Metropolitan Board, who desired to prevent public meetings in the open spaces under their control, and, having the power to refuse assent to bye-laws of that character, I exercised that power. I told them I thought every legitimate opportunity which could be given in this Metropolis to public meetings ought to be given. I remember a great public meeting, which was held under the auspices of my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), and I was very much abused for not preventing it. Persons thought my hon. Friend a very dangerous character then; but those who are better acquainted with him now do not think him so formidable a demagogue as to be likely to lay London in ashes. It was considered most dangerous to allow those meetings to be held, and an hon. Friend of mine made a very strong complaint in this House that, in consequence of that demonstration of tens of thousands, he was obliged to enter the House by the subway. But he survived even that inconvenience. It was said that under shelter of those meetings the dangerous classes would rally and come together. I do not believe, if you take the most ordinary precautions, there is any danger at all. In my view, the office of the police very often ought to be to protect those meetings from any such mischief as might arise among the people at the meeting themselves or others outside the meeting. If that is done with good temper and good humour, I have never known any harm coming of these meetings, nor do I believe any harm would ever come of them in the present state of public feeling in London. I was very glad to hear the sanguine view taken by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State on that point last night. Nothing but harm can come of regarding this vast population in London in a spirit of suspicion and animosity. Well, now, I know that in the time of Sir Edmund Henderson there took place a public meeting at which much mischief occurred. I have always regarded the break out in February, 1886, as a most lamentable accident. It was one of those things which had not occurred before for many and many a year, and which I do not believe will occur again. For myself, I always regarded the retirement of Sir Edmund Henderson with the greatest regret. I knew Sir Edmund Henderson well, and no one who did could have other than feelings of the greatest confidence and trust in his judgment and capacity. Sir Edmund Henderson followed Sir Richard Mayne, and I believe both were admirable administrators of the police of London It is said that Sir Edmund Henderson was not sufficiently vigorous and active. But there are other merits than vigour and activity. Sir Edmund Henderson was a man who was very calm and self-possessed; he was not fussy and fidgety, and he thoroughly understood and had great reliance upon the general disposition to order and good behaviour on the part of the population. Whatever may be thought of the particular accident which led to his retirement, that ought to form no ground whatever for altering in any material particular our system of police administration. Sir Edmund Henderson had to deal certainly with very troubled times, but under his administration things went

very smoothly, both inside and outside Scotland Yard. It was said by one of my hon. Friends last night, that Sir Edmund Henderson was a military man. But one of the great merits of Sir Edmund Henderson was that he did not administer the police in a military spirit. I do not wish to speak with disrespect of military men. I entertain the highest respect and admiration for them, but I do not think they are the best men to place at the head of an essentially civilian force. I have long held that opinion, and, as far as I have had the power, I have acted upon it. It fell to my lot to fill up the place of three Assistant Commissioners. One of those appointed was a military man who had been a Superintendent—Colonel Pearson—whose services entitled him to promotion, and he was a most admirable officer of police. On the advice and with the concurrence of Sir Edmund Henderson, I appointed one Assistant Commissioner of Police, who was a lawyer, as Sir Edmund Henderson thought it was desirable to have legal advice at Scotland Yard. I also appointed Mr. Monro—a civilian—and look back with great satisfaction upon that appointment. Mr. Monro succeeded a very able and efficient Head of the Criminal Investigation Department — the hon. Member for Central Sheffield (Mr. Howard Vincent)—whose relations with the First Commissioner were of the most cordial character. One of the last things Sir Edmund Henderson said to me on his retirement was to express the satisfaction he felt in working with Mr. Monro. I attach enormous importance to the maintenance of the civilian character and spirit in our police. There may be occasions on which recourse must be had to the Military Force. Those occasions, in former years, under the old evil system, were frequent; but the results were evil. When once the Military Force is brought into antagonism with the people, they naturally, from their training and the circumstances of the case, feel themselves in the presence of an enemy. That is the reason why every man who has the responsibility will postpone to the last, and avoid, if possible, the employment of the Military Force in civil life. Then you have the Civil Force. That force, on the other hand, does not, as if it were on a campaign, feel itself in a position of hostility to the people among whom they have to restore order, as it is natural for the military to feel. They come immediately from the people, and are friends with the people. I have heard with regret from several of my hon. Friends the opinion expressed that these friendly relations have recently changed for the worse. The hon. Member for North Islington (Mr. Bartley) has contradicted that assertion, and I do not feel competent to pronounce an opinion. I can only say that I can imagine no greater disaster to the country, or the Metropolis, than if, by any error of administration, there should arise a feeling of antagonism between the people and the police. I believe the great mass of the population regard the police as their best friends. If, by the introduction of what I may call a military as opposed to a civil spirit, the police should be placed in the situation of a force facing an enemy, instead of mixing with a friendly people, the greatest possible mischief would arise. There is great danger of this result if a policy is pursued of imposing upon the people restrictions to which they have not been accustomed, and privileges are withdrawn which they have hitherto enjoyed. Any interference with rights hitherto enjoyed will be associated by the people with the force which has to carry out such restrictions. I hope, therefore, that the Secretary of State will always exercise his responsibility, with regard to the police, upon a basis of trust in the great mass of the population of this Metropolis. I am speaking of a subject on which I have had great experience, and expressing views which I have adopted after due deliberation. Something has been said about the increase of the police. In my opinion, if you pursue the policy which for a great many years has been pursued, there is no occasion whatever for such increase. There is, of course, the normal increase every year in proportion to the increment of the population, which amounts to about 80,000 a-year. In my time the usual annual increase of the police was about 200. But it would be most unwise to demand any extraordinary increase under the influence of panic, and it would be most uneconomical. It would be worse than that; it would be an alarmist increase. The police of the Metropolis is very much larger in pro-

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portion to the population than that of any Provincial town. But extraordinary calls are made upon them which do not exist in our large towns. It is not that the people of London are more difficult to manage; and there is no reason, if caution and prudence are exercised, why any part of the Metropolis should have a greater proportion of police than a town like Liverpool. The sensational cry, therefore, that the police are inadequate to the protection of property and the detection of crime has not the slightest foundation. If any proposal were made for an increase of the police beyond that normal increase I have spoken of, I should oppose it. Of course, if the police are to be administered in a different spirit, if they are not to be on friendly terms with the people of London, if we are to have, what I trust we never shall have, a *gendarmerie* instead of a police, the number will have to be multiplied tenfold, because they will have to deal with a hostile population such as is found in some Continental towns. I hope we shall hear the end of this alarmist language; that we shall hear nothing of the demand for what is called "vigorous measures"—for what Carlyle once described as "A whiff of grape shot,"—which some gentlemen are desirous of applying to the smallest popular disturbance. ["No, no!"] I am not speaking of hon. Gentlemen opposite. I fully appreciate the difficulty in which the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary is placed in appointing a new head of the police. I have felt the difficulty myself most profoundly. It is much easier to get rid of a good man than to get a better. Yes, in the case of Sir Edmund Henderson, I always thought that we might have 50 worse before we got as good a man again. If I might tender my advice to the right hon. Gentleman, it would be that he should avoid too much of that active zeal which some people think so extremely desirable and meritorious. I know a great European Statesman—the greatest, perhaps, alive—to whom it was said once that his diplomatists were not sufficiently geniuses—that they had not sufficient diplomatic activity. The reply was—

"If I had geniuses and men of diplomatic activity I should never sleep at night."

If the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary wishes to sleep at night, let him not have a Commissioner of Police who is too active. Another caution I would venture to give is, "Beware of reconstruction:" Reconstruction is the resort of weak men who, when they get into a difficulty, say, "I am going to reconstruct the whole system." If they are men of courage and ability, instead of reconstructing a good system they will amend the particular defect which happens to arise, and make the best of the system. ["Hear, hear!"] Oh, yes; that is a very Conservative doctrine; but I am a good Conservative. Our system of police is an excellent one, and I hope no military character will be given to it. There is another point I wish to refer to. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State has been attacked for not offering rewards in regard to the recent murders. Well, as he stated, I was responsible for that policy. The right hon. Gentleman stated the grounds upon which the former policy was reversed, and I am glad that the practice I inaugurated has been pursued by my Successors. I have never known rewards for the detection of crime do any good. No doubt a much higher authority—the Corporation of London—have taken a different view. It is a cheap system and one of great liberality, and one which has never diminished by a single farthing the magnificent income of the Corporation. The offer of rewards, however, is not merely a cheap display, but it might prove an extremely mischievous thing. First of all, it tends to induce the police not to exert themselves in doing that which is their regular duty. Then there is what, I am sorry to say, is not a fanciful danger—the great inducement to false testimony. It was that which, above all things, I wished to avoid by adopting the system of not offering rewards. There is only one other question which I will mention before I sit down, and that is the attack made upon the police and upon the Secretary of State for their failure to detect the murders in Whitechapel. I think that attack was most unreasonable. If they have done all in their power, and used all the means at their disposal—and that they are doing so no man can doubt—I see no reason to believe that they will ultimately fail. In my own time, some weeks elapsed before the arrest of the murderer Lefroy, and in the case of

the dynamite outrages we succeeded in detecting a number of the offenders. There were cases where no detection was possible. No doubt, no discovery was made as to the dynamite outrages in the House and in Westminster Hall; but it is impossible to detect every case, and all that you can expect from the police, and those responsible for the police, is that they shall use all the means at their disposal for the purpose of detection. He apologised to the Committee for the length to which his remarks had extended. He repeated that we had a thoroughly sound system of police in this country. Whatever might be the unfortunate differences which had arisen between individuals in Scotland Yard, they did not touch the question generally, or the way in which the system had been hitherto administered. He earnestly hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State, with the support of the House, would maintain the old established traditions of the Metropolitan Police, and not endeavour, in consequence of merely temporary incidents, to revolutionize the system by the introduction of some fresh spirit and some new plan, which would not be an improvement but would most probably damage and injure a system which had hitherto been productive of most excellent results.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, he understood that the Motion which he had moved yesterday, not having been disposed of before half-past 5, had, according to the Forms of the House, dropped. He would, therefore, renew the Motion, and move to reduce the Vote by £1,500, the salary of the Chief Commissioner.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item A, Salaries, be reduced by the sum of £1,500, the Salary of the Chief Commissioner."—(*Mr. Bradlaugh.*)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, that he, with the rest of the Committee, had listened with the greatest interest and satisfaction to the speech which had just been delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt). If he might describe that speech he would say that it was in the highest sense fair, temperate, judicial, and statesmanlike; and, he might add, in all respects a perfect speech. He did not know that there was a single word in the speech against which he had to enter the smallest expression of dissent. In what the right hon. Gentleman had said about public meetings he entirely concurred, although he knew that it was a topic upon which there were wide differences of opinion. The Government had always felt that to suppress public meetings in London would be most disastrous and unwise. The Committee and the public were aware that the Legislature had taken abundant precautions to preserve this great popular right, and the right hon. Gentleman himself had shown that he had taken that view with respect to public places in London. In every quarter—North, South, East, and West—there were open places in London where public meetings could be held under the protection of the police. These meetings had always been held without interruption. It had always seemed desirable to the Government to afford police protection to such legitimate meetings, however hostile they might be to the Government of the day. That, of course, was not a matter deserving of consideration, but, as a matter of fact, abundant opportunities existed in London for giving free expression to public feeling and opinion. But it had become particularly incumbent upon the Government during the unfortunate "accident"—he took that phrase from the right hon. Gentleman opposite—that had arisen from the holding of public meetings in the midst of crowded thoroughfares and thickly-inhabited parts of the Metropolis—it became incumbent on the Government, in the interests of the preservation of peace and order, to set their faces against such gatherings. The principle of holding public meetings—what was called the right of public meetings—had never been questioned and had never met with hostility. All that Her Majesty's Government had endeavoured to do was to see that the right of public meeting was not exercised so as to infringe the rights, the comfort, and the convenience of peaceable inhabitants. He was glad to have this opportunity, not that he had not intended to say as much of his own motion, but he was glad of the opportunity furnished by what fell from the hon. and gallant Member for the North-West Division of Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) to do

the fullest justice to Sir Charles Warren, whose resignation it had been his duty to announce to the House on Monday. Sir Charles Warren was a man not only of the highest character but of great ability. During his tenure of the Office of Chief Commissioner of Police he had displayed the most indefatigable activity in every detail connected with the organization and administration of the Force. By his vigour and firmness he had restored that confidence in the police which had been shaken—he believed, with the right hon. Gentleman, unjustly shaken—after the regrettable incident of 1886. It would not become him to say anything about Sir Edmund Henderson, of whom he had had no personal experience, otherwise he would be glad to endorse every word which had been uttered in his praise by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby. It had always seemed to him, looking at it, as far as he was concerned, as a mere matter of history, that Sir Edmund Henderson had been unduly censured, and perhaps unfairly sacrificed to a momentary feeling of irritation. He had not, however, any personal feeling in the matter in the slightest possible way. There could be no doubt, whatever might be the propriety or impropriety of the charges made at the time, that there was considerable alarm and certain distrust as to the efficiency of the police. Sir Charles Warren, in his administration of the Force, had shown conspicuous skill and firmness, under the present and preceding Governments, in restoring the prestige of the police and in putting an end to disorder in the Metropolis, and for that he deserved the highest praise. He gave his most emphatic denial to the suggestion of the hon. Member for North Islington (Mr. Bartley) that Sir Charles Warren had been sacrificed to the outcry of the demagogues. It was nothing of the sort. Sir Charles Warren's resignation had been accepted because the Government felt that it was absolutely necessary to uphold and enforce the principles which the right hon. Gentleman had laid down in terms of perfect propriety—that in the ultimate resort it must be the Secretary of State who was responsible for the action of the Metropolitan Police. It would be intolerable that in such a town as London, or in any large town, the Commander of the Police Force, or of any other Force, should hold irresponsible authority, and be able to disregard the instructions of the persons who had to answer in Parliament for the conduct of the men under their command. That was a position which could not be allowed to be assumed by any Chief Constable of any of the large towns of the country. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the wording of the Statute, and it was quite plain that it was the intention of the Legislature to put the Police Force under the authority of the Secretary of State, and to hold him fully responsible, not for every detail of the management of the Force, but in regard to the general policy of the police in the discharge of their duty. Having said so much, there was not much else that had been said in the course of the debate that he need notice. It was perfectly true, as the right hon. Gentleman and the hon. Member for North-West Lanark (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) had said, that the number of the Metropolitan Police, in proportion to population, was larger than in the other great towns of the country. But the excess was not conspicuous when compared with some of the largest towns. For instance, in London the proportion was 26 police constables to every 10,000 inhabitants; in Manchester it was 23 and in Glasgow 20. But it must not be forgotten that the increase in the number of the Police Force was not in proportion to the number of the population. It became more difficult when they were dealing with 5,000,000 of people to superintend and control the criminal classes than when they were dealing with a smaller population. Nor must it be forgotten that in London there was a vast number of the police withdrawn from the ordinary police duties to perform other municipal duties. That was not the case in Liverpool, Manchester, or the other large towns. What he meant was, that there was a certain kind of Imperial duty which the police had to discharge in the Metropolis which did not occur elsewhere. For instance, the protection of the buildings connected with that House and of the Public Offices required the services of more than 600 policemen. [Mr. JAMES STUART: 676.] Probably the hon. Member was right. Then there were 157 employed in looking after hackney carriages;

theatres, 100; and the management of the public traffic, 300; while the protection of public buildings alone required 326. These, in a certain sense, might be said to be police constables, but they were not employed in the detection of crime. The services required from the police of London was altogether different from that which was required from the police of Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and the other great towns. That circumstance accounted, in a great degree, for the larger proportion of police which was required for London as compared with the great towns in the country. He never proposed a large increase in the numbers of the police, although the present Force was over-worked, especially when special and extraordinary duties were thrown on them. There was a question put to him the other day by an hon. Member who desired to know the nature of the different beats. The suggestion was that the beats in some parts of London were too large, and no doubt, under the circumstances which had arisen in Whitechapel, they were. The ordinary police beats there had been found altogether insufficient, and it had been necessary to draft additional constables to discharge duties which were necessarily heavy under the peculiar circumstances of the case. But he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman opposite that there was no occasion for alarm or anxiety. The police of London had discharged their duties most efficiently. The detective force in particular, which was attached to Scotland Yard, were men of conspicuous ability, and he desired in justice to those special members of the Force to say that in his judgment they had in no respect proved unequal to the duties they had to perform. He had not contemplated, nor did he contemplate, anything like the re-organization or the carrying out of extensive changes in the Force. There were, however, small improvements that might be effected in its distribution and management. These were points apparently not very important, but still they were important in the daily working of a Force of this kind, and would have to be attended to, inasmuch as additional service might be obtained from the Force as it existed. He was not aware that he need dwell further on any topic that had been raised in the course of the debate; and he would refrain from answering at any length in a general discussion of this kind the observations which had fallen from the hon. Member for North-West Lanarkshire, but not from any feeling of disrespect to the hon. Member. He knew that the hon. Member spoke with a certain amount of personal warmth, which he could perfectly well understand. He could only assure the hon. Member that so long as it was his fate to be at the Home Office, he would endeavour to prevent anything like undue interference with any class in London. He might further say that the use of warm language, or any violence exercised by the police against peaceable men, would not have his approval or sanction in any case. With regard to another point, complaint was made of the undue and improper dismissal of members of the Police Force, and he would observe that in many cases the dismissal of a policeman might seem to outsiders to be harsh, and based upon insufficient grounds. But that was a matter of the internal discipline of the Force, and must be left to the discretion and judgment of those who administered the Force. He hoped the discussion would end in making it clear to the public that the expressions used in some quarters as to the police were not justified by the facts. The police had done nothing to disentitle them to the confidence, if not the affection, of the general population, which he believed they had received, as they deserved it.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman might give the House some information as to an occurrence which took place last night—namely, the dispersal of a meeting on Clerkenwell Green by the police. He fully appreciated the spirit in which the right hon. Gentleman had made some of his remarks, but he had left a very serious statement unanswered—namely, that the police did attack and disperse a perfectly peaceful meeting of the citizens of London.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said, he rose for the purpose of supporting the Motion for the reduction of the Vote, and he should only make one reference to Sir Charles Warren, the late Chief Commissioner, whose salary was included in the Vote. He was obliged to his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Brad-

laugh) for having relieved him of the unpleasant task of travelling over the same ground as that which had been occupied by the hon. Gentleman. Had it not been the case that Sir Charles Warren had resigned, it would have been his duty to refer to much that had passed, to which reference had been made in the course of the present debate. He rose to support the reduction of the Vote by this particular amount, because this payment to the Chief Commissioner of Police by that House represented and contained within itself the head and front, if he might say so, in his mind, of the offending of the whole system of the Metropolitan Police. He maintained that the man who by Statute was at the head of the Police should be subject to the authority, as the introduction of the Vote implied, of the House of Commons, represented by the Home Secretary. Many of the points which the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had endeavoured to answer, with respect to the number and cost of the police of the Metropolis, arose entirely from the want of representative control at the head. He did not propose to trouble the House with a comparison between this year and that which immediately preceded it. He thought it would be fairer to compare the present year with 10 years ago, although it was a comparison which did not emphasize the case he was about to mention as strongly as many other years he might take. But, comparing this year with 10 years ago, it would be found that there was an increase both in the numbers and expense of the Police in the Metropolis much greater than the increase in the population; and, in his opinion, this increase arose from the circumstance of the control of the Police being in the hands of a Chief Commissioner, independent of the control of the ratepayers. The increase in the population of London from 1878 to 1888 had been 23 per cent. The increase in the numbers of the police in the same time had been 34½ per cent, and the increase in the cost, both net and gross, had been 44 per cent—meaning by net, after they deducted those particular items for which the police received compensation. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had rightly referred to the fact that the police in the Metropolis were more numerous per head of the population, and more expensive, than in other large towns. It was also more expensive, whether taken by the rateable value, or miles of streets, or in any other way. Those facts had been brought out by a Return moved at his instance, and for which he was responsible so far as the form in which the information was given was concerned. The excess was not to be explained in the way the right hon. Gentleman endeavoured to account for it. The right hon. Gentleman had rightly indicated the large number of the police in the Metropolis, and had somewhat understated the extent to which it was employed in the Government and Public Services. The number of the Force employed in that way was not 600, but 766. There was a total number of 1,621 police who were employed in the Metropolis by public or private persons last year, but for their services £170,000, roughly speaking, had been paid back. On that point the whole issue really hung, because he found that the Return for services rendered by the police was practically at the same rate as the increase of the police expense itself; which, as he had said, was 44 per cent, while the population had only increased at the rate of 23 per cent within the last 10 years. That was a circumstance which required investigation and explanation. The disproportion of which he spoke he traced entirely to the fact that the House of Commons paid the salary of the head of the Police, whereas it ought to be paid by those who ought to control him—namely, the representative authorities of the Metropolis itself. As he intended to vote for the reduction of the salary of the Chief Commissioner of Police, on other grounds than those which had been stated by the hon. Member for Northampton to be the grounds of all who supported him in the matter, he felt bound to explain the reason why he gave his vote. He traced the whole of the extra cost of the police and its improper management to the circumstance of the appointment of a Chief Commissioner appointed and paid as was the case at present. He proposed now to refer to the financial details of the system the Committee were engaged in discussing. If they looked through the accounts and

the balance sheets for the past year in the way which a business man would do in regard to his own affairs, they would come to the conclusion that they were looking through a business which needed overhauling in the very points in which a business that was going to the bad required overhauling. It must not be supposed that he was speaking against the increase in the pay of the policemen. The increase in the total cost of the Force in the 10 years had been 44 per cent, but the increase in the pay of the Police Force had not been more than 36 per cent. No doubt that was greater than the increase in the Force, which had only been 34 per cent. The reasons were easily explained. There had been a considerable increase in the higher paid branches of the police, and it applied principally to the Inspectors, who had increased by 117 per cent in these 10 years. He would ask whether this increase in the more highly paid classes of the Service was not the sort of thing they observed in a business where they had not got the control of the person who managed the business, but who was not, in any sense, responsible for providing the money which had to be expended? Another reason why he should vote against this item was that the House of Commons was called upon to pay the salary of the Chief Commissioner, and to provide the money, except that portion which was payable out of the rates, yet practically the House of Commons had no control over the force. When they saw an increase of 44 per cent in the expenditure net and gross, and only of 36 per cent increase in the pay and clothing of the police, where was it that the rest was to be found? It was here that the main principle of his indictment of the system lay—namely, against the system of management by a Chief Commissioner appointed and paid as Sir Charles Warren had been. If they would look through the list of items, item by item, and compare the year 1878 with 1888, they would find an increase on all those various items where the minute superintendence of a person interested in a business was capable of keeping them down, but which constantly occurred where such superintendence did not exist. The items in which the greatest increase was apparent were those for office rent, taxes, and repairs, 270 per cent; fuel and light, 54 per cent; postage, 90 per cent; travelling expenses, 450 per cent; newspapers and advertisements, 500 per cent; extraordinary expenses in the pursuit, apprehension, and prosecution of prisoners, 140 per cent; law charges, exclusive of particular law charges connected with new buildings, 84 per cent; and special expenses, 140 per cent. The sum of these items on which an increase had taken place was by no means a small one. Any hon. Member who would look into the items would see at once that the increase arose upon items which would go to wipe away the profit of any business concern, and were the sort of items that needed looking after. In this case, as there was no one to look after them, they were constantly increasing, and, as a consequence, the cost of the police had been increased in a greater ratio than the wages and clothing of the force. If the increase of the cost had been kept down with the increase of pay, there would have been a saving of 8 per cent. That sum, he maintained, was simply wasted or lost altogether, without any real advantage being gained to the Metropolis in the matter. Eight per cent of the whole cost of the police, which was, roughly speaking, about £1,500,000, was a considerable sum; but there was more than that. While the cost of the Police Force had kept rising, it had kept rising in tune with the rise of the rateable value of London. The rateable value of London had risen 38 per cent in these years, and the cost of the police had risen 44 per cent. The rateable value of London was continually on the rise naturally, and the cost of the police was continually on the rise with it. There used to be an 8*d.* rate, but an Act of Parliament was passed, he believed, in 1868, which allowed a 9*d.* rate, and it was expected that the 9*d.* rate would soon be surpassed. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary might naturally reply that it was a fair thing that as the rateable value of London increased so should the expenses of the police increase. He (Mr. James Stuart) denied that; and he maintained that the increase of the population in London was a better standard for measuring the proper cost of the police than the increase of the rateable value, because the rateable value of property in London

rose, although there might be no addition whatever to the items rated. There was a quinquennial revaluation of London, and there had been thus added to the rateable value within 10 years no less than 10 per cent of the whole valuation. But the cost of the police was rising more than the rateable value, and, so far as the rise from revaluation was concerned, there was no more reason for it than to say it was necessary because it was Tuesday instead of Monday. He contended, therefore, that the rise in the rate of the cost or of the number of the police was far too great, if it was compared with the increase on the rateable value, and that the increase of the population was a sufficient standard. If the cost of the police had not risen out of proportion to the rateable value of London, but had kept to the rise in the rateable value on account only of the new localities which the police had to protect, he believed the rate for the police would be less by 2*d.* than the rate now imposed. He commended this fact strongly to the attention of the Committee, the representatives of London, and all those who were interested in economy generally. He wished, however, to dwell upon a figure in the Return, which, to his mind, was of very great importance, because he was afraid it might bring them into great difficulty in another year—namely, the increase in the total cost of the Metropolitan Police from 1878. It had been 44 per cent, while the increase in the rateable value had only been 38 per cent. But although the cost was increasing more than the rateable value, they were nevertheless limited to a 9*d.* rate. How were they to provide for the additional increase? The police got an additional power of spending money by borrowing and drawing on their resources, and they were getting it in a way of which the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary was probably not aware. The parishes of London were always in debt to the Central Authority by a certain amount of their rate. That amount had been constantly diminishing. Whereas in 1888 the amount due to the Central Authority was £65,917, in 1887 the sum due from the vestries was £74,170. In other words they had drawn on their resources, and had reduced the outstanding balances due to the Metropolitan Police Fund by that amount, in one year. The Bank balances were also coming down. Last year there was a reduction of £20,000. In 1887 the Bank balances stood at £198,505, and on March 31, 1888, they were £178,777. They were evidently getting into a scrape with regard to the Metropolitan Police, and the cost was rising at such a rate, that unless something was done to check it, and as it was outstripping the rise in the rateable value of London, they would have to come to Parliament for a still heavier rate. He altogether objected to the cost keeping pace with the rateable value of the Metropolis, and he laid down the principle that the increase of population was a far better standard than any other. If the increase of the cost of the police had been in proportion to the population, it would have been 23 per cent instead of 44, which would be nearly equivalent to a 2*d.* rate. These were some of the points which demanded an answer, and needed explanation from right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Bench opposite, or from those who defended the Metropolitan Police, on whichever side of the House they might sit. He did not touch the question of the police officers themselves, but the financial position of the Force. To sum up, he contended that the cost of the police was rising more rapidly than the number; that the cost and the number were rising more rapidly than the rateable value of the Metropolis, which rateable value rose more rapidly than the increase of population; and that the cost and numbers of the police were rising twice as quickly as the rate of the population, the increase of which ought, more largely than anything else, to govern the increase in the number of the Police Force. The figures he had given of the year 1878 and 1888 were not the most favourable to his contention. There were other more favourable set of figures of from five to 10 years which he might have taken. He presumed that a very short time would elapse before the successor of Sir Charles Warren would be selected; and he hoped the Government would take into account the really strong feeling which existed out of doors, and he would enforce the necessity of placing at the head of the Force a man who would not think of fulfilling his duty in a military spirit, and who did not share the views Sir Charles Warren had expressed in that article—

which had been the death of him—that the Government had granted all the reforms the people wanted, and that it was insurrectionary to agitate for further changes. There was no doubt that there was among a certain section of the population, who were not criminals, a strong feeling of dissatisfaction with what had happened of late. Parliament could not shut its eyes to that dissatisfaction, and it had to be removed, and much depended upon the present selection of a Chief Commissioner. He would not discuss vexed questions. He preferred to wait and see what the Government would do, believing that they would be as anxious to get out of a serious difficulty as any Members could be that they ought to do so. Dissatisfaction from the action of the police arose, not so much from the conduct of the men, as from the working of the system which they represented. At any rate, the people who found the money ought to be able to see that it was properly spent. There was no way of meeting the serious financial crisis which was rapidly approaching, except by putting the Metropolitan Police under the control of the County Council. He begged to support the reduction of the Vote.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) said, he had no doubt that every Metropolitan Member, no matter on what side of the House he sat, would altogether agree with the view which had been so ably stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) as to the relations which should subsist, under our Constitution, between the police and the Home Office. The circumstances, in this case, justified the action of the Home Department in accepting the resignation of Sir Charles Warren. He, like many others, had a great deal of sympathy with the sentiments of the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for the North-West Division of Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), who expressed his keen regret that these unfortunate differences between high Officials of the State had arisen, and had led to the unfortunate circumstance of the resignation of Sir Charles Warren just at this moment. It seemed to him that the views expressed by the hon. and gallant Member had been, to a certain extent, justified by the further remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby, and also by the remarks that had fallen from the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken (Mr. James Stuart). He wished to do the utmost justice to the fair play and the impartial statement of the right hon. Gentleman opposite. But he must say that in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, particularly in the reference to militarism in our police arrangements, he detected a reference to recent demonstrations in the Metropolis, and he was sure the majority of the Metropolitan Members would not concur in any such implied condemnation of the administration of the police. They did not believe that there had been any indication of the military spirit, or any of the temper displayed which had been dwelt on by the hon. Member for Hoxton (Mr. J. Stuart) and the hon. Member for Nerth-West Lanark (Mr. Cunninghame Graham). Speaking as a Metropolitan Member, who mixed a great deal with his constituents, and who was intimately acquainted with the views of all classes, he was able to state most positively that there had been no diminution of the popularity of the Police Force among the loyal law-abiding and peaceable citizens of London. The demonstrations with which they had lately been vexed, of a small proportion of what was called the criminal class, incited and hounded on by mistaken men, who were rightly called "demagogues," had brought the two much nearer the police than they had ever been before. Before he sat down he wished to add a word as to the increase in the number and cost of the police, and the statement which had been made by the hon. Member for Hoxton. The remarks of the hon. Member in regard to the increase in the number was answered by the fact that there had been an outcry of late, whether rightly or not he did not know, as to the length of the beats of the police in the East End of London. They had been continually told, since the recent deplorable events in Whitechapel, that the police were not sufficiently numerous or sufficiently vigilant, and, as to the increased cost, there surely could be no fairer measure of a rightful increase than the increase in the rateable value of the Metropolis, which implied an increase in the value of the property to be protected. He thought the loyal,

peaceable, quiet, law-abiding people of the Metropolis would emphatically repudiate the charges which had been made against the police, and that, at this moment, they felt as much, even if not more, confidence in them than they had ever done.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) said, he admired the self-contained egotism of the hon. Member for North Kensington (Sir Roper Lethbridge), who assumed that he and his friends were the only gentlemen who were animated by respect for the law and were law-abiding citizens. There were others who had passed an active public life who had taken part in demonstrations, and who were called "demagogues," who could refer to their action without discredit. He had been to big demonstrations himself, and he defied the hon. Member, or anyone else, to show that the leaders of such demonstrations had not been able to preserve order among the vast concourse of people who took part in them and were incompetent to take them to Hyde Park or elsewhere without disturbance and confusion.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE said, he had not in the slightest degree referred to such demonstrations as those of which the hon. Member was speaking. He had himself taken part in such demonstrations, and he was anxious that they should continue to be held, and that they should not be restricted in any way in the Metropolis. In his observations he had referred to demonstrations of a very different character. [*Cries of* "What?" and "Name!"]

MR. J. ROWLANDS said, that it was, at all events, satisfactory to have drawn that qualification and expression of opinion from the hon. Member, but there still remained the objection that the hon. Member, or anyone else, should lay down the law as to what was a legitimate demonstration and what was not. Before he sat down he should have to draw the attention of the Committee to the language of some of the subordinates of the police in regard to the demonstrations which had occurred in the Metropolis, to show how infectious such language had become, and to maintain that it was time it was put a stop to. The present debate, so far as the interests and welfare of the people of the Metropolis were concerned, was one of the most important that could take place, and it was an anomaly that the Metropolitan Members had almost to apologize to the Provincial Members for occupying the time of the Committee with a debate on what elsewhere would be a Municipal matter, and ought to be threshed out in a County Council composed of the representatives of the people of London. They were really discussing, under the Vote for the salary of the Chief Commissioner, the whole question of the control of the Metropolitan Police. Knowing London as well as any hon. Member opposite, he affirmed that there was, at the present time, much ill-feeling between the people and the police, but the dissatisfaction was not with constables individually. There was no feeling of animosity against particular constables, but the feeling was that the police had been called upon to discharge duties which had brought them needlessly into conflict with the population; and many of the police themselves had not been particularly anxious to perform the duties which had been cast upon them. As to regret in the force at Sir Charles Warren's resignation, good information showed that the feeling was the other way; for under Sir Charles Warren the men had been subject to regulations they did not care for, and there had been undue interference with the legitimate flow of promotion. This had been explained to him to be the feeling of the men in the Force themselves. They were all ready to acknowledge the valuable contribution which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) had made to the debate, and the clear and definite lines he had laid down as to the relations between the Chief Commissioner and the Home Secretary so long as the police were under the control of the Central Executive. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had accepted the entire responsibility of the action of the police, and had said that it was necessary to suppress meetings in one particular locality. That in which he, and those who agreed with him, differed from the right hon. Gentleman was not only as to the propriety of suppressing these meetings, but the way in which the suppression had been carried out. They said that, supposing it was necessary to prevent meetings in Trafalgar Square, there was no necessity whatever for sup-

pressing them in the cold-blooded manner they were suppressed on the 13th of November last. The persons who were present at that meeting were not those who had been in the habit of congregating there, but persons who were in the habit of attending great Liberal demonstrations in London—men who, in the same spirit, attended the public meetings in Hyde Park in 1884 and the Temperance demonstrations in the present year. If there had been a little forbearance exercised on the part of those in authority—if they had gone up to the leaders in a mild manner and prevented them from going into the Square, they would have turned back, and there would have been no necessity to baton them. But the East End procession, on arriving at Broad Street, instead of being told that they had come as far as they would be allowed, were attacked by the police. Even with regard to the right of holding these public meetings, he thought they were entitled to something more than the mere *ipse dixit* of the Home Secretary for the time being. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would give them the information they had endeavoured for some time to obtain, and which they were most anxious to obtain, and especially in regard to the filling up of the vacant Chief Commissionership. The high-handed proceeding of Sir Charles Warren appeared to have become infectious among his subordinates. In some of the reports which had been sent in by the Police Superintendents he found the most unwarrantable language used—language quite as forcible as that which was used by the late Chief Commissioner himself in the now famous *Murray's Magazine* article. Speaking on behalf of the A division, one of these Inspectors spoke of "professional agitators" and their "pernicious doctrines." To permit an Inspector to lay down what were pernicious doctrines and what were not, was certainly the introduction into this country of Continentalism with a vengeance, and showed how rapidly they were descending in a downward line. To his mind the language used by this Police Inspector was the coolest piece of impudence he had ever heard of. He would advise this gentleman in future to follow the example of the other Superintendents, whose reports were plain and business-like and reflected great credit upon them. He admitted that there might be a time for taking action against pernicious opinions; but when such a time arrived, and it was necessary to take action against the proceedings of certain political and social doctrines, who was to be the party to take action? Was it to be taken by the police? Certainly not; but by the Government, who must declare what were pernicious doctrines and what were not. One great safety we had had in the past in this country was that men who held foolish opinions had had an opportunity of ventilating them and having them criticized. It was by this means that men who commenced by talking very loud were induced to come down to more reasonable opinions. Another Police Superintendent, speaking of some occurrences in April in Hyde Park and the Edgware Road, spoke of "the Socialists" having obstructed the neighbourhood, 10 of whom had been arrested, and most of them convicted. Was that the kind of report the Government wanted? Would the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary indorse the action of the police and the sentiment expressed in that report, and was it not time that the control of the police should be in a more Constitutional form, so that the liberties of the people might be better safeguarded than they were now? By the resignation of Sir Charles Warren they had some prospect of changing the system; but he warned the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary that the people of London would never be satisfied until they obtained the control of their own police; and when the hon. Baronet the Member for London (Sir Robert Fowler) rose to address the Committee, perhaps he would tell them what a good thing it was for the City of London to have the control of its own Force. The people of the Metropolis generally envied the Corporation of London, and hoped to get the same control in the Greater London they represented. He asked the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, in appointing the new Commissioner, carefully to consider the whole question, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would give them an assurance that some gentleman of cool and calm judgment—he trusted a civilian—would be placed

at the head of the police. Hitherto the action of the police had only had the effect of irritating a large number of people who were quite as respectable, as loyal, and as peaceable citizens as any of the friends of hon. Members opposite. He earnestly hoped that the House of Commons would resist to the utmost the introduction into this country of any imitation of the Continental system.

SIR ROBERT FOWLER (London) said, he had listened with great pleasure to the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby and the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary. He thought the course pursued in February, 1886, against Sir Edmund Henderson was a mistake, and he had at the time expressed his regret at the course pursued by the Government of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian, though it was, to a certain extent, sanctioned by Lord Knutsford and his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie). He had risen, however, to express the great gratitude which, as a Londoner, he felt to Sir Charles Warren for the manner in which he had administered the Metropolitan Police Force during the time he had been at the head of it. He knew that what he said would not be acceptable to some hon. Gentlemen opposite, and especially to the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down; but he did feel that they owed a deep debt of gratitude to Sir Charles Warren for the way in which, under his guidance, disorder had been put down in the Metropolis. There could be no doubt that it was a difficult matter to maintain order among the large population of the Metropolis. The question might not be one of much consequence to hon. Members who came down to the House from Pall Mall and the West End, and who knew nothing of any other part of London; but those who lived in the heart of London were bound to consider the protection of life and property throughout the whole of the Metropolis. The Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police had an extremely difficult task to perform; and, as a Londoner, he was grateful to Sir Charles Warren for the way in which he had discharged his duty while he was at the head of the police. Having borne this testimony to the value of the services rendered by Sir Charles Warren, he felt bound to add that, after the letters of that gentleman, the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, in whom he had the utmost confidence, had no alternative but to accept his resignation.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) said, the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of London (Sir Robert Fowler) appeared to rise for the express purpose of paying a florid compliment to Sir Charles Warren. He (Mr. Pickersgill) was somewhat surprised at that, because, let the merits or demerits of Sir Charles Warren's system of management of the police be what they might, the system was totally and diametrically opposed to that adopted in the Police Force which was under the direct control of the City. Therefore, the compliments which the hon. Baronet thought proper to pay to Sir Charles Warren and his system were a direct condemnation of the police with which the hon. Baronet was more immediately connected. He (Mr. Pickersgill) had taken some part in endeavouring to deprive the City Corporation of privileges which he thought were unjust and impolitic, but he assured the hon. Baronet that there was one City privilege which, until the County of London got the control of its own police, he and his hon. Friends would guard with the most tender solicitude, and that was that the City of London should continue to retain the control of its own police, which it at present possessed. Before he proceeded to the aspects of the police question, with which he proposed especially to deal, he desired to emphasize a remark which was made by his hon. Friend the Member for East Finsbury (Mr. J. Rowlands) in the course of the very forcible speech which he had just delivered. His hon. Friend complained that Sir Charles Warren had unjustly destroyed the hope of promotion in the case of a large number of members of the Metropolitan Police Force. There was one order which was issued by Sir Charles Warren to which he (Mr. Pickersgill) desired—now that Sir Charles Warren was gone—to call the particular attention of the Home Office. A little while ago Sir Charles Warren issued an order that no constable who was over 35 years of age, or who had been a constable for upwards of 10 years,

should be promoted to the position of sergeant. Upon that, he was favoured by the Home Office with a Return, from which it appeared that of the number of 647 constables who had been promoted in the last six years, no less than 394 either had more than 10 years as constables, or were over 35 years of age; so that, if they took into account the last six years, one-half of the constables promoted had actually possessed that term of service which Sir Charles Warren had at a single swoop said should hereafter disqualify any man for promotion at all. It would be clear to all, that if they wanted to keep the Service sweet and effective, they must hold out, at least, the hope of promotion, and yet Sir Charles Warren, at one fell swoop, took away from a very considerable number of the Metropolitan police constables now serving the hope of promotion which they had hitherto entertained—nay, more, he believed that at the very time that the order was issued there were a number of constables who had been actually recommended, or were upon the point of being recommended, by their immediate superiors for promotion, and that those promotions were not carried into effect in consequence of that grossly unjust order. He could not imagine anything more calculated to render the Police Force ineffective. Now, the ratepayers of London, who were not to be permitted to control their own police, would notice with great satisfaction the very sound suggestion which fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) on the Constitutional relations which ought to exist between the Home Secretary and the Chief Commissioner of Police; and they would also notice with great satisfaction the right hon. Gentleman's views as to what the attitude of the police should be towards public meetings. He noticed that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary expressed his assent to the right hon. Gentleman's views, and he could only express regret that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary's practice during the last year or so had not been more in conformity with the theory of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby. He was extremely pleased to hear the well-deserved compliment which his right hon. Friend paid to the previous Chief Commissioner, Sir Edmund Henderson, and he was also gratified to hear the right hon. Gentleman say that he not consider that the unfortunate events which happened in London in February, 1886, afforded any substantial ground for the re-organization of the Metropolitan Police. It was only just to the right hon. Gentleman to state that he took precisely the same view at the time, and he (Mr. Pickersgill) thought that, considering the quarter from which that expression of opinion had come, they might congratulate themselves that they had that afternoon heard the death-knell, practically, although its consummation must be for a little time delayed, of that system of militarization in the Police Force of the Metropolis, against which a good many of them had been so long unsuccessfully protesting. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby thought that the public were treating the Metropolitan Police a little unjustly in blaming them for failing to discover the perpetrator of the recent outrages in the East End of London. Upon that, he (Mr. Pickersgill) had only to say that he thought that the gravity of the case consisted in the fact that the inability of the police to find the perpetrator of these outrages came as a climax to the incapacity to detecting crime which he should be able to show had for the last year or so been conspicuous on the part of the Metropolitan Police. Two, at least, of the murders in the East End did not belong to what he might, perhaps, call the mutilation series. So long ago as Christmas week last a woman was murdered in the streets of Whitechapel, and, again, on Easter Tuesday, another unfortunate woman, while passing by Whitechapel Church, was done to death by a gang of three men; she lived long enough to state her story so far. It was perfectly clear that these crimes did not belong to the abnormal series which was now baffling our detective system, but they rather pointed to that disorderly condition of the public streets which had undoubtedly grown up under the late administration, under the military *régime*, and of which the unhappy murder in Regent's Park, a little time ago, was so conspicuous an illustration. Again, if they took the list of undetected murders for 1887, what did they find? They found that 13 murders were com-

mitted, and that only eight persons were detected. Were all these murders of an abnormal character? He did not propose to refer to all of them, but he would mention one. There was a very sad case, called the Kentish Town murder, in which a Mrs. Daniels was murdered in her own shop in Bartholomew Road, Kentish Town. Three men drove up in broad daylight in a small trap. They stopped the trap a little way from the shop, and they went into the shop with the supposed intention of carrying off the safe. Mrs. Daniels surprised them, and they dealt her a blow which proved fatal. There was nothing abnormal in the character of that crime. Our Criminal Courts showed that it was a crime unhappily of a very ordinary character; a robbery was being committed, someone came in and surprised the robbers, the robber recklessly dealt a blow which proved fatal. These men, after committing the murder, jumped into the trap, and nothing had been heard of them since. So much for the results of our detective system. A word or two with regard to methods; it was very seldom they got any light as to the way in which the detectives of London proceeded. In fact, Sir Charles Warren laid down the theory, which was a very comfortable and convenient one for any Police Force, that if people did not know what the detectives were doing, that was really the best possible proof they could have that the detectives were doing their work well and efficiently. There was one case, however, in which they got a glimpse as to the manner in which the detective system worked in London. In the last Report of the Commissioner he found the following reference to the Criminal Investigation Department:—

"The Officers of the Criminal Investigation Department have been very active and successful in the pursuit of crime, the number of arrests being for the year 518, including that of Thomas William Currell, for murdering Lydia Green, at Hoxton."

The problem for the police to solve was not the discovery of who had committed the crime, but simply the laying of their hands upon Thomas William Currell, because suspicion pointed absolutely to him as the murderer. Yet Currell was absolutely allowed to walk about the streets of London for no less than 10 days; and he said himself—and there was no reason to doubt the accuracy of his statement—that one day he actually went to Scotland Yard, asked to see the Inspector there, and waited for two hours in the presence of a large number of police who were waiting there. He also said that on another day he went to a shop to be shaved, and immediately opposite the chair in which he sat was a portrait of himself and an accompanying description. There was no miscarriage of justice in the long run; but certainly there was grave negligence on the part of the Detective Department. *The Times*, in reporting the occurrence, said, there was no doubt whatever that there was no resemblance between the portrait which the police had published and the actual appearance of Thomas William Currell. Also, at the trial, Mr. Justice Grantham said that if the police could not publish better portraits of murderers it would be far better, and far less misleading, if they published no portrait at all. Eventually *The Times*, which had lately been taking so active a part in supporting the police through thick and thin, thus wound up an article on the subject—

"The remarks of Mr. Justice Grantham, although very severe, were fully justified by the total want of intelligence which the police had exhibited throughout the whole matter."

It was not often that the Detective Department could be convicted of gross negligence and incapacity, because they worked in the dark. But here was a case in which, upon the clearest evidence, they displayed a total want of intelligence from beginning to end. Some reference had already been made to the services of Sir Edmund Henderson, and to the manner in which he discharged the duties of his Office. He thought that it would be found that, whatever might be said in regard to Sir Edmund's capacity for his Office, if he had to be judged by the results of the last year for which he was responsible, that year contrasted very favourably indeed, as regarded crime, with the last year for which Sir Charles Warren was responsible. If hon. Members compared statistics of crime for the two years—take them how they would—they would find that while the crime of the country generally had been diminishing in the Metropolis, crime in 1887 was in excess of crime in 1885. In some cases the increase was not large, but in

no case was there a decrease so as to make any compensation for the cases in which there was an increase. Take first the number of criminal offences reported. In 1885 the number was 21,428; in 1887 it was 21,923. In the list there was a table headed "Principal Offences." Now, the number of principal offences committed in 1885 was 20,998; and in 1887 it was 21,435. The number of felonies committed in 1885 was 19,505; and in 1887 20,035. In all these respects the Committee would see that the crime of 1887 contrasted unfavourably with the crime of 1885; but there was one class of crime to which he invited the more particular attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, because it went to corroborate statements which had been made by an evening paper in the Metropolis, which statements were denied by the late Chief Commissioner. He referred to the crimes of burglary and house-breaking; the increase of these crimes was absolutely alarming. In 1885 there were 1,800 offences, and in 1887 there were no less than 2,285. That was to say, that under this heading alone crime had increased, comparing one year with another, by about 27 per cent. He thought that that was hardly a record of which the late military administration had any reason to be proud. Might he now refer to the remarks which were made earlier in the evening by the hon. Member for North Islington (Mr. Bartley), but he hoped he should not be betrayed into the warmth or rather unpleasant expression of feeling which the hon. Gentleman exhibited. The hon. Gentleman said there was no kind of evidence that the once absolutely friendly and confidential relations between the people of London and the police of London had in any degree been affected or deteriorated. This was a question upon which the Metropolian Members in particular felt a great responsibility, and he wished to speak guardedly, lest, by making statements, he should in any way seem to bring about, or be charged with bringing about, that state of feeling which he deprecated. Let him (Mr. Pickersgill) point out to the hon. Member one or two facts which tended, at all events, to show that the once friendly relations between the police and the people had been unhappily, to some extent, affected by recent occurrences. He did not think it could be denied by anyone who had followed, not only the Police Reports, but who was practically acquainted with the condition of things in London, that within the last year there had been a large increase in the use of the truncheon by policeman—in fact Sir Charles Warren in his Report took some credit for having abolished the truncheon case, and for having given an order that in future it should be carried in a side pocket, significantly most ready for use. He was not concerned at present to say whether the use of the truncheon in the cases in which complaint had been made was justified or not. He did not know the facts, and no doubt if the cases were investigated there would be conflicting testimony, and perhaps people would be left as much in the dark as they were now. He did know, at all events, that, while in some cases the magistrates—and he did not impugn their decisions—had said that the complaints were unfounded, in other cases they had said they were justified, and they had marked the charge sheets condemning the constables involved. But whether in the particular instances the use of the truncheon was justifiable or not, he thought that the fact that the use of the truncheon had been increasing must be a matter of the very gravest anxiety to all thoughtful and right-thinking men. Take the other side of the shield. He asserted, and he did not think that any Member who knew the facts would deny, that during the last year or two there had been an increase in the number of brutal assaults on the police. He regarded one as a correlative of the other. If they had the police using their powers offensively, especially if they had the police maltreating prisoners in their custody—of which the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had brought forward several cases, they could not be surprised if the ruffians of the Metropolis retaliated by grossly ill-using individual constables when they found them alone in their power. Before he resumed his seat he desired to refer to a case to which he called the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary's attention a few days ago, when, he thought he might respectfully say, the right hon. Gentleman appeared scarcely to appreciate the gravity of the complaint made against the police. The case to which he alluded

was that of Henry Glennie, who a week or two ago was put upon his trial for the murder of Mrs. Wright. His complaint was that from the beginning to the end of the case, so far as the police were concerned, every canon of sound practice in the Criminal Law was grossly violated. In the first place, how was the man arrested? According to the sworn evidence of a police officer he was seized by three men in plain clothes, put into a cab, and then informed that the men were police officers, and that they arrested him on suspicion of having committed the murder. He (Mr. Pickersgill) maintained that the arrest was made in violation of the Police Code itself, which said that the proper mode of effecting an arrest when a constable was in plain clothes was to touch a man lightly on the shoulder and say, "I arrest you;" and of course every criminal lawyer knew that if there had been any violence, and if death had been caused, vital issues would have depended upon the fact. The man was arrested. He was taken at about 10 o'clock on the 19th September to the police station in the Upper Street, Islington, and was detained there. At about 11 o'clock the following morning two police officers went into the man's cell, and one said, "The Inspector has directed me to ask you if you can refer him to any person who can prove where you were when Mrs. Wright was murdered." The officer then added, "It happened so and so," giving the time and the date. Again, at quarter-past 10 at night the prisoner was seen by the police officer. Perhaps he (Mr. Pickersgill) ought to mention, in order to make his story complete, that at the time of the murder a bag was thrown away by one of the men who had been seen leaving the house. This bag had been picked up, and there could be no doubt that it was the bag of the prisoner, Henry Glennie, though it was not traced into his recent possession. There was no evidence that it had been in his possession within some three or four months of the murder, so that the inference to be drawn from the fact of the bag being his was of the slenderest possible description. At half-past 10 the same night the two officers went into the prisoner's cell and showed him the bag. The prisoner made a statement. On the morning of the 21st of September the same constable asked the prisoner whether he could give any further description of the man to whom he sold the bag of tools? The rule in the Metropolitan district, undoubtedly, was that if a prisoner was arrested, he should be brought before a magistrate within 24 hours. In this case, the man was not brought before a magistrate upon the day following his arrest; but upon the next day but one, and in the interval he was upon three separate occasions questioned by a police officer. What did the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary reply? Why, that it was presumably to ask the prisoner questions in order to give him an opportunity of explaining suspicious circumstances. According to his (Mr. Pickersgill's) reading, when eminent Judges had, in the strongest possible terms, condemned the questioning of prisoners by police officers, there had been no such qualification as that which the right hon. Gentleman suggested. Indeed, it was perfectly obvious that if there was such a qualification it would be a very shadowy line, indeed, which would separate the giving of explanations from the putting of questions with the object of implicating the prisoner. Whether or not the object was to implicate the prisoner, he thought that the evidence given on the following day had some bearing upon this point, because, upon the following day, when practically the police had no evidence against the prisoner—except what they had got out of him, by detaining him more than 24 hours, and questioning him—one of the two men who had questioned him said that when he showed the man the bag he became very pale and agitated. Those who were familiar with the Criminal Law knew very well that one of the greatest difficulties experienced in defending a case arose from the fact that a man, however innocent, when he found that something was beginning to tell against him, invented a story, told a lie, and so involved the case in further difficulty. He (Mr. Pickersgill) maintained that it was, in the first place, a most improper thing to show the man the bag and to ask him how he came to be the owner of it; and, secondly, that it was extremely unfair to the prisoner to say that when he was shown the bag he became pale and agitated. Paleness and agitation were quite as consistent with innocence as guilt. The only other evidence against the prisoner was that of two

women of bad character, who swore that he had made to them admissions of the fact that he had actually murdered Mrs. Wright. How had these witnesses been dealt with by the police? One of the two was named Phœbe Peel, and on the 27th August she gave some evidence implicating Glennie. She went to the police station for a different purpose, but eventually she gave some evidence implicating the man. Subsequently she said that she was in drink at the time; but it was only fair to add that this was denied by the Inspector. Now, he came to another aspect of the case to which he thought grave exception was to be taken. Within a week of the time when the woman had given the evidence she went, as she said, to live as servant in the house of the officer who had charge of the case—namely, Sergeant Mackenzie—and she was actually living in the house of this officer when she was examined before the magistrate, and she was also in the same house when the prisoner was tried on the 29th October. It was only right he should add that she, upon being asked to explain how it was that she was living as servant in the house of the officer who had charge of the case, replied, "I was staying there because I was frightened for my life." The second female witness was Mary Dominie. On the 21st of September, when the case was brought before the magistrate, that gentleman said that the evidence was extremely slight. He was in some doubt as to whether he ought to remand the prisoner; but, having regard to the fact that he was charged with a capital felony, he, in the end, did grant a remand. The prisoner was remanded for a week, and between the first hearing of the case and the second Mary Dominie came on the scene. On the 24th September Mary Dominie was arrested, or, at all events, was told by a police officer that she must come with him. That was late at night on the 24th of September. She went with the officer to the police station, and she was then told that she would be kept there all night. She had since stated that she was locked up all night in the library at the police station. Next morning she was conveyed in a cab to the Treasury, and her proof taken down. The woman was asked, in cross-examination, as to whether she was frightened when she was detained in the library at the police station, and her reply was, "I was frightened; I thought a charge was going to be made against me." He (Mr. Pickersgill) asked the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary to give some explanation of what appeared to him to be a most extraordinary proceeding. Why was this woman taken late at night to the police station, detained there all the night immediately before being taken to the Treasury, and her proof as against Henry Glennie taken down? That hardly seemed to him a satisfactory way of eliciting the truth. From a week after the time when her proof was taken down at the Treasury, the woman was in receipt of a guinea a week by express leave of the Treasury. He could not help thinking that a guinea a week was certainly a very unreasonable allowance for a woman in her condition of life. Henry Glennie was eventually acquitted; he was therefore an innocent man. But even if Henry Glennie had been a guilty man, he (Mr. Pickersgill) strongly objected to proceedings of this kind being taken by the police, because, depend upon it, if the stringency of the criminal practice was allowed for one moment to be relaxed in the case of the guilty, it would soon be similarly relaxed in the case of the innocent, and the liberties of all would be in danger. From the evidence that had come before him the case of Glennie did not stand alone; but he was bound to say that he had no experience of a case in which there had been, in so many respects, violations of what he believed to be the sound practice of the Criminal Law. He believed that the police had for some time past been getting into a very lax practice in regard to prosecutions, and in regard to getting up cases for prosecutions. A most unfortunate result had followed from the regretted death of the Legal Adviser to the Commissioner of Police—namely, Mr. Davis. From all he had heard he believed Mr. Davis to have been an extremely sound criminal lawyer, and that while he occupied his position he contrived to keep the Commissioners of Police and their subordinates fairly within the limits of the Criminal Law; but latterly a laxity had grown up. Why, in the famous article in *Murray's Magazine*, to which so many references had been made, there was a

passage relating to Mr. Davis. Sir Charles Warren stated in that article that since the death of Mr. Davis he (Sir Charles Warren) had been obliged to do the greater part of the work which Mr. Davis did. Whatever his merits might be, Sir Charles Warren was not a trained lawyer, and it seemed a monstrous thing that the duty of advising on legal questions, which was once in hands so able as those of Mr. Davis, should now be discharged by a military man who had no kind of legal training whatever. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would reconsider the answer he gave him some days ago in regard to the case of Glennie. The right hon. Gentleman was once a leading practitioner at the Bar, and he could hardly think the opinion he expressed the other day would be endorsed by members of the Bar of equal experience with himself.

MR. MATTHEWS said, that perhaps it was as well he should give an answer as early as possible to the inquiry made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for North-West Lanark (Mr. Cunninghame Graham). He had made the best inquiry he could from the Chief Constable concerned, and he reported to him that not the slightest attempt was made by the police to disperse the people at all at the meeting on Clerkenwell Green or afterwards; that no collision took place between the police and the people, but that at the close of the meeting there was a great rush of persons in a particular direction, and some mounted police were caught in the flank, and their horses were rendered restive. No attempt was made to interfere with the persons who assembled, and no collision took place. The only thing that had occurred was that some mounted policemen followed the crowd until it dispersed. Not the slightest complaint had reached the police of anyone having been injured.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM said, he had spoken, in the first place, upon the testimony in the article in *The Daily News;* and, secondly, on the testimony of various men who came to see him that morning, complaining of their injuries, but who, he regretted to say, absolutely refused to go into a Police Court.

MR. WEBSTER (St. Pancras, E.) said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Bethnal Green (Mr. Pickersgill) thought it would be advisable to remove the control of the Metropolitan Police from the Government and the First Commissioner of Police to the new County Council for London. Supposing it was advisable to place the control of the police in the hands of a popularly elected Body, surely it was wise to wait to see whether the new County Council assimilated the various and difficult duties they had, before handing over to them the very onerous and difficult task of administering the police of the Metropolis. He was glad the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had been able to cast to the winds the attack made upon him by the hon. Member for North-West Lanark (Mr. Cunninghame Graham). It was hardly possible to conceive that an hon. Gentleman could impeach a Minister of State on a statement made in a morning or a halfpenny evening newspaper. Before an hon. Member made the serious charges with regard to the administration of the police which the hon. Gentleman had made, he ought to be careful to verify his facts.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM said, he wished to inform the hon. Member that he did not impeach the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary on the statements of a daily newspaper only, but on events which had happened in London since the 13th of November of last year.

MR. WEBSTER said, that the hon. Member for North-West Lanark (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) had posed as the champion of the poor. He would like to ask the hon. Gentleman, whom he might be excused for describing as a demagogue, and anyone else who took the lead in mob oratory, whether the driving away of capital from London conduced to the benefit of the working classes? He was credibly informed that the hotels in the neighbourhood of Trafalgar Square were at the time of the disorderly occurrences less frequented than usually; and also that the tradespeople suffered very considerably in their business. If the tradespeople suffered, the poor men suffered, for the tradespeople found employment for a vast amount of labour. The hon. Member for Hoxton (Mr. James Stuart) asserted that the cost of the police had increased beyond what was warranted

by the increase of population. The hon. Gentleman took the years 1878 and 1888 as the periods of comparison. Now, prior to 1878 there were no dynamite conspiracies. There were not the troubles in Ireland that there were now, and there were no occurrences in London such as those of last year. These reasons alone were sufficient to account for the increase in the Metropolitan Police. But there were other reasons. Owing to the increased facilities of transit, the Metropolis was much more frequented by people from the Provinces and various parts of the world than it was in 1878, and this fact necessitated the provision of increased protection. Whilst, however, there had been an increase in the police, there had been a great decrease in crime in the Metropolis—a fact which had not been sufficiently noticed by hon. Gentlemen opposite. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh), in a speech of considerable ability, said that in times past there was good feeling, good temper, and forbearance between the people and the police, but he regretted that that satisfactory condition of affairs had been entirely changed, and changed, as he said, within the last two or three years. Let him (Mr. Webeter) recall to the hon. Gentleman's mind the fact that during the last two years there had probably been the largest concourse in London within the century. During the Jubilee *fêtes* the streets were crowded with people, but there never was better order kept in the Metropolis than on that occasion; indeed the police were then described as "our heroes in blue." Speaking of demonstrations in London, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Bradlaugh) said "until now public demonstrations in London had been orderly, but never till recently attended with ebullitions of feeling." Did the hon. Member recollect that in 1886 there was an ebullition of feeling? It was then that the disorderly scenes in London took place. Did he wish those scenes to be enacted again in the London streets? The hon. Member for West St. Pancras said that during the last two or three years the Police Force had been militarized, that there had been a systematic attempt to separate the police from the people. The hon. Member added that the feeling between the people and the police was very bad at the present time. He (Mr. Webster) contradicted that statement. He knew that, as a matter of fact, in St. Pancras, a portion of which district the hon. Gentleman represented, the feeling between the police and the people was never better than it was at the present time. As to the militarization of the police, let him say that the people of London did not care how or by whom the police were governed; what they wanted was a Police Force which would protect life and property within the Metropolis, and not be deterred from the discharge of their duties by the attacks made upon them by a body of demagogues.

Mr. PICTON (Leicester) said, he did not think that either the Members of the Government or hon. Gentlemen opposite had sufficiently appreciated the point the Opposition were endeavouring to make, which was, that recently the Police Force had come to entertain the notion that they were sent for the defence of a particular class, and a particular set of interests, as against the large masses of population in the Metropolis. In the section of the Police Code relating to meetings, it was set forth—

> "That the police are the servants of the public at large, not of any political Party, or of the advocates of any political opinion. Whatever the individual views of the police officers may be, they must not give expression to them, either on duty or off duty, or join in any act in furtherance of them so long as they remain in the public service, works of benevolence always excepted."

How far was that rule acted upon at the present time? He held in his hand the Report of the Superintendent of the A Division of the Southern District. The Report opened with a most effusive and eloquent description of the popular enthusiasm on the occasion of the celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee. The sentiments might be very proper ones to express in the right place, but he did not think the report of an official of police was the right place. They were told in the Report how—

> "The ceremonial itself, apart from the grand display in the public streets, was a sight never to be forgotten by those who were fortunate enough to witness it. The effect when Her Majesty, surrounded by various Foreign Princes and the Princes of Her House, took Her seat on the daïs, was such that words could scarcely convey, and the whole surrounding was one of unsurpassed magnificence."

What had that to do with the administration of the police? He could not help thinking it was introduced for a purpose, for the next paragraph proceeded, in a patronising sort of way, to praise the good behaviour of the masses of the London populace on that great occasion. The Report went on to refer to the doings in Trafalgar Square—and here opinions were expressed that no one in the Police Force had any right whatever to express; the Commissioner of Police ought not to have allowed them to appear. After speaking of what led to the assembling of the unemployed in Trafalgar Square, the officer went on to say, that when the police attempted, in the interest of law and order, to put an end to what was quickly becoming a scandal, they were assailed on all sides. Then the writer proceeded—

> "It is a great defect of the law of this country, in my opinion, that persons who prompt these crowds to disorder cannot be brought to justice and severely dealt with. My own view of this matter is that the genuine working man in distress would shrink from such exhibitions as London has had exposed to it for some time past. I think a remedy for the evils of Trafalgar Square would be found in its conversion into a garden. Whatever its capacity and fitness for public meetings when first formed, the day for such purposes has clearly gone by."

Was that in conformity with the rule so well laid down in the Police Code? The policeman distinctly gave expression to his own personal opinions, which were of a party character, and advocated the views of a particular section of society. But the Commissioner of Police seemed to have taken it so much as a matter of course that he made no attempt to cut down the report, or to refer it back to the officer to be corrected. The Committee would agree with him that there was good ground for suggesting that the police had recently been converted into an engine, not for serving the public, but for maintaining the particular views held by a section of society. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had a perfect right to give his opinion as to what should be done in Trafalgar Square, but he could not help regretting that, in the course of his speech last night, the right hon. Gentleman offered, unconsciously of course, an incitement to violence and disturbance such as had rarely been offered by any right hon. Gentleman in the Home Secretary's responsible position. Did the right hon. Gentleman not know that the question of Trafalgar Square was one of the sorest topics that could possibly be mentioned in the Metropolis? Did he not know that for 12 months past hon. Members of the House had had the very greatest difficulty in persuading, not the mob, not mere agitators or rioters, but respectable men, to quietly and peaceably await the decision of the Courts of Law? These men had insisted, again and again, at meetings of their own, that they would not stand it, that Englishmen were not to be trampled on in the way they had been during the past year. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had not sufficiently appreciated the tone of feeling that had prevailed amongst the people of the Metropolis, or he would never have spoken of Trafalgar Square being restored to what he called its ancient use. Its ancient use! As though Trafalgar Square had never been used for public meetings before the 13th of November in last year. It was well known that over and over again, for almost a generation past, Trafalgar Square had been used for public meetings; in fact, those who formed the Square seemed to have intended to have invited public meetings. Trafalgar Square was the forum of the Metropolis; there was no place like it for the purpose of public meetings in the United Kingdom. Now the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, because people had been batoned out of the Square by violence, and as he and his hon. Friends believed, by illegal violence, wanted to assure the Committee that the people had surrendered their position and would contend no more. But he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that he was very much mistaken, and he only hoped that the language of the right hon. Gentleman would not be regarded as a taunt which would tempt the people to any violence in the assertion of their rights. Throughout this controversy, not only on the part of the Police, but on the part of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite, there seemed to be a continuous underlying assumption that it was only what is called a mob that wished to hold meetings in Trafalgar Square. That was a groundless assumption. Reference had been made that afternoon to what had taken place in the attack on the procession

in Broad Street, Holborn. He had been assured by a venerable man, whose life had been one of disinterested devotion to the cause of the people around him, that he had accompanied the band, that he had no idea there would be any scenes of violence, that the people felt it their duty to assert their right to meet in Trafalgar Square by marching as far as they could, and until they were met by police opposition. The people expected there would have been a moment in which they could have held parley with the police; if they could have spoken to the officer in command, and received an answer that they were not allowed to proceed further, they would have turned aside and returned whence they came. But nothing was said; the police fell upon these men, broke their instruments, and tried to break their heads as well. That was a scene which he could not but think was a disgrace to the Metropolis, and far worse than the riot which extended from Trafalgar Square to Audley Street and had resulted in the plunder of property, which was much to be lamented, and which he believed could have been stopped by the exercise of a little common sense on the part of the authorities. If that disturbance was to be lamented, much more so was it that, in a country boasting of Constitutional freedom, men were treated as mere slaves, and bludgeoned because they dared to assert their right of public meeting. He very much regretted the tone of the Ministry in assuming that this question was at an end. But the matter was not to be decided by the shopkeepers and hotel-keepers of Charing Cross, whose interests were alone considered by Gentlemen like the hon. Member for East St. Pancras. If the hotel-keepers or shopkeepers did not for a day or two get so much custom as commonly, was that a sufficient reason for suppressing this right of meeting in Trafalgar Square? He believed that people took shops in the neighbourhood on account of the great advantages offered there, and that being so, they must take the rough with the smooth; at any rate, the question was not one which would be settled by the West End aristocrats, but would have to be settled in the long run by the millions of the East End of London. It was, of course, possible that by pauperising charity and by casting the seeds of dissension among these people the matter might be postponed, but sooner or later they would understand the true principle of union, and assert their right to meet in Trafalgar Square, and make it once more the forum of the Metropolis.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he must now make an appeal to the Committee. The debate had lasted for some time, and the subject was one which fully justified the prolonged and interesting discussion which had taken place; but he trusted hon. Members would see the importance of curtailing the observations they had to make so as to allow Progress to be made.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he agreed that Progress ought to be made, but hon. Gentlemen on those Benches wanted Progress by getting an explanation from the Treasury Bench. The right hon. Gentleman had told the Committee that he was perfectly willing that all these rights should be looked into. He had, on one occasion, asked the hon. Member for North-West Lanark (Mr. Cunninghame Graham) why he was so foolish as to go to Trafalgar Square and get his head broken, and his reply was, that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary had said that he was perfectly willing that political meetings should be held there. After that his hon. Friend went to Trafalgar Square and had his head broken by a police constable. He (Dr. Clark) wanted to get at the claim made by the Government. Did they claim for themselves the power to prohibit meetings in Trafalgar Square? He admitted that some meetings were of a class which could not be desirable on any grounds; for instance, he did not think that any class had a right to meet day by day at a particular place and put an end to trade or traffic. He had had the arrangement of meetings during 20 years in Trafalgar Square, and even before the Mansion House, Bank of England, and the Royal Exchange. But these meetings were held on Saturday afternoon and on Sundays when nobody could be prejudiced by them. He remembered a former agitation, when they were told that they might meet in Trafalgar Square, but could not meet in Hyde Park. The meeting was held in Hyde Park, and he

thought the right of meeting in Trafalgar Square would be as successfully asserted. If the Judges decided against the claim they could then come down to that House and get the law changed, and they wanted the Government to state a case in order that the question might be tried. He frankly admitted that there was a class in London which might be occasionally dangerous. There was the class called the friends of labour, who, when there was work, were quiet, but were the cause of trouble when trade was dull. He did not say that Trafalgar Square was a proper place for holding these meetings in; but, as a medical man, he would tell the right hon. Gentleman that if he drove these popular eruptions inwards there would be greater damage done under the surface. They had had a reply from the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary with regard to the attack made by the police on a procession in Holborn, and they would hereafter find whether it was not like many other official explanations, the very reverse of the truth. The right hon. Gentleman had not done what he had promised—that was to say, to make an investigation into the cases brought before him by the Members of that House. He (Dr. Clark) had gone to Trafalgar Square to look on, and saw his hon. Friend assaulted by the police. He saw him driven off the Square; he saw the wheel of a cab pass over his foot; and he saw an ex-Member of the House caught hold of by a Sergeant of Police—whose number he had given to the right hon. Gentleman—and rushed on in the midst of the confusion; and he had also seen a minister of the Church of England treated in the same fashion. He asserted that these police constables had no more right to assault the people than a robber had to pick a pocket, and that if they prosecuted one they ought also to prosecute the other. He thought the London police had been on good terms with the London people, and that many of them had done what they could to oblige the people; but, undoubtedly, since there had been this political work to do their conduct had been the reverse. He contended that every one of the policemen engaged in this work ought at once to be dismissed from the Force. Since the events he referred to, there had been a feeling of estrangement between the police and the moderate Radicals. He thought that feelings of that kind ought not to exist, and that they ought to be on friendly terms with the police, and be always ready to support them in doing their duty; but if the police were to be used for political purposes, and they were to have a recurrence of what had taken place in the past, the relations would undoubtedly be changed. It was very unfortunate for London that the Police Force was not organized like that of all other towns in the world, and he hoped, before long, that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would be no more responsible for the police of London than he was for the Police Forces of Manchester, Leeds, or any other part of the country.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) said, that the Committee had a perfect right to complain that this question had not been thoroughly debated a few months ago; and he submitted to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury that if an attempt were made to prevent those interested giving expression to their sentiments on the subject, it would crop up again on other occasions. He had the honour to represent a portion of the Metropolis in which there resided one of the most sober, industrious, and law-abiding body of citizens to be found either at the West End of London or in any part of the United Kingdom. They were not a rabble or a disorganized mob; but were thoroughly well drilled and organized. In that part of London were the best clubs among the working men that could be found in the civilized world. There were nearly 4,000 members belonging to two clubs in the district, and they organized themselves last year to take part in what they considered a useful and patriotic demonstration, and honestly believed that they had a right to meet in Trafalgar Square, especially as that right had been exercised for a long series of years without any interference on the part of any Government. They had a right to resort to that course. The hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) was quite correct in saying that 20 years ago, when the question of the right of the people to meet in Hyde Park was challenged

by the Government of the Day, the people were distinctly told by those then in authority, and who were responsible for law and order in London, that they had no right to meet in Hyde Park, but were at liberty to do so in Trafalgar Square, and they were encouraged by the Government to take that course. He had it on the best authority, and there were plenty of witnesses to prove that the police provoked the disturbance on the 20th of November last, and that so anxious were the people to prevent collision with the police, that they had even left their walking sticks at home, and were going through Holborn with the intention of proceeding to Hyde Park, where even the Government admitted they had a right to assemble. They were, however, batoned by the police in all directions; heads were broken and clothes were torn and men so brutally treated that they had to be maintained for several weeks by their clubs in consequence of being unable to follow their occupations. These were occasions on which people ought to manifest indignation at the conduct of the police, and at the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary who supported them. It was a mystery why the Government, over and over again, declined to appoint a Commission to inquire into the alleged grievances of the people of London, such as those which took place on the occasion he referred to. He should like to tell hon. Gentlemen opposite, who were continually sneering at demagogues, that if they only knew the secret history of the agitation which took place 20 years ago, they would understand how much the public were indebted to the men now sneered at for having saved the Metropolis from civil war and bloodshed. He hoped the Government would give the Committee some guarantee that what they now complained of should not occur again. He was desirous to test the sincerity of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary in saying that he was as anxious as they were to preserve the rights and liberties of the people of the Metropolis. It was quite clear that, from time to time, occasion would arise when people must meet together to express their opinions in regard to the conduct of the present and future Governments. That would always be the case under a Constitutional Government, and it was necessary that the people should have places within their reach where they could freely express their opinions. He had listened attentively to the right hon. Gentleman, in the hope that he would tell the Committee where the places were situated in which the people could assemble; he (Mr. Cremer) knew the Metropolis extremely well, and was quite unable to understand where these vacant spaces were. There was, at the East End, Victoria Park, and in the South-West, Battersea Park, and Hyde Park in the West; but in the North or centre of London, there were absolutely no places where the people might assemble. It was difficult for the people of the extreme East to go to the extreme West, which amounted almost to a day's journey. He differed from the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) when he said that Trafalgar Square was an excellent place for assembling. It might have been so formerly, but those who had spoken in it, and listened to speeches there, would know how hard it was, owing to the traffic in the streets, to address a large gathering upon that spot. But there was another, an alternative site, and that was the Horse Guards' Parade, which was a large space with no traffic, and crossed by very few people; and it would be a great convenience to the masses if this parade, which belonged to the people, and was maintained out of a grant made annually by that House, were made available for purposes of public meetings under similar regulations which existed for the holding of meetings in Hyde Park. He believed that if this concession were made, the soreness which now existed among the people of London in regard to the conduct of the police and the Government, would diminish, and that peace and order would be re-established in the Metropolis. He hoped that before the debate was concluded the Home Secretary would state the views of the Government concerning the holding of meetings on the alternative site which he (Mr. Cremer) had indicated.

GENERAL GOLDSWORTHY (Hammersmith) said, he wished to say a few words on this important subject, as a Metropolitan Member representing a constituency containing a large number of working men, and also as occupying a residence in close proximity to

Trafalgar Square. He was very much pained to hear the remarks of the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton), who stated that the people of the East End of London were determined that the people of the West End should not live in quiet ["No, no!"]. Yes, he had himself attended several meetings in Trafalgar Square, and he could confirm the statements made by police officers that the speeches delivered at them were pernicious in every respect, both from a political and social point of view. One of the speakers whom he had heard proposed that the mob should go down to the House of Commons and turn out the Members. He thought that those who lived in the West End had as much right to go about their ordinary business without molestation as any other class; and that Members who did not represent Metropolitan constituencies should not come down and tell them that the people would prevent them doing what they had a perfect right to do. He was not an admirer of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, and never had been; but, at the same time, he thought that the greatest gratitude was due to those who, in a perilous time, had saved London from riot. It would be in the recollection of hon. Members opposite that he had defended the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) on the very regrettable occasion which showed London the danger in which it stood, so that he did not speak from a Party view; but he could not but think that the resignation of Sir Charles Warren had been due to want of tact on the part of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary. There was no doubt that, as between the Head of the Home Office and the Chief Commissioner of Police, it was desirable that there should be on both sides the greatest amount of forbearance.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, the point at issue was whether the police or the Government had the right to act illegally in connection with Trafalgar Square. He was not going to say a word against Sir Charles Warren to which exception could be taken; he had many good qualities—amongst others he was a total abstainer—but a man more unfitted for the post of Chief Commissioner of Police he could not imagine. As to the feeling between the Police Force and Sir Charles Warren, he believed that the police were not contented, that they considered they were not treated as they ought to have been, because fines and punishment were inflicted upon them for venial offences, and that, in fact, a military system was being introduced into the Service. The Report stated that barracks were set up in which the police were kept separate from civilians, and practically treated as soldiers, subject to all the orders of barrack life. But, as between the police and the people, there had grown up a strong feeling of irritation, which he considered unavoidable in the present circumstances, when policemen were allowed to bludgeon citizens engaged in the exercise of their rights. He had 10 years' experience of residence in London; and, although the hon. and gallant Member for Hammersmith (General Goldsworthy) taunted him and others with not being Metropolitan Members, and having no right to speak on this question, he had attended, probably, more meetings in that time than all hon. Members opposite together had attended; and he could say that the meetings which had been brutally dispersed were not those of a dangerous class, but were composed of respectable workmen and artizans living in different parts of the Metropolis. Why did not the Government, who talked of protecting life and property, do something to put down crime in London, where there were more cases of crime undetected than occurred in any other part of Her Majesty's dominions? They talked of putting down crime in Ireland; why did not the Government pass a Coercion Act for London, and introduce a measure to find out who had committed the Whitechapel murders? They had to complain not so much of police action, as the perfidy of the Home Secretary's Department. The right hon. Gentleman had given a distinct pledge, before the 13th of November last, that *bonâ fide* political meetings, under responsible authorities, should be permitted in Trafalgar Square.

MR. MATTHEWS: I never did so. I have already answered that statement, and I again deny it.

MR. CONYBEARE said, in that case he was sorry the replies of the right hon. Gentleman to deputations were not more accurately reported.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order, order!

MR. CONYBEARE said, he did not, of course, dispute the right hon. Gentleman's statement. They complained that the Government had acted in a distinctly illegal and lawless manner in prohibiting meetings on insufficient evidence, and in permitting the proclamations of Sir Charles Warren, who, in the most arrogant fashion, prohibited all meetings in Trafalgar Square until it was his sweet pleasure that they should be renewed. If time permitted, he could quote chapter and verse from the Law Reports to show that there was no power in the police or in Her Majesty's Government to issue any such proclamations. With reference to the attack by the police on a few men near the Marble Arch, he said that the Government had not acted up to their professions, and that in no single case had they permitted meetings to be held without the interference of the police. In this case a small band of Socialists had been holding a meeting in Hyde Park, and were proceeding in an orderly manner, were set upon by the police, who tore away from them a large flag, and mauled and dispersed them. There was no more justification for that than for dispersing a Jubilee procession, or the Lord Mayor's show, with all its tomfoolery. So long as this continued, and so long as the right hon. Gentleman would not promise that such scenes should not occur in future, they could only reiterate their firm opinion that the Government were deliberately striking a blow at freedom of speech and the right of public meeting in the country.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) said, there was one rule which policemen and detectives ought scrupulously to adhere to in all criminal cases—they ought never to approach any workman in his employment, because there was nothing which working men were more sensitive upon than to have a policeman making inquiries about him at his employers'. In the case to which he referred, an Inspector of Police wrote a letter from the police station at Stoke Newington to the employer, to say:—

"I will meet your man at the Chief Engineer's Office at 12 o'clock to-morrow (Saturday), and I ask you kindly to arrange for him to meet me there."

This was an instance of what these men objected to, because they feared they might lose their employment if they became mixed up in police cases. He would suggest that it would be wise in the interests of the discovery of the truth, and in order to procure the friendly and hearty co-operation of witnesses in that discovery, for the members of the Detective Forces to take care that they did not wound the proper sensitiveness of the working classes on this point. With regard to obstructing the passage through the streets: Sir Charles Warren had now resigned, and he had no personal quarrel with him upon the subject, but on a former Lord Mayor's Day he discovered that the street from Westminster to the Temple was blocked at 11 o'clock in the morning, the time when he and a lady were passing down the Embankment; he called the attention of Sir Charles Warren to the circumstance, and the inconvenience which resulted from the street being closed five hours before the show passed that way, and he had received no satisfactory information.

MR. PICKERSGILL said, he had not heard a word in reply to the statement he had made to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary.

MR. MATTHEWS said, he had so often made an explanation on the subject, that he had not deemed it necessary to rise again. With regard to the case of Glennie, it was perfectly clear that no policeman ought to put questions to a prisoner in order to elicit a proof of his guilt. On the other hand the hon. Member must feel that it would be a gross injustice to a merely suspected person in custody not to give him an opportunity of saying what might procure his release. With reference to what had fallen from the hon. Member who last spoke (Mr. Hunter), he agreed that there was nothing more annoying or hard to working men than that members of the Detective Force should approach these men when engaged in their employments.

MR. NOLAN (Louth, N.) said, the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) had brought under the notice of the right hon. Gentleman the cases of several men who, as they said, had been abused by the police. He (Mr. Nolan) had understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that if these

men were abused by the police, they had the right of action at law against the individuals, and that they should do this, or that the hon. Member for Northampton should take up their case. He had been under the impression that if a case of this kind arose, and the people concerned were not in a position to bring an action against the police, it would be the duty of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary to make inquiry into the matter. He thought it would be the duty of the right hon. Gentleman to do this, and if the police could not give a satisfactory account of the injuries inflicted on prisoners while in custody, that then the policemen ought to be sent about their business.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 91; Noes 207: Majority 116.—(Div. List, No. 288.)

Original Question again proposed.

And, it being after half-past Five of the clock, the Chairman rose to interrupt the Business:—

Whereupon Mr. William Henry Smith rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put."

Question put, "That the Question he now put."

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 198; Noes 89: Majority 109:—(Div. List, No. 289.)

Original Question put accordingly.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 198; Noes 67: Majority 131.—(Div. List, No. 290.)

Whereupon the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [13th November] *reported.*

Resolutions read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the First Resolution."

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he objected to the Report of Supply being taken.

MR. SPEAKER: The objection does not hold good for the Report of Supply.

MR. CONYBEARE said, he objected to the Report on the Vote of £153,315 for the Supreme Court of Judicature, on the ground that many hon. Gentlemen desired yet to speak on it.

MR. SPEAKER pointed out that the Standing Order of July 10 expressly provided that the Report of Supply might be taken after 6 o'clock on Wednesday

MR. CONYBEARE urged that the Vote ought to be allowed to stand over till to-morrow.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked for the Speaker's decision on the question whether any Business could be taken after 6 o'clock on Wednesday?

MR. SPEAKER said, that according to the express terms of the Resolution passed before the Adjournment, the Report of Supply was exempted from the 6 o'clock Rule.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he hoped that, as the Vote was very fully discussed in Committee, the opposition to the Report stage would not be pressed.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he objected to the Report being taken at that hour of the evening, and in order to allow the feeling of exasperation now existing in the House to subside he would move the adjournment of the Debate.

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Dr. Tanner.*)

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, that no sufficient ground had been given for the postponement of the Report stage.

DR. TANNER: Yes; exasperation in the House.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that, in his opinion, the discussion on the Vote itself had been most ample and satisfactory. He was not disposed to enter on a prolonged wrangle with hon. Gentlemen on the other side, with whom the responsibility must rest of taking a course that would be very inconvenient and annoying to many Members of the House. He must say again that, in his humble judgment, the Members of the House were sent there to conduct the

Business of the country, which could not be satisfactorily done unless the time placed at their disposal was diligently husbanded. He would not carry on that discussion any further; but he repeated that the responsibility of the Adjournment and of the prolongation of the Session rested with hon. Gentlemen who opposed the Report stage of Supply. He would assent to the Adjournment.

DR. TANNER, who rose amid cries of "Order," said, he asked to be permitted to explain—["No, no!"]—for the benefit of the right hon. Gentleman. He merely wished to say——[*Cries of* "No, no!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member may explain.

DR. TANNER: The subject to which he wished to call attention was the arrest of Irish Members on leaving the House.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that subject had no reference whatever to the Vote.

MR. CONYBEARE said, that, with reference to the ruling just given by the Speaker, he wished to call attention to Rule 3——

MR. SPEAKER said, the Report was taken under a Resolution passed before the Adjournment in August, and which Resolution held good for the remainder of the Session.

DR. TANNER said, he had laboured under a misapprehension. If he had no right to bring forward the question of the arrest of Irish Members on leaving the House on that occasion, he would not take on himself the responsibility of obstructing the Vote. He begged to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Subsequent Resolutions *agreed to.*

House adjourned at a quarter after Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 15th November, 1888.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at a quarter past Four o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 15th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Votes 10 to 14.

Resolutions [November 14] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Withdrawn*—Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) (*re-comm.*) * [340]; Land Law (Ireland) (Land Commission) * [199]; Barrow Drainage * [313]; Shannon Drainage * [314]; Criminal Evidence * [132]; Tithe Rentcharge Recovery and Variation * [289]; Tithe Rentcharge * [288]; East India Officers * [226].

QUESTIONS.

IRELAND—STATE OF THE COUNTRY—THE POTATO CROP, &c. IN CO. DONEGAL.

MR. MAC NEILL (Donegal, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that in the coast districts and the mountainous inland parishes of the County of Donegal the produce of the potato crop this year, owing to a cold wet summer, averages only between half and a third of the usual yield, and that in several places the return from the soil supplies little more than bad seed for next spring; that, owing to the aforesaid circumstances, the people have been compelled to sell off, at serious loss, the pigs which would have been kept for three months longer, and sold at a profit, if the potato crop had been good; and that, on failure of the potato crop, the small farmers of the County of Donegal have nothing to depend upon for subsistence except a scanty crop of oats; whether his attention has been called to the letter of the Most Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Catholic Bishop of Raphoe, written to the four Members of Parliament for the County of Donegal, apprizing them of the matters above stated, and warning them that, unless the Government push on at once a scheme of railway and fishery development promised for next year, the project will come too late to save the people; and, whether, having regard to the fact that warnings of impending distress have so frequently in times past been disregarded, he will be able to give any, and, if so, what, assurance for expediting the railway and fishery development

which is so much required in the County of Donegal?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked, also, Whether the attention of the Government has yet been directed to the fact that in large districts of County Donegal, especially the coast and in the mountainous inland parishes, the potato crop averages less than half the usual yield, in many places the return supplying little more than bad seed for next spring, and that the people have, in consequence, been compelled to sell their pigs at serious loss because unable to feed them, while the small farmers have nothing to depend upon for food for themselves except a little oats; whether, if not fully informed, the Government will make immediate and careful inquiry into the condition of the district, and take adequate steps to meet any impending calamity; and whether it is the intention of the Government to proceed at once with any public works in any, and, if so, which, of the districts referred to?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I have caused careful inquiry to be made on the subject of these Questions, and find that, while the potato crop in part of the County Donegal is a good one, there are districts in which it is inferior both in quantity and quality; also, that the sale of pigs has recently been large; but that there is a demand for growing pigs, and good prices were obtained. On the other hand, the oat crop of this year is described as an excellent one, both in quality and quantity; while the supply of turf is abundant and well saved, and the prices of cattle and sheep are unusually good. There is, therefore, no reason to apprehend any abnormal distress, or such as could not be coped with under the ordinary Poor Law, should it arise. As regards legislation, the hon. Member is aware that we are anxious to deal with those parts of the Report of the Royal Commission which refer to railways and harbours; but these must necessarily wait until the proposals we have already made, based upon their earlier Report with regard to drainage, are dealt with by the House.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether his observations with regard to the oat crop and the prices of cattle and sheep do not refer rather to the more fortunately situated districts of the county; and whether they are not entirely inapplicable to the mountainous and coast districts referred to in my Question?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I imagine that the rise of prices is universal. The information given to me as to the oat crop is also a general Report for the county at large. I believe that where oats have been grown they have been profitable.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: But is the right hon. Gentleman aware that in the districts to which my Question refers there are no cattle for sale; that these districts are inhabited by very poor people, who are entirely dependent upon the potato crop, which has all but failed; and that such animals as they had they have been absolutely obliged to get rid of?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am far from denying that in parts of Donegal there is this year, as in previous years, distress; but my contention is that the distress can be coped with by the ordinary Poor Law.

INDIA (NATIVE STATES)—THE BEGUM OF BHOPAL AND SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Secretary of State is aware that, in a letter addressed to the Viceroy, and which the officiating Agent refused to forward, the Begum of Bhopal wrote—

"The Agent of the British Government accredited to a friendly Court did not think it unbecoming the dignity of such a position to use such language as the following in his public communications with my vakeel:—

"'My orders are not being carried out. Does not the Begum Sahiba know me yet? If there were a thousand creatures like that disturber, Siddick Hussun, nay, a thousand obstinate devils, I shall not rest until my orders are obeyed;'"

and, whether the Government will lay upon the Table the Correspondence relating to the complaints of the Begum against Sir Lepel Griffin?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The reply to the first Question is in the negative; and with regard to the second, the Secretary of State has no Correspondence relating to the matter which

could, in his judgment, be usefully laid before Parliament.

MR. BRADLAUGH: Does the officiating Agent report to the Secretary of State when he refuses to forward Correspondence?

SIR JOHN GORST: I must ask the hon. Member to give Notice of that Question.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—PROPORTION OF ADVANCES.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What proportion of the advances under Lord Ashbourne's Act of 1885 was for the purchase of holdings annually rented, first, between £30 and £50; second between £10 and £30; and, third, under £10?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Land Purchase Commissioners inform me that the proportion of holdings in respect of which advances have been made under the Statute referred to is as follows:—Annual rent exceeding £30 and not exceeding £50, 884 holdings; annual rent £10 and not exceeding £30, 3,234 holdings; annual rent under £10, 3,599 holdings.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Will the right hon. Gentleman be kind enough to supplement that answer by laying a Return, in a form which I have privately suggested, classifying the size of the holdings purchased, and specifying the average number of years' purchase under each class, the amount of advances upon each class, and the amount advanced in each county?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: On receiving the right hon. Gentleman's letter last night I telegraphed over to the Commissioners to ask if that could be done. I have not received their answer; but I should hope and believe that it can be done. I would, however, suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that he should substitute the amount of the valuation for the acreage, because acreage indicates nothing. Thirty acres of mountain land, for instance, are very different to rich arable land.

Subsequently,

MR. JOHN MORLEY said: I wish to ask the Chief Secretary, whether it will be possible by Monday, or on an early day next week, to have the important Return of which I gave him Notice at the beginning of Questions?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he would do his best to have the Return furnished as soon as possible.

SUPPLY—THE SHIPBUILDING VOTE—THE LATE NAVAL MANŒUVRES.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD (Marylebone, E.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he can inform the House whether the Committee of Admirals appointed to consider the lessons taught by the late Naval Manœuvres will report before the Shipbuilding Vote (No. 8) is discussed in the House; whether, considering the importance of the question, he will lay the Report of these Admirals upon the Table of the House; and, whether he will lay upon the Table a Paper showing any extra expenditure that may have been incurred by these Manœuvres?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): I doubt if the Report on the Naval Manœuvres will be completed before the discussion on the Navy Estimates; but I intend, when completed, to publish such parts of it as relate to the behaviour and qualities of the ships engaged, and to any defects which they may have shown. The cost of the expenditure associated with the Manœuvres is estimated at £60,000; but a large proportion of this would have had to be incurred independently of the Manœuvres.

THE CROFTERS' COMMISSION.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Lord Advocate, How many cases were determined by the Crofters' Commission during the second year of its existence; how many cases considered, but not yet decided; and, how many applications still await the consideration of the Commission?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): There are not materials in London enabling me at present to answer this Question. But the Crofters' Commissioners have been requested to supply the particulars asked for if this can be done without interruption of the urgent duties in which they are at present engaged. If this is the

case, as I hope it may be, I shall be happy to give the hon. Gentleman the information which he desires as soon as we obtain it.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—SUMMONING CORONERS' JURIES.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Who are responsible for summoning Coroners' Juries in Ireland; and, who summoned the jury for the inquest on Mr. Mandeville?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.), in reply, said, that upon the Coroner issuing his precept it was the duty of the police to summon persons to act as jurors. In the case of the inquest alluded to the jury was summoned, as usual, by the local Constabulary.

MR. ILLINGWORTH inquired why the Papers relating to the Mandeville inquest had not been distributed?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he was not aware of the cause of the delay. He would hurry them on as quickly as he could.

LAW AND POLICE—ASSAULTS ON THE POLICE.

MR. HOZIER (Lanarkshire, S.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is the practice to intrust prosecutions, in the case of assaults on, or interference with, the police when in the exercise of their duty, to the counsel for the Treasury; and, if not, whether he can state for what reason?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): When a constable has been assaulted or interfered with, so as to render a prosecution necessary, a prosecution is instituted on behalf of the Commissioners. Ordinary cases are placed in the hands of a firm usually representing the police; cases of importance only are sent to the Treasury Solicitor. It is unadvisable that the Treasury Solicitor should intervene on behalf of the Government in trifling cases.

PROCLAIMED MEETINGS (IRELAND)—LONGFORD.

DR. FITZGERALD (Longford, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that a meeting assembled in the town of Longford, to welcome the hon. Member for East Clare (Mr. Cox), on the evening of Saturday the 3rd instant, was forcibly dispersed without any notice or warning by the police, under the command of County Inspector Milling; whether Mr. Milling threatened the people that if they did not leave the streets within two minutes he would disperse them with a vengeance; and, whether this is the Mr. Milling who was returned for trial by the magistrates of the City of Cork some time ago for an assault upon the hon. Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner); and, if so, whether he was brought to trial?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): It is the case that a meeting which was attempted to be held in the streets of Longford at about 11.30 o'clock on the night of Saturday, November 3, was required to disperse by the police, commanded by the County Inspector, who acted under orders from the Divisional Magistrate. This meeting was attempted in the face of a Proclamation prohibiting the holding of a meeting at an adjacent place on the following day (Sunday), an information having been sworn that it would lead to intimidation and to interference with the administration of the law. Mr. Milling was the County Inspector in charge of the police; but he did not threaten the people. My reply to the first inquiry in the third paragraph is in the affirmative; but no trial took place, for the Attorney General of the day was of opinion that there was no evidence to support the case, and ordered a *nolle prosequi*.

MR. COX (Clare, E.): Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman to state that the County Inspector asked the people to disperse before he ordered the police to attack them?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I gather that there was no attack made by them.

MR. COX: Well, I was present a that meeting; and I may inform the right hon. Gentleman that there was most deliberate and wanton attack mada by the police.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.): I also was one of the victims on that occasion.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.): May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if it was not a fact that Mr. Milling, who was a

District Inspector at the time he assaulted Dr. Tanner, has since been promoted to be a County Inspector?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I am not aware of that.

LABOUR—RETURN AS TO WAGES, &c.—PART 3.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the President of the Board of Trade, When Part 3 of the Return as to Wages, &c., for the past 50 years will be laid upon the Table; whether any, and what, steps are being taken to publish Returns of Wages and Cost of Living in this country; what steps are being taken to give effect to the Memorandum of August, 1886, as to the Department of Labour Statistics; and whether he will state the precise number of persons employed in the Labour Statistical Department, and their respective salaries and duties; and whether the Labour Correspondent is otherwise occupied than in the collection of Labour Statistics and of information relating to the condition of the labouring classes?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, that the further Returns asked for in the Question, involved most laborious work, and he understood that they would not be ready for at least another 12 months. As to the other parts of the Question, perhaps he had better present a Memorandum to the House showing what had been done. The number of persons employed in the Labour Statistical Department was 10, including the Labour Correspondent. These, with the exception of the Labour Correspondent, were Lower Division Clerks.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (SCOTLAND)—THE MAXWELTON (EAST KILBRIDE) ENDOWED SCHOOL SCHEME.

MR. HOZIER (Lanarkshire, S.) asked the Lord Advocate, What is the present position of the Maxwelton (East Kilbride) Endowed School Scheme; and, when the said scheme is likely to be finally approved?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): The scheme for the Maxwelton School Endowment (East Kilbride) has been approved by their Lordships, and now awaits the approbation of Her Majesty. This approbation cannot be obtained until the next Council, which, I understand, is shortly to be held.

METROPOLIS—OVERHEAD ELECTRIC WIRES.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Board of Trade has sanctioned any existing overhead wires for the purpose of electric lighting; and, whether the Board intends to authorize, under Provisional Order or Licences, the transmission of electricity at high tension by such wires within the Metropolis?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, that no overhead electric wires had been sanctioned, so far, by the Board of Trade. He could not make any definite promise with regard to future applications on the subject with reference to the Metropolis; but certainly he should not be disposed to sanction such applications.

MR. BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich): Has the right hon. Gentleman power to prohibit the erection of such overhead wires in the Metropolis?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: That is a Question I would rather not answer at present.

ARMY CONTRACTS—FORAGE CAPS.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether an order for 30,000 forage caps was recently given to a Mrs. Featherstone; whether this Mrs. Featherstone was formerly forewoman of the machinists in the firm of Ross and Co.; and, is it a fact that some of the forage caps are now being made at the firm of Ross and Co., who were struck off the list of contractors in March last?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle), in reply, said, an order for 30,000 forage caps had been given to Mrs. Featherstone, formerly in the employment of Ross and Co., and now in business for herself. He understood that her business had no connection with the firm of Ross and Co., which had been struck off the list of contractors. If the hon. Member had specific information that the caps were being made by Ross and Co., it would be to the advantage of the

Service if he would communicate with the War Department.

INDIA (BENGAL)—OUTSTILLS IN THE HOOGHLY AND HOWRAH DISTRICTS.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the attention of the Government has been called to an Official Minute, recently published by the Government of Bengal, in which it is admitted that the working of the outstill system in Bengal of late has been such as to stimulate the consumption of intoxicating liquors; and, what steps, if any, will be taken to give effect to this decision of the Government of Bengal?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Minute referred to is published in *The Calcutta Gazette* of the 17th of October, 1888. The Government of Bengal find that, owing to the neglect of the Rules prescribed by the Bengal Excise Commission, certain outstills licensed early in 1887 in the Hooghly and Howrah districts have become a nuisance, and have caused the price of liquor to be cheapened. The Lieutenant Governor has ordered that the existing arrangements shall be thoroughly revised; and it is intended that the Rules shall be so enforced as to prevent undue cheapening of liquor. Steps will be taken in concert with the Revenue Board for ascertaining whether similar laxities in the outstill system have been permitted in other districts.

NAVY—ADDITIONAL WAR SHIPS.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is true that the Government have decided to build a number of additional war ships; whether he will state to the House the number and class of such ships and their estimated cost per ship, and in the aggregate; and, whether the House will have an opportunity of discussing the proposed addition to our Naval Fleet before any portion of the expenditure is incurred?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): If the hon. Gentleman would refer to my past statements, both in the House and outside, he would find that I have always pointed out that the desire of the Government was to complete as rapidly as they could the programme of shipbuilding adopted in 1885, and that when they had reduced it to manageable proportions they would commence a fresh programme of their own. This we propose to do next year. So far from wishing to take a surreptitious advantage of the House by incurring liabilities or expenditure without its knowledge, we desire to lay before it our programme in its entirety, and with the fullest information relating to each stage, both as regards cost and rate of progress, in the hope that the continuity of a shipbuilding programme, sanctioned under such conditions, would not be affected either by a change of Government or the election of a fresh House of Commons.

MR. HOWELL: May I ask the noble Lord whether, in the preparation of the designs of the new ships, care will be taken to insure that the ships will be battleworthy, as well as seaworthy?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I shall be quite ready to answer that Question when the hon. Gentleman tells me what he means by the word "battleworthy."

MR. HOWELL: I took the expression used from the Report of the Committee itself. All the witnesses before the Committee, and the Committee itself which passed the Report, drew a distinction between seaworthiness and battleworthiness.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I was not aware that the word occurred in the Report. I can only say that, although the Committee pressed several witnesses to give an accurate definition of what was meant by "battleworthiness," not one of them was able to do so.

MR. HANBURY (Preston): Is it not a fact that the noble Lord's own Constructor of the Navy, Mr. White, was the first man to use the word?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: No; my hon. Friend is in error. I think the word was invented by the hon. Member for Cardiff (Sir Edward J. Reed).

MR. HOWELL asked, whether, in the Amendment to the Report, which was negatived on the Motion of the noble Lord, the same terms of "seaworthiness" and "battleworthiness" were not used by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hanbury)?

[No reply.]

ALLEGED MURDER OF CAPTAIN GROBBELAR.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he has received any Report from Sir Sidney Shippard regarding his investigation into the alleged murder of Captain Grobbelar; and, if not, when he expects to receive the Report?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): In answer to the hon. Member, I have to state that the Report was received on Tuesday last, and, being very voluminous, has not yet been considered by Her Majesty's Government.

THE CROFTERS' COMMISSION—SITTINGS.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) (for Dr. R. MACDONALD) (Ross and Cromarty) asked the Lord Advocate, Is it a fact that at Stornoway, on Wednesday October 17, Sheriff Brand alone, out of the three Commissioners, sat to hear the evidence of the crofters, in contravention of the terms of Section 23 of the Crofters' Act, which provides that not less than two Commissioners can deal with applications under the Act; and, if it is a fact that on that date the valuator, Mr. Ferguson, sat in the Court, while the other Commissioner, Mr. Hossack, was at Barvas doing the valuator's work?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): I am informed by Sheriff Brand that, on October 17, he sat with Mr. Fergus Ferguson, an assessor appointed, and acting under Sections 17 and 20 of the Crofters Act. The hearing referred to would not have proceeded had not Mr. John Murdoch, as representing the crofters who were then present, and Mr. William Mackay, as representing the estate, signed a Minute which had been written upon the application, and was in the following terms, namely:—

"Stornoway, 17th October, 1888.—We, John Murdoch, Uddingston, Glasgow, as representing the crofters, and William Mackay, chamberlain of the Lews, for Lady Matheson, considering that Mr. P. B. MacIntyre, Commissioner, is unable, on account of illness, to attend the sittings of the Crofters' Commission in this district, do hereby agree to one of the two remaining Commissioners, with the aid of Fergus Ferguson, farmer, Monkstadt, Skye, as assessor, proceeding with the hearing, in order to the due disposal and determination of the application, and that such determination shall be as effectual, to all intents and purposes, as if the said P. B. MacIntyre had been present and taken part therein.—J. MURDOCH, WM. MACKAY."

I am also informed that the application has not yet been finally disposed of, and that Commissioner MacIntyre, who rejoined the Commission some weeks ago, will be consulted in the matter of the final order.

AFRICA (SOUTH)—ZULULAND—TRIAL OF UNDABUKO AND OTHER CHIEFS.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Government are arranging for the trial of Undabuko, and the other Zulu Chiefs, under native law or civilized law; and if under native law, whether steps are being taken to prevent the miscarriage of justice which took place in the case of Langalibalele?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): A special tribunal has been constituted for the trial of the leaders in the late disturbances. It is to consist of three gentlemen of judicial experience, unconnected with Zululand—namely, Mr. Justice Wragg, Senior Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Natal, and Messrs. Fannin and Rudolph, both experienced magistrates, well versed in the native language. The accused will be tried on definite charges for offences against the civilized criminal law. They may, if they see fit, be defended by counsel. The Court is to keep a full record of the evidence; and in the event of the accused being found guilty their sentences are not to be carried out until Her Majesty's Government have had an opportunity of considering the evidence and the Queen's pleasure is known.

DR. CLARK: Will they be tried for treason?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I have said they will be tried for offences against civilized criminal law.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.) asked, when the trial would take place, and whether there would be a jury?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS replied, that he was not able to say.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT, SEC. 108, SUB-SEC. 4—COUNTY COUNCIL DISTRICTS—SINGLE MEMBER REPRESENTATION.

MR. STEPHENS (Middlesex, Hornsey) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he can state to the House what is the proportion of the whole number of County Council Districts in which, during the January elections, 1889, effect will not be given to the principle of single member representation; whether to prevent the disappointment, confusion, and misrepresentation which must arise from divided votes in cases of two, three, or more members sitting for one district, he will use the ample powers conferred by section 108, sub-section 4, of "The Local Government Act, 1888;" and, whether, if the powers of section 108, sub-section 4, cannot satisfactorily be applied in time for the County Council elections of January, 1889, he will consider the expediency of postponing them for one year, that is to January, 1890, having regard to the entire dependence of the general functions of County Councils upon the decisions yet to be obtained when deliberation upon the scheme, as a whole, is resumed by Parliament?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): The total number of Electoral Divisions for the election of County Councillors in boroughs and districts other than boroughs is 3,400. Of this number 265 divisions will, by orders which have already been issued, or are in course of preparation, be combined for the purpose of returning more than one member. I am advised that section 108 (4) does not confer on the Board any such powers as suggested. The Electoral Divisions in the cases referred to have been duly made, and the combination has been rendered necessary by the fact that there are not separate lists of voters for those divisions. I must take exception to the suggestion that disappointment, confusion, and misrepresentation must arise in connection with the combination of districts, and also to that as to the general functions of County Councils being dependent entirely upon decisions yet to be obtained. I see no reason whatever for the postponement of the elections for another year.

AFRICA (EAST COAST)—BLOCKADE OF THE ZANZIBAR COAST.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If it is true that it has been arranged that British vessels are to undertake the blockade of a part of the German Coast of Zanzibar, said to be from Mainea Island south to the Rovuma River; if so, whether, in addition to stopping the Slave Trade, the ships are to stop the import of arms; and whether the blockade is to extend to any other merchandize; whether there is now a British Consul in the Nyassa region west of the blockaded coast, or whether he is withdrawn; and, whether the African Lakes Company, who are now carrying on a war in those regions, and missionaries accompanying them, have been withdrawn or warned that they continue at their own risk, and must not expect to be supported by a British Expedition to the interior of Africa?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): As to paragraph 1, the details of the blockade have been left to the discretion of the Admirals, and we have not heard that they have been finally settled. The objects have been clearly stated in the Papers before Parliament. There is a Consul at the south end of Lake Nyassa. His district lies to the south of the Zanzibar Coast, and to the westward of the Portuguese Colony of Mozambique. The Consul is at present absent on leave. The African Lakes Company are perfectly aware that they can expect no material support from Her Majesty's Government in conflicts with the Arabs or Native Tribes. It is not known that any missionaries have accompanied the Company's forces.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked whether it was the case that arms had been stopped by the Portuguese on their way up the river?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON said, he was aware of that; but permission had now been given for the passage of certain arms.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith, &c.) also asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What is the exact nature of the participation of the French Government in the proposed

blockade of the Zanzibar Coast, and the meaning of the following sentence in the Marquess of Salisbury's despatch to Sir Edward Malet of November 8:—

"The French Government, though unwilling to grant the right of search on all occasions and in all cases, has consented that it should be looked upon as one of the incidents of a blockade;"

and, when the Papers relating to the co-operation of the French Government will be laid upon the Table?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The French Government are not participating in the blockade of the Zanzibar Coast, but have sent a man-of-war specially to observe and check any abuses of the French flag by slavers. The right of search has been recognized by the French as a necessary incident of a blockade; but the terms and limits of that recognition are still a matter of discussion between the English, French, and German Governments. Slaves discovered on dhows, whatever flag may be flying, will, of course, be liberated. It is not desirable to lay any Correspondence at present.

BRITISH GUIANA—IMPRISONMENT OF MR. DE SOUZA, A BARRISTER.

MR. BERNARD COLERIDGE (Sheffield, Attercliffe) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Mr. de Souza, a coloured barrister, practising in British Guiana, was, on July 9, 1888, sentenced by Chief Justice Chalmers, Mr. Justice Atkinson, and Mr. Justice Sheriff, to be imprisoned for six months, and to pay a fine of $500, for contempt of Court, in writing a letter in *The Royal Gazette*, dated June 27, 1888, reflecting on a decision of the Judges; whether, after Mr. de Souza had been sent to prison—namely, on July 11, 1888, the Acting Attorney General, at the direct request of the Chief Justice, moved before the Chief Justice for a rule *nisi*, calling upon Mr. de Souza to show cause why he should not be further punished for contempt of Court, in having written a letter to *The Daily Chronicle* on June 20, 1887, 13 months previously; whether for that offence the Court sentenced him to the further punishment of having to come up for judgment within 12 months if called upon; whether his attention has been drawn to the report of the Judgment of Chief Justice Chalmers, in which he is reported to have said of Mr. de Souza that he

"Posed as the victim of the intolerance and injustice of the Judges before an ignorant and partly educated population;"

that he was

"an unprincipled demagogue,"

and possessing

"a fluency of speech which, unless coupled with high principle, was, as regards the interest of the community, one of the most dangerous gifts any man could have, because it enabled him so easily to make the worse appear the better reason in the eyes of the unthinking multitude;"

whether that sentence prevents his being able to practise as a barrister during that twelve months; whether he is aware that during his imprisonment his wife died, and that Mr. de Souza was not permitted to visit her death bed or attend her funeral; whether either of the said letters had any reference to any matter pending before the Court at the time the letters were respectively written; whether it is a fact that Mr. de Souza has no right of appeal in the matter to the Privy Council; and, whether the Government purpose to take any steps in the matter?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) Liverpool, East Toxteth): In answer to the nine Questions put to me by the hon. Member, I have to say that the Secretary of State has no official information on the subject; but from the reports in the Colonial newspapers it appears that the first and second Questions should be answered in the affirmative; and that, for the contempt of Court mentioned in the second Question, the Court ordered Mr. de Souza to come up for judgment within 12 months if called upon. The Secretary of State does not know whether Mr. de Souza is a coloured barrister. The Secretary of State has observed in the newspaper reports of the Judgment the third passage quoted in the fourth Question, but not the other two. The Secretary of State is not aware that the order to come up for judgment within 12 months if called upon prevents Mr. de Souza from being able to practise as a barrister during that time. The Secretary of State has no information as to the matters alluded to in the sixth Question. Neither of the letters referred to in the

seventh Question appears to have had reference to a matter pending before the Court at the time it was written. It has been held that there is no appeal to the Privy Council in such a case. As at present advised, Her Majesty's Government do not propose to take any steps in the matter.

MR. BERNARD COLERIDGE asked whether there was any precedent for punishment for contempt in respect of a matter not pending before the Court?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: That is a legal Question, which had better be addressed to the Law Officers of the Crown.

MR. BERNARD COLERIDGE: May I ask the Law Officers of the Crown?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): The hon. Member should give me Notice of such a Question.

MR. BERNARD COLERIDGE: May I ask the Under Secretary whether he will obtain official information?

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he had known Mr. de Souza when he was a Bar student in this country, and was, therefore, interested in the case. He asked whether one of the Judges had not been guilty of conduct that had been seriously reflected upon by the Privy Council; and whether Mr. de Souza was prevented from attending his wife's funeral?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I have already stated that Her Majesty's Government have no official information on the subject. [Several hon. MEMBERS: Will you get it?]

METROPOLITAN POLICE — CALEDONIAN ROAD STATION—DISALLOWANCE OF CLAIMS BY THE REVISING BARRISTER.

MR. R. CHAMBERLAIN (Islington, W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is a fact that the claims of 18 police constables at the Caledonian Road Station were disallowed by the Revising Barrister, on the ground that the beds were not separated by some kind of partition; and whether, if this be the case, the Home Secretary will cause such modifications to be made in the bed chambers as will prevent members of the Police Force from being in this way disqualified for the future?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, the fact was as stated. Since 1882 it had been the practice in building new police stations to give each police officer a separate bunk. He would consider whether arrangements could not be made to prevent the disqualification referred to.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—SENTENCE ON MR. P. A. M'HUGH, MAYOR OF SLIGO.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that Mr. P. A. M'Hugh, Mayor of Sligo, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment on the 10th instant for publishing two articles in *The Sligo Champion*, of which he is proprietor?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): Yes, Sir. The sentence of the Resident Magistrates was confirmed by the County Court Judge.

MR. J. E. ELLIS asked, how the right hon. Gentleman reconciled this action on the part of the Government with his oft-repeated assertion that the Government did not interfere with the liberty of the Press in Ireland?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: In the first place, these are not the proceedings of the Government, but of the County Court Judge. In the second place, I have never made the assertion which the hon. Gentleman attributes to me. What I have constantly asserted—and what I now repeat—is, that the Government had never interfered, either directly or indirectly, with any legitimate expression of opinion on any political subject whatever; but when a newspaper becomes an organ of intimidation to an individual, it legitimately comes under the operation of the law.

MR. P. O'BRIEN (Monaghan, N.) asked, whether it was not the fact that the article for which Mr. M'Hugh was convicted was not a quotation from another newspaper; and, also, on what grounds he was not treated as a first-class misdemeanant?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that the County Court Judge thought the case so palpable that he declined to make the order for Mr. M'Hugh to become a

first-class misdemeanant. He must ask for Notice with regard to the first part of the Question.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—THE REPORT.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When the Report of the Land Commission for the current year will be distributed?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): The Land Commission informs me that their Report is now ready, and will be forwarded forthwith for presentation.

THE CROFTERS' COMMISSION—FURTHER REPORT.

MR. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars, &c.) asked the Lord Advocate, When there will be issued a further Report of the Proceedings of the Crofters' Commission, in continuation of the Report to December 10, 1887?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute), in reply, said, a further Report would be prepared at the close of the year, and issued as soon as it could be completed.

THE CURRENCY—NEW SILVER COINAGE.

MR. W. BECKETT (Notts, Bassetlaw) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he is aware that there is still great difficulty in procuring silver of the new coinage from the Bank of England, that Body saying they cannot tell when they shall be able to supply it; and, if he knows the cause of this difficulty?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): The Bank of England report that they have satisfied all reasonable demands for the new silver coinage, and are preparing to meet the usual extra Christmas demand. If applied to by a banker for a very large sum all in coins of the new designs, the Bank might decline, not considering themselves authorized to meet a demand which, if granted, would involve a large increase of coinage beyond the necessities of the country. There is no lack of silver coin to meet all ordinary demands.

MR. W. BECKETT asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that difficulty had existed ever since the new coinage was issued all through the present year?

MR. GOSCHEN: I am most anxious that every reasonable demand for silver should be satisfied; but if every demand for new coins were acceded to, it would mean the withdrawal from circulation of all old coins, and that would involve an expenditure that I do not think ought to be incurred so long as the old silver is doing its duty.

EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—DEATH OF JAMES DUNNE, AN EVICTED TENANT.

MR. GILL (Louth, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention had been called to the following verdict, found by the Coroner's Jury at Ardee last Friday, at the close of the inquest on the body of the evicted tenant James Dunne:—

"We find that James Dunne, on Tuesday, the 12th day of October, 1888, at Belpatrick, in the County Louth, died from the effects of shock and exposure; and we find Henry Robert Emerson and Athol Johnson Dudgeon did feloniously and unlawfully kill and slay the said James Dunne by subjecting him to this shock and exposure on the 11th day of October, 1888, at Belpatrick, in said county; and the Jury cannot separate without censuring the Sub-Sheriff for not using more precautions on the occasion;"

and what course the Irish Executive propose to take to give effect to this verdict?

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) asked, Whether the Jury did not consist of 17 Nationalists, including the Secretary of the local branch of the National League?

THE CHIEF SECRETARY (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I have not made any inquiry as to the constitution of the Jury; but I am informed that those concerned have given the necessary bail, and have served notice on the Chief Crown Solicitor of an immediate application to quash the verdict. Pending these proceedings no determination can be arrived at by the Attorney General.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) said, he was a personal witness of the case, and he trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would satisfy himself as to the circumstances of it.

PUBLIC MEETINGS (METROPOLIS)—THE MEETING ON CLERKENWELL GREEN.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can give any information as to the dispersing of the meeting on Clerkenwell Green on the night of Tuesday, November 13? He also wished to know whether the attention of the right hon. Gentleman had been called to some observations of Mr. Lushington, the magistrate, to the effect that the police, in dispersing the crowd, were doing no more than their duty; and how the right hon. Gentleman reconciled that statement with the one he made yesterday, to the effect that no force had been used in dispersing the meeting?

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) asked whether the attention of the right hon. Gentleman had been called to the statement that the mounted police rode in among the people who were leaving, in order to break them up into small knots; and whether the police had special orders from the Home Office to attempt to disperse the people in that way?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have made further inquiries since my statement of yesterday, and I have again been assured by the Superintendent of the district that the meeting was in no way dispersed or disturbed, nor was any effort made to break up any procession. In his further Question the hon. Member alludes to some expressions used by Mr. Lushington. I have only seen them in the newspaper this morning; I do not find them in such other reports as I have been able to refer to. From the evidence before me I gather that what was before the magistrate was not any attack or assault by the police upon the meeting or those leaving, but their moving on a knot of persons who obstructed the passing of a Post Office van, this being quite an isolated incident. With regard to the Question of the hon. Member for Finsbury, I have no information on the point. Such information as I have is opposed to the suggestion that the mounted police rode among the people leaving the meeting. Certainly, there were no orders, special or otherwise, from the Home Office directing the mounted police to break up the meeting.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: Will the right hon. Gentleman inquire into Mr. Lushington's remarks, as I am personally responsible for having called the meeting together?

MR. MATTHEWS: Certainly, Sir; I should have done so if time had allowed.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked, whether the mounted men were under the command of the Superintendent of the district, or someone else?

MR. J. ROWLANDS asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman would make inquiries as to whether it was not a distinct procession that was leaving the meeting into which the police rode; and whether the obstruction of the Post Office van did not occur on Clerkenwell Green itself?

MR. MATTHEWS: I have given the hon. Member the whole of the information in my possession.

INDIA—(NATIVE STATES)—HYDERABAD COMMITTEE.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been called to an article in *The Pioneer* of Allahabad, July 22, 1888, in which serious charges are made regarding his connection with a Mr. Palmer; and whether it is his intention to take any action with regard to these statements?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): My attention has been called to the article in question. The charge which I understand to be insinuated in *The Pioneer*, that I have employed Mr. Palmer as an intermediary, either in the affairs of Hyderabad generally, or in reference to the Hyderabad Committee of this Session in particular, is wholly false. It is not my intention to take any action in regard to such statements. Perhaps the House will allow me to add that in the winter of 1883-4, before I had ever held Office, I acted as legal adviser to the Prime Minister and Senior Regent of Hyderabad. Since that time I have had nothing to do with the affairs of Hyderabad, except recently as Under Secretary of State for India. In that capacity I have acted under the direction

of my noble Friend the Secretary of State, and through the regular officials of the India Office.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS—ACCIDENT IN GREAT TITCHFIELD STREET.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.) asked the hon. Member for the Knutsford Division of Cheshire, Whether the Metropolitan Board of Works purpose to hold an inquiry into the cause of the lamentable accident in Great Titchfield Street, through which six workmen lost their lives, and 15 others were injured; and, if so, whether the Board are likely to take any action against the parties who are responsible for the accident?

MR. TATTON EGERTON, in reply, said, the matter would come specially before the Board to-morrow. The officers of the Board had attended the inquest and had been in communication with the District Surveyor. The Board would, undoubtedly, follow in the present case the precedent of previous cases.

COAL MINES, &c. REGULATION ACT, 1887—EAST AND WEST GLAMORGAN COLLIERIES—SPECIAL RULES.

MR. RANDELL (Glamorgan, Gower) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Special Rules under "The Coal Mines, &c. Regulation Act, 1887," have been established for the collieries in East and West Glamorgan; and, if not, why not?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Special Rules have been established, and are in force in those parts of East Glamorganshire which are in the district of Inspector Martin. With regard to the rest of Glamorganshire, Rules have not yet been established, because arbitration on matters in difference between the Secretary of State and the colliery owners is still pending.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—BALLYCOTTON PIER.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid.), who had the following Question on the Paper:—To ask the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether Mr. Wolfe Barry has yet made his Report on the condition of the Ballycotton Pier; whether it is a fact that in consequence of the recent gales a portion of the pier head was blown away; that the old fissures have been widened; and that 11 new cracks have appeared in wharf pavement after the storm of the 6th instant; whether it is true that on the 20th ultimo a large fishing boat was driven ashore upon the remains of the old pier, not 100 yards from the harbour's entrance, and was with difficulty saved by the prompt and energetic action of Mr. Steel and the coastguards; and, whether any immediate repairs will be carried out to prevent further damage and collapse, and, if so, who is to carry out and be responsible for the necessary repairs? said: I see that the Question is marked on the Notice Paper as being set down for Thursday next, the 22nd of November, although no intimation of the postponing of the Question was given to me. I wish to call attention to the irregular way in which this has been set down.

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): I am not responsible for that. I understood it to be an error of the printer that it appeared in to-day's paper, that the Question was originally put down for the 22nd.

DR. TANNER: I put it down in consequence of the pier being in such a terrible state, and I meant to ask the Question as soon as possible, hoping that the pier would not be washed away altogether.

BRITISH GUIANA—RAILWAY TO THE NORTH WESTERN FRONTIER.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, Camlachie) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he is aware that the Governor of the Colony of British Guiana, on or about the 14th of May last, received a Petition from the principal merchants and leading inhabitants of the Colony, praying for the construction of a railway to the North Western Frontier; and, whether the Governor of the Colony has forwarded such Petition to Her Majesty's Government; and, if so, whether he is now prepared to state what action, if any, the Government propose to take so as to comply with the wishes of the Colonists?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS), (Liverpool, East Toxteth), in reply, said,

that such a Petition had been presented to the Governor, but the Governor had not forwarded it to Her Majesty's Government; and the Secretary of State was, therefore, not prepared to state what action the Government proposed to take in the matter.

AUSTRALIA—QUEENSLAND—APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR—SIR HENRY A. BLAKE.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is true, as stated in the public Press, that he has cancelled the appointment of Sir Henry Blake as Governor of Queensland; and, if not, whether he has received a reply to the message telegraphed to the Acting Governor of Queensland on Monday last?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): The answer to both of these Questions of the hon. Member is in the negative. I may add that, as the House is aware, the Colonial Ministers have been desired to state the reasons of their opposition to Sir Henry Blake's appointment, and no communication in reply has yet been received.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he would give him an opportunity of discussing the appointment of the Governor of Queensland at an early day?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: That Question must be addressed to the Leader of the House.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, E.): Is there any similar case of a Colony acting as Queensland has done in regard to the appointment of a Governor?

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Is it true that the Colony votes the salary of the Governor?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: Yes; of course, the salary is paid by the Colony.

PENSIONS—CIVIL LIST OF GEORGE III.—OVER-PAYMENT.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the fact that in the case of two out of the six pensioners still returned in the Finance Accounts as "Persons formerly on the Civil List of His Majesty George III.," the pensions have been continued after their death, one pensioner having died on April 16, 1885, and the other on March 6, 1887; and, what is the system of control in regard to pensions at the Treasury which makes such over-payments possible?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): No such over-payments have been made; and I am satisfied that the Regulations in force make it impossible that they should occur. The hon. Member has confused an issue from the Exchequer to meet a charge on the Consolidated Fund with a payment by the Paymaster General from the money so issued. I would refer him to the explanation which I gave him on this subject on the 28th of February last; and to the note in the Finance Accounts that the amount over-issued from the Exchequer, in respect to the two pensions referred to, will be repaid.

MR. HANBURY asked, how it happened, if the Paymaster General had repaid the amount into the Exchequer in 1885, that the Exchequer had continued to issue it for three years afterwards?

MR. JACKSON: It is somewhat difficult to make this matter clear to the hon. Gentleman. The Comptroller of Audits has satisfied himself that no such payment has been made. It is quite possible that the issue might be made, and necessarily made, because the death of the pensioner was not known; and until his death became known, the amount, of course, would be paid to the Paymaster.

MR. HANBURY: Is not that exactly my point? What evidence is there that the pensioners are alive?

MR. JACKSON: In every case where a pension is applied for, a life certificate must be produced.

LAW AND JUSTICE—DEBTS CONTRACTED BY MARRIED WOMEN.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE (Exeter) asked Mr. Attorney General, If his attention has been directed to the heavy losses sustained by many retail traders in consequence of married women declining to pay accounts they have contracted, on the plea that they had been forbidden to pledge their husbands' credit; and, whether, having regard to the fact that such a prohibition can be given in an entirely private manner, he will consider the possibility of making some amendment to the existing law so

as to increase the trader's means of ascertaining the responsibility of this class of his customers?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): I am aware that, from time to time in past years, attention has been called to the fact that losses have been inflicted upon retail traders by reason of their having given credit to married women whose husbands had forbidden them to pledge their credit; but, at the same time, it has been pointed out in many Judgments that greater evils would be occasioned by allowing a married woman to pledge the husband's credit where he has forbidden her to do so; and, inasmuch as it is entirely in the hands of retail traders themselves whether they will or will not give credit, there is not, in my opinion, any necessity for an amendment in the law.

THE SWEATING SYSTEM—THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in the event of the Committee of the House of Lords on the Sweating System being unable to complete their inquiries, owing to doubts as to subject-matter of the investigation, the Government will agree to the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, assisted by working men experts, to continue the inquiry into the Sweating System, and also into the case of the dock labourers, chain makers, &c. of Cradley Heath?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I am informed that there is no reason whatever to doubt that the Committee on the Sweating System will be able to conclude their work in a satisfactory manner. On August 3 they obtained an extension of the scope of the original Reference, so as to cover the whole of the United Kingdom; and I understand that it is the intention of the Committee to inquire into every trade in which sweating is alleged to exist. At their next sitting they are to receive evidence from dock labourers, one of the classes specially named by the hon. Member.

FISHERIES (SCOTLAND)—SALMON FISHING IN THE TWEED.

MR. MARJORIBANKS (Berwickshire) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in their contemplated salmon legislation, it is the intention of the Government to remove the Tweed from its present anomalous position of being regulated by separate and private Acts of Parliament by including it in the general laws applying to the salmon fisheries of the country; and, whether, for legislative and administrative purposes, it will be considered as a purely Scotch river?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): It is proposed to include the Tweed in the general laws applying to salmon fisheries in Scotland; and, so far as is practicable, the Tweed will, for legal and administrative purposes, be treated as a Scotch river.

THE REVISED EDITION OF THE STATUTES—PUBLICATION.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he can inform the House when the first instalment of the new edition of the Revised Statutes will be ready for issue, and at what price per volume they will be published?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The editor hopes to be able to return the last proofs of the first volume to the printers to-day; and, if this is done, the volume ought to be published in a fortnight at latest. The price will be 7*s.* 6*d.*

MR. HOWELL asked, whether it would not be possible to make the price of the volume 5*s.*?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I do not know, but I will inquire.

BURMAH (UPPER)—THE RUBY MINES —TENDERS.

In reply to MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.),

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham) said, that the 21st instant was the last day for receiving tenders for the Ruby Mines, and that the advertisement as to the conditions of tender had been published in *The Times* and some other London dailies, *The Scotsman*, *The Glasgow Herald*, and the *Irish Times*.

AUSTRALIA — QUEENSLAND — APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR SIR HENRY A. BLAKE.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): I wish to ask the Under Secretary of State

for the Colonies a Question of which I have given him private Notice. It is, whether he can state to the House what answer has been given by the Secretary of State to the Agent General for South Australia with reference to the request of the Government of that Colony that it may be consulted, or confidentially communicated with, before the appointment of a Governor. Perhaps I may say, in putting this Question, that I never for an instant contemplated moving the Adjournment of the House to-day on the subject of the answer about the Government of Queensland, given to me on Monday last, which was perfectly clear and precise. I am sorry that anyone should have been inconvenienced by that supposed Motion.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): In reply to the right hon. Gentleman, I will read to the House the following letter addressed by the Colonial Office to Sir A. Blyth:—

"Downing Street, Nov. 15, 1888.

"Sir,—I am directed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th instant, conveying the renewed request of your Government that they may have an opportunity, before any appointment is made, of expressing an opinion with regard to the person whom it may be proposed to appoint as Governor of South Australia. Lord Knutsford regrets that he is not able to give to this request any other answer than that returned to the Government of Queensland last month in the letter which was read in the House of Commons by the Under Secretary of State on Monday last. It would be a great satisfaction and assistance to the Secretary of State in the performance of a very responsible duty if it were possible in some manner to ascertain, before the Queen's pleasure is taken, that the gentleman whom he thinks suitable is also acceptable to the government and people of the Colony in which he is to represent Her Majesty for several years; and Lord Knutsford trusts it will be understood that the inability of Her Majesty's Government to comply with the wish of your Ministers in this matter is in no way connected with any indisposition to consult their views in other cases whenever practicable. As Lord Knutsford stated to the Agent General for Queensland, Her Majesty's Government feel precluded by the conditions of the Governor's office from having recourse to the advice of the Colonial Ministry in regard to the selection of a Governor. There are certain extra Colonial functions, in the discharge of which the Governor must be responsible to the Crown alone, and his action in regard to which does not interfere with, or affect the full responsibility of, the Ministers in the internal affairs of the Colony. But independently of his more strictly Imperial duties, the Governor occupies a position in regard to political matters which appears to preclude the local Ministry from taking any part in his selection. The antagonism between parties in the Colonial Parliaments has frequently been very strong; and on the retirement of the Ministry which had virtually controlled the selection of the Governor, the succeeding Ministry might not improbably feel doubt as to his impartiality. For example, in dealing with the question, often one of much difficulty, whether a dissolution of Parliament ought to be granted or withheld, if the Governor should, however *bonâ fide*, act in accordance with the political interests of the party which had approved his appointment, his fairness might not improbably be called in question by the other side. Indeed, it seems obvious that in this and similar cases the relations of the Governor to the Colonists, as well as to the Crown, might be gravely embarrassed. I am further to point out that a public man of high standing could not well be asked to undertake an office subject to the approval of others at a distance, who may have little information as to his fitness; but, beyond such personal considerations, the Constitutional obstacle which has been referred to appears to Lord Knutsford to be insurmountable."

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): A few days ago I gave an undertaking that I should to-day make a statement to the House in regard to the legislative proposals which Her Majesty's Government think it right to place before the House in the course of the present Session. In making these observations, I must first of all express my regret—my unfeigned regret—that the period of the Session at which we have arrived, and the very slow progress of Public Business during the last few days, has deprived us of the opportunity of passing several measures which we believe to be essential to the public interest, but for which there now remains no time for their due and proper consideration by this House in the course of the present Session. I refer especially to the Tithe Bills, which deal with questions not affecting the Established Church alone, but the good order and the peace of the community in a very important part of the United Kingdom. It appears to us, Sir, that sufficient time will not be afforded to the House for the consideration of these measures, which we think are of such importance as to require deliberate consideration at the hands of hon. Members. There are also other measures relating to Ireland—the Drainage Bills, for in-

stance—which are met with a persistent opposition by hon. Members opposite. I do not in the slightest degree wish to call in question their right to oppose these measures; but they are proposed by Her Majesty's Government under a sense of their responsibility for the prosperity, advancement, and well-being of Ireland. We had reason to hope that they would have been received by this House generally with a desire to give effect to them, and that as rapidly as due consideration would permit. There is also another Bill which we regret we shall have to abandon in the course of the present Session. I refer to the Bill for the constitution of a Board of Agriculture. After communication with hon. Friends on both sides of the House who are interested in this matter, we have arrived at the conclusion that the time at our disposal would not enable us to deal with this question this Session. I have now referred to the more important measures; but there are also others of less importance, which need not be particularized, which might have been considered, but which must now be abandoned. And now I will come to the question which we must invite the House to consider and dispose of before the Prorogation can take place. In the first instance, as I indicated in the course of the sitting before the Adjournment, we shall have to ask the House to provide an additional sum of £5,000,000 for the further extension of land purchase in Ireland. [*Loud Ministerial cheers and Opposition cries of* "Oh!"] I have stated in these words almost the entire contents of the Bill, for it will consist of only one clause. I admit, however, the importance of the subject, and the full right of this House to debate fully the question involved in the Bill. [Mr. J. E. ELLIS: Without the closure?] I trust the House will be able to dispose of it in the course of next week. My right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. A. J. Balfour) will, on Monday next, ask leave to introduce the Bill, and we propose to proceed *de die in diem* with it until it is disposed of. The only other Bill of any importance which is not introduced, and which we propose to ask the House to pass this Session, is a measure which deals with the allocation of the Probate Duty to Scotland and Ireland, and that, I apprehend, is not a measure which will receive much opposition. As to the Bill of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Excise Duties (Local Purposes) Bill, we shall take the second reading immediately after the conclusion of the proceedings on the Land Purchase Bill. Following the second reading of the Excise Duties (Local Purposes) Bill, we shall ask the House to consider the Employers' Liability Bill, and as it is said that it is one which ought to go up for further consideration in the House of Lords, I hope that there may be no undue delay in getting it through this House. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) has made a suggestion which the Government have received with great satisfaction—that the Scotch Universities Bill may be taken *pari passu* with the Appropriation Bill, after Supply has been disposed of. The course which the Government propose to take is to adopt the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman. We are under an engagement to the hon. Member for South Shields (Mr. J. C. Stevenson) that he shall have an opportunity of raising the question of the Intoxicating Liquor (Sunday) Bill. I propose to meet this engagement when we have made sufficient progress with Supply. I propose to take the same course with regard to the Motion of the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) with reference to Perpetual Pensions. But we shall not be able to afford time for the consideration of those subjects until we have made further progress with Supply. I can only say with regard to the Tithes Bills that I regret they are postponed until next Session, and to my hon. Friends who have our engagement to deal with this question as rapidly as possible, that so far as the Government can see at present they propose to make them the first Business of next Session. Afterwards we desire to take up the Scotch Local Government Bill and other matters relating to Scotland which demand our attention.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): I have heard the statement of the right hon. Gentleman in some respects with regret. I think, however, that it would not be right for me to do more than express that regret without arguing the point. I am sorry that the right hon. Gentleman should have thought it necessary to

censure the proceedings of the House in regard to the progress made with Supply. So far, at any rate, as the discussion on the expenses of the judicial establishments was concerned, I must say that, in my opinion, the prolongation of that discussion is entirely due to the manner in which the proposals made, in different parts of the House, were met by Her Majesty's Government. To meet the points that were raised in such a manner is a certain and infallible recipe for securing a large expenditure of time quite unnecessarily. I gather from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that all the Business of Supply that now remains, and which includes subjects of the greatest importance—including the Irish Votes—is to be postponed until after certain legislative proceedings which may possibly prove to be protracted, and which introduce to the notice of the House, at this period of the year, matters on which as yet we have had no opportunity of pronouncing an opinion, and which are of a grave character. However, I shall not now discuss any of these matters, but I think it right to give a general intimation to the right hon. Gentleman that when, on Monday next —a very short notice indeed for such a subject—the Chief Secretary moves for leave to introduce the Bill dealing with the subject of land purchase—the terms in which the right hon. Gentleman describes it I will repeat, so that I may be sure that I have correctly understood him—I will make a proposal as an alternative to that contained in the Bill. I understand that the proposal will be a simple addition of a lump sum of £5,000,000 to the £5,000,000 already voted under Lord Ashbourne's Act, and that that will be done upon the same basis in a Bill of a single clause, without any other proposal tending to the relief of the people of Irelend with regard to the Land Question. If that be so, it will be proposed by myself, and on my responsibility, to substitute for that proceeding a different plan—namely, that we shall proceed to deal with the question of arrears which we believe to be excessive, and apply to Ireland the same principle which has been applied with such great advantage in the case of the Scotch crofters. We shall endeavour to consult with the authorities of the House as to the most convenient time for making that proposal. If there should be no difficulty in making it at the time when the proposal of the Government is submitted, it would probably be for the convenience of the House that we should proceed to take issue then on the important question of the course to be adopted. But while I say that, on the proposal of Her Majesty s Government being made, I will lose no time in the examination of the question, it is to be distinctly understood that dealing with the arrears will be proposed as an alternative to the measure which it has been stated will be submitted on the part of Her Majesty's Government.

MR. J. C. BOLTON (Stirling) asked, whether the First Lord of the Treasury would not take the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill this Session?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, it would not be possible to proceed with the Bill this year. There were numerous clauses in the Bill, and if anything like protracted opposition was given to it, it would be fatal to the measure. The Government were also under the impression that it would be better to deal with it in connection with the Local Government Bill for Scotland, which they intended to introduce early next Session as a portion of the principal Business of the Session.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Would the right hon. Gentleman be able to inform me, the time being so short between this and Monday, what is the Motion to be then submitted to the House?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I will endeavour to communicate it in the course of the evening to the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.) said, he would make a final appeal to the Government to reconsider their decision as to the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he was as anxious as the hon. Gentleman that the Bill should be passed. The arrangement he had stated would, he thought, secure the hon. Gentleman ample opportunity for dealing with the matter.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked what would be done as to the Patents, Designs, and Trades Marks Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that if the Bill was opposed to any serious extent it would not be proceeded with.

MR. FENWICK (Northumberland, Wansbeck) asked the Government if they meant to give effect to the representations of the deputation who waited upon them lately with regard to the third clause of the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that the representations of the deputation would have the most serious attention of the Government. They involved considerations of very great importance, and it was not reasonable to expect, in reply to a Question, that he should state what the intentions of the Government were. They would be stated when the House arrived at the Bill.

In reply to Mr. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) and Sir HENRY ROSCOE (Manchester, S.),

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that if Classes III. and V. were taken to-night, the other Education Votes in Class IV. would be proceeded with to-morrow.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) asked, with regard to the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill, whether, after the announcement the right hon. Gentleman had made, the Bill would be taken off the Order Book, so that Scotch Members might not be obliged to attend the House in the chance of its being taken? He wanted to have it definitely withdrawn. He also wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware, with regard to the Universities (Scotland) Bill, that there was on the part of a considerable number of Scotch Members the most determined opposition to the constitution of that Commission; and that on the part of another section of Scotch Members there was an equally determined opposition to proceed with any Scotch legislation whatever under circumstances which did not permit of it being adequately discussed?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he would undertake that the notification of the withdrawal of the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill should be followed by its excision from the Order Book. As regarded the Universities (Scotland) Bill, the representations which had been made to him by Scotch Members were to the effect that the great majority of Scotch Members were desirous of seeing that Bill pass into law this Session. He should certainly feel it to be his duty to give the House and the Scotch Members an opportunity of considering that Bill. If the hon. Member was correct in his view that the majority of Scotch Members did not desire the Bill to pass, he would have an opportunity of giving expression to that view and seeking the judgment of the House upon it.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling, &c.): Will the right hon. Gentleman abide on that point by the decision of a majority of the Scotch Members?

MR. W. H. SMITH: This is a united Parliament, Sir.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked the right hon. Gentleman whether, having regard to the very prolonged programme of legislation which he had put before the House, the enormous number of Estimates still to be considered, and the probable prolongation of the Sittings till February next, he would adhere to the arrangement to keep Scotch Members in town, in order to discuss the Universities (Scotland) Bill along with the Appropriation Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he had adopted the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers), who was exceedingly well fitted, from his experience and judgment in Parliamentary Business, to make a suggestion of that kind.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) said, that, in asking the right hon. Gentleman to give them an opportunity of discussing the Universities (Scotland) Bill, he did not at all imply that the Bill as it stood was acceptable to the body of Scotch Members; but there was a strong wish expressed to him that they should have a full discussion on the Bill while the Appropriation Bill was passing through.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman was not aware that the proposal now made by the Government was not in accordance with the promise of the ex-Lord Advocate?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I am not aware of it.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton): Will the right hon. Gentleman tell us whether he has made any estimate in his own mind as to when this Session will come to an end?

MR. W. H. SMITH: No; I have not made any estimate, because it is not possible for me to discover the minds of hon. Gentlemen opposite.

MR. PROVAND (Glasgow, Blackfriars, &c.) asked, when the Army Estimates would be taken?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I cannot give any other indication than I have already given.

MR. BUCHANAN (Edinburgh, W.) asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman would ascertain the opinion of the Scotch Members as to the advisability of postponing the Universities (Scotland) Bill to the last few days of the Session, the limits of which it was beyond the right hon. Gentleman's own power to estimate?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I was under the impression that I had made an arrangement which would meet with the views of the majority of the Scotch Members. ["No."] I do not hear the voices of the majority of Scotch Members in that expression. I will undertake to make further inquiry, and state to the House what course will be followed.

MR. W. P. SINCLAIR (Falkirk, &c.) said, that as the right hon. Gentleman had undertaken to make further inquiries, he should like to ask whether he would not yet endeavour to preserve the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill for consideration. He thought it would be found that the majority of the Scotch Members were more anxious that that Bill should be taken into consideration than the Universities (Scotland) Bill this Session. At the meeting of Scotch Members, to which reference had been made, preference was given to the Burgh Police Bill over the Universities Bill; and certainly the burghs were more anxious that it rather than the Universities Bill should pass into law this Session.

MR. A. R. D. ELLIOT (Roxburgh) said, that having regard to the announcement of the First Lord of the Treasury that the measure for Local Government for Scotland would be proceeded with next Session, he thought it would strike a large number of Scotch Members and the Scotch people that it would be utterly unreasonable to proceed now with a measure for regulating the Scotch burghs; and he would therefore urge on the right hon. Gentleman to proceed at once with the Universities Bill.

MR. J. R. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) wished to know what were the intentions of the Government as to the Weights and Measures Bill?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he had indicated the principal measures with which Her Majesty's Government thought it necessary to proceed.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): I should like to ask the First Lord of the Treasury when it is the intention of the Government to take up the Irish Estimates; or whether it is the intention of the Government to postpone the passing of the necessary Votes for the Official Departments in Ireland until the Chief Secretary's Landlord Relief Bill is passed?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I cannot undertake to make any arrangement with regard to Public Business beyond that I have already mentioned.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

(1.) £18,000, to complete the Sum for Special Police.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, he thought the Committee were entitled to know from the Government how long these extraordinary expenses were to be continued. He thought there was an enormous array of police in and about the precincts of the House of Commons, which was somewhat ridiculous, unless the Government had special information which rendered their retention, in the opinion of the Government, necessary. The railings surrounding the House were guarded from the outside as well as inside. The interior of the railing was generally empty of the public, but there was an array of police about the Members' entrance, which would be large enough even if there was a crowd to guard against. On Monday night he believed there were two persons in the Members' Gallery, and something like 144 policemen and detectives to look after them. He suggested that this enormous expenditure, which originated in panic—a panic which was so well rebuked by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) on the previous day—ought now to be changed. The country would not regard the House of Commons as being very reasonable

guardians of the public purse, if more of the money of the public was wasted in connection with the buildings of Parliament than was absolutely necessary. He was told that, at one gate alone, the cost of the police, when added up, represented an outlay of £800 a-year. He wished the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) to tell them what was the total cost of the whole of the police now employed about the building, and whether there was any possibility of making some reduction in the Vote. So long as there might be reason for these extraordinary expenses, he had refrained from calling attention to the matter; but, as far as he could judge, the need for such precautions did not exist to the same extent now as formerly, and therefore the cost might be reduced.

MR. FIRTH (Dundee) said, he had a Motion on the Paper to reduce the Vote by £37,000, and he would explain shortly to the Committee his reason for moving the reduction. This Vote first appeared in 1885, when the Vote was £21,103—about the sum to which it would be brought if the reductions he moved were adopted. In 1886 the Vote had risen to £21,539; last year it reached £37,000; and this year it was £57,000. Inasmuch as the years in which the dynamite scare was current were those of 1885 and 1886, he thought the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) was bound to give the Committee a clear explanation of how it came to pass that the Vote was £37,000 more when, according to the ordinary understanding, the dynamite scare was absolutely non-existent. Was there any apprehension at the present time from dynamitards; were the Government in fear of a recurrence of dynamite outrages? To whom was this money paid? Was it paid to the Receiver of the Metropolitan Police; and if to the Government, what Government Department controlled it and paid the men? How many men were employed? The cost per policeman in London was slightly under £100; were there 570 men employed; if not, what was the number, where were they employed, under whose control were they; where were they stationed, and had these police really done anything of value besides guard the House of Commons during the past three or four years? This was a serious development and augmentation of the Secret Service Fund. Were these policemen taken from the London Force, or were they independently engaged; if so, on what terms? He should like to have information on all these matters. He begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £37,000.

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that the total sum to be voted was only £19,000.

MR. FIRTH: Then I will move the reduction of it by the sum of £19,000.

Moved, "To reduce the Vote by £19,000."—(*Mr. Firth.*)

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, this Vote by no means represented an increase. For some years now it had been thought necessary to provide protection for public buildings and the House of Commons, both inside and outside. That protection was afforded by members of the Metropolitan Police, who were withdrawn from what might be called ordinary street duty. He would not undertake to say that every man engaged in this protective duty was replaced by an additional man, but undoubtedly additions had been made to the Force in consequence of the special duties discharged by these men in the protection of the great public buildings. The consequence of this was that an extra burden was thrown on the Metropolitan ratepayers. He confessed that he had watched that increase with great anxiety. To his mind, the expenditure of the Metropolitan Force had of late years increased faster than he could have wished; but inasmuch as this duty was performed by men of the Metropolitan Force in connection with circumstances which were not due to local Metropolitan causes, but in connection with the general interests of the whole community, it was thought that this was not a burden which ought to fall properly on the Metropolis. The Treasury recognized that to some extent, inasmuch as they paid the expenses of the men who were employed in the inside protection of buildings, but up to this time no contribution had been made towards the cost of the men who were employed in respect of outside protection. He thought the Committee would agree with the

principle that the Treasury should assume the Imperial burden in payment of men whose duty it was to guard against possible crime, the origin of which was not local or Metropolitan, but dependent on causes of general policy or Imperial causes. It was therefore equally proper that the Treasury should contribute to the outside as well as to the inside protection. There had not been any extra men employed; on the contrary, they had diminished the number of men employed, and if this extra Vote was not wanted for the pay of men actually employed, it would not be expended, but returned to the Treasury. The extra Vote did not represent extra men put on, but it was placed on the Estimates in order to cover that part of protective duty hitherto defrayed, not by the Treasury, but by the Metropolitan ratepayers. It occurred to him that no distinction ought to be made between inside and outside protection. If they paid the men who were employed inside these buildings, they ought to pay those who were employed in protecting them outside. It was a relief *pro tanto* to the ratepayers, but he hoped it would not be considered an improper relief, seeing that the purposes for which the money was employed were Imperial and not local. He might add that this protective duty was not all performed in the Metropolis. The police were sent out of the Metropolis to places far remote, and it was obviously not right that the burden of paying their expenses should be thrown upon the ratepayers of the Metropolis. The only reason for the increase of the Vote was that the Treasury were called upon to pay for the whole of the expenses of the men in this class, instead of paying, as formerly, only a portion of them. The hon. and learned Member for Dundee had asked him how many men there were, and where they were stationed?

MR. FIRTH: And under whose authority or control they were.

MR. MATTHEWS said, they were entirely under the control of the Commissioner of Police. He hoped the hon. and learned Member would not press him either as to the exact number of men or the places in which they were located. It was obvious that it would not be right, for public reasons, that he should give information of that kind. He knew that the hon. and learned Member was actuated by proper motives, but it would not be right, in the interests of the public at large, to give the information asked for. The money was paid to the Receiver of the Metropolitan Police, and it went into the Metropolitan Police Fund in repayment of the expenses of the men employed on special duties, some of them inside and some of them outside the Metropolis, but all for Imperial rather than local purposes. He hoped that it might not be necessary this year to employ nearly so many men on special duty, and that instead of reaching £57,000 the Vote would be considerably less. There had been times, within his own experience, when this extra protection had been thought necessary in this country, but the moment it was considered no longer necessary it had been withdrawn. He could assure the hon. and learned Member that, in this case, the moment it was considered that no further protection from crime and the preservation of order was required, it would be withdrawn.

MR. FIRTH said, there was only one point which the right hon. Gentleman had not met—namely, the suggestion that this increase was an increase of outside men.

MR. MATTHEWS: It is not an increase of outside men.

MR. FIRTH: But it includes the charge for outside men?

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes.

MR. FIRTH said, in reference to the charge about the dynamite, that in 1885-6 there was some ground possibly for employing these men. The Vote in that year was increased by £16,000, and this year it had increased by £20,000 more. Consequently there must be a double operation which had not been fully explained.

MR. MATTHEWS said, it was his fault if he had not enabled the hon. and learned Member to appreciate what the facts were. In 1885 there was a vast number of men employed in outside duty. The whole cost was paid by the Metropolitan Police Fund. The expenses incurred by employing the men were not covered by this Vote. So also in 1886 and 1887, the expenses not being covered by the Vote. This year, however, there was no ground for drawing a distinction between inside and outside men, and although the number of men employed was fewer, the Treasury met

the expense of all who were employed on special duty. That was the reason of the increase in the Vote.

MR. FIRTH said, he quite understood that; but he wished to point out that the amount in 1886 was £21,000, whereas in 1887 it was £37,000. He wanted to know whether there was another increase of £20,000 now?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he thought the hon. and learned Member for Dundee had rather failed to grasp what his right hon. Friend said. No doubt the figures quoted by the hon. and learned Member for Dundee were strictly correct. The difference arose in this way: The outside men employed in 1885-6 were charged on the Metropolitan Police Fund. As time went on no doubt the increase in the Force led to increase of cost, and the question was then raised as to whether it was reasonable or equitable to charge on a local rate the cost of a Force engaged on special duties. On an appeal being made to it, the Treasury consented to bear on this Vote a portion of the charge which had been hitherto borne by the Metropolitan Police Fund. He might give an assurance that nothing would be charged on this Vote—not a single 6*d.*—except expenditure for special duties.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, he wanted an assurance that the right hon. Gentleman would inquire a little more strictly as to the large number of police employed about the Houses of Parliament, in order to see whether it could not be reduced.

MR. MATTHEWS: Certainly.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he did not think the explanation which had been given to the hon. and learned Member for Dundee (Mr. Firth) was at all satisfactory, and he should like to put one or two further questions to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary. He would ask, in the first place, if there was any fear of the incidents recurring which had led to the establishment of the Special Police in 1885? Was there any apprehension of a movement of that kind, or were there any rumours in the air? If the right hon. Gentleman would give any information on that point, it would tend to allay the feeling of alarm which a debate of this nature might naturally produce in the minds of the public as to the special purposes for which a special Vote of this nature was asked. The scare of 1885 no longer existed, and the time had therefore arrived for substantially reducing the Vote, if not for getting rid of it altogether. Then, again, he desired to know if the special force was included in the number of the Metropolitan Police, or were they entirely distinct from the Force which was under discussion last night? In 1885, when the dynamite scare was prevalent, a great part of the duty of protecting the public buildings, for a considerable period, was undertaken by regiments of soldiers. To his mind that was an additional argument why they should not continue to vote these large items for this particular service. He did not see why the military should not be employed again, if it was considered necessary to provide special protection of this kind. Was any portion of this Force told off for the protection of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary in his journeys to and from that House? It was understood that he was always accompanied by a *posse* of detectives. Did the Vote include anything for that branch of the service, and did it fall to the lot of this special police to arrest the Irish Members who attended in that House in the performance of their Parliamentary duties? He further wished to know whether any portion of this Vote was contributed for the purpose of initiating the police into the mysteries of secret associations. Some time ago, according to the newspapers, there was an agent of the police who paid certain sums of money to become a member of a secret society. It might have been necessary to employ an agent of this kind, but the House ought to have some information when voting sums of this nature. The suggestion he would make to the Government was that if it was really the case—although he did not think they had at all proved it—that it was necessary to provide enormous sums of money in this way for the employment of a considerable number of police constables in this particular service, all the facts of the case should be stated to Parliament. His advice to the Government, however, was to withdraw, not only this special staff, but the police constables, who were engaged in interfering with public meetings in the Metropolis, and employ them in their more legitimate duty of

detecting criminals. For instance, if they would withdraw the mounted police who were engaged on Tuesday in riding down the people in Clerkenwell, and employ them on other business, a considerable reduction in the present Vote might be effected. To put the case of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary into a nutshell, it simply came to this—that the more the numbers of the Force were reduced, the larger the Vote Parliament was asked to pass. He should continue to protest against the continual increase of this Vote. It was admitted that these men were introduced for a special purpose, and if the special circumstances had disappeared, they had a right to demand that the Vote should be got rid of. Was it intended to make it a permanent Vote? Would they be asked for a similar Vote next year; and, if so, would the total sum be again increased? He hoped the hon. and learned Member for Dundee would press the Vote to a Division.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) said, he thought that this was a Vote of which the Committee was bound to be jealous. It was an increasing charge, and the House ought to be satisfied, before it assented to it, that it was really getting value for its money. But from his own knowledge of the Home Office, he was compelled to admit that the principle upon which the Vote had been constructed was not an unsound one. As the whole of this £57,000 was strictly applied to the police who were engaged in protecting the House of Commons and public buildings from dynamite outrages, he would advise his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Firth) not to persist in his opposition to the Vote.

MR. FIRTH said, that after the appeal which had been made to him by his right hon. Friend, he would not press the Motion. He would only say that it was clearly understood that it was for the protection of the Houses of Parliament for Imperial purposes only, that this special police was employed. He was glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, that, in all probability, this particular expenditure would be very much reduced next year; and he hoped that some details of it would be given. If there were no further apprehension from any dynamite scare, he did not see why they should be called upon to pay for escorting Members to and from that House. Under the circumstances, he would not press the Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he had no complaint to make of the Metropolitan Police generally, or of those who were employed on special duties about the House. He had some knowledge of the Irish Constabulary, and they were certainly not noted for their civility. The difference between them and the police of London was very marked. Early this year a detective was told off to watch a gentleman who came from the town to which he (Dr. Tanner) belonged. The coarse insults which the man showered upon that gentleman were abominable. The apparent cause of the persecution was that this gentleman was at one time connected with the Gaelic Association in Ireland. He was followed, day after day, from his hotel to his place of business in the City, although he had never been connected with any of those miscreants who traded in dynamite. It was not till his employer threatened to dismiss him, and the officials at Scotland Yard were communicated with, that the nuisance was abated. Increased Votes were now asked for, but no explanation was offered. The real explanation was that the men were wanted to insult Irish Members, and it was intended ruinously to affect any Irishman who was thought to be an enemy of the Government. These police were not wanted merely to watch public buildings, and he should like to know from the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, whether the men had been systematically employed for the purpose of dogging Irish Members to and from the house. Otherwise, it would be his painful duty to move a reduction in the Vote. On more than one occasion, an humble individual like himself had been honoured with an escort in and about the City of London. He looked upon it as an extremely kind act of attention on the part of the right hon. gentleman the Home Secretary, but he could assure the right hon. Gentleman that there was no danger of his getting lost in any part of London.

At the same time, the escort was unnecessary and might be dispensed with, and that money saved.

MR. MATTHEWS said, he was able to give the hon. Member the most complete assurance that the money to which the Vote related could not possibly be employed in dogging Irish Members. As to the anecdote in reference to the gentleman connected with the Gaelic Association, he thought if the hon. Member was correct in his facts, that the constable had grossly misconducted himself, and he was satisfied that he could hardly be one of the men to whom the Vote for special services applied, as their duties were strictly local. If the hon. Member would kindly give him Notice he would ascertain what the facts of the case were. He hoped the hon. Member would furnish him with the name of the gentleman and the particulars of the case. He must say that a detective who insulted anybody ought to be strongly reprimanded and rebuked.

DR. TANNER said, he should be happy to give the right hon. Gentleman the name of the gentleman and the facts of the case. It would be obviously improper to mention the name at present. So insulting was the man in his manner that he let the cat out of the bag as to what his object was—namely, to worry, annoy, and drive into ruin an unfortunate young man, whose only offence was that he belonged to an Irish political association. When the detective was removed by the authorities at Scotland Yard, and another employed, no similar trouble or annoyance was given. He would be happy to place the facts in the possession of the Home Secretary, in the hope that the Government, in future, when they employed emissaries for the purpose of worrying political opponents, would be more cautious as to whom they employed.

Vote *agreed to.*

(2) £872,286, to complete the sum for Police, Counties and Boroughs, Great Britain.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, that here again there was an increase of the Vote. There had been an increase of £20,000 last year, and of £15,000 this. He found that the salaries and allowances were the same, also the travelling expenses and incidental expenses; but when he came to the item for the pay and clothing of the constabulary he found there was an increase of £15,000. Being an English Vote, he, as an Irish Member, did not like to say much about it; but it appeared to him extraordinary that in connection with such a Vote there should be a constant increase. He should like to get a little explanation in regard to the excess upon this item. Why should the clothing of the police cost more this year than last? Surely the cost of material could not be so very much more, and as there was, practically speaking, no increase in the number of men, it was singular that there should be an increase in any other item. He hoped that the right hon. Gentleman who was identified with the Vote would kindly afford some explanation.

COLONEL BRIDGEMAN (Bolton) moved to reduce the Vote by the sum of £1,899 4*s.* 10*d.*, half the cost of the county police employed in Bolton recently. He wished to explain that this sum had already been paid by the locality, and it was unjust that it should be paid over again. Last year there was a strike in the engineering trade, and, as disturbances were feared, those who were responsible for the preservation of the peace in the borough of Bolton asked for the county police to aid them. The county police were accordingly called in, and a sum of £6,500 was paid by the borough of Bolton for the expenses to which they were put. Of this sum £3,798 was the ordinary police wages, and, as the Secretary to the Treasury knew, one-half of that was paid back by the Exchequer out of the Consolidated Fund. The ratepayers of Bolton arranged to pay the whole of it, and yet Parliament were now asked to pass a Vote for one-half—£1,899—which was to go to the County of Lancaster, which would thus receive the money twice over. The ratepayers of Bolton would also be placed in this position: Having already paid the entire sum, they would be required, as ordinary taxpayers, to pay their share of the Imperial Grant. He trusted that the Treasury would be able to suggest some more fair arrangement.

Moved, To reduce the Vote by £1,899 4*s.* 10*d.*—(*Colonel Bridgeman.*)

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPART-

MENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) said, the sum alluded to by his hon. and gallant Friend was to cover the cost of services rendered to the borough of Bolton by the employment of the county police, under special circumstances, within that borough. They had been drafted into the borough at the request of the Local Authorities, and no doubt the sum paid by the borough included the ordinary pay of the constables, and special pay for what were called special services. At the same time, the county itself incurred a certain amount of risk in lending the men, and might have sustained injury by having its own Force placed in a position of peril, which might result in some of the men finding their way upon the non-effective list and becoming entitled to pensions. The Home Office had felt itself bound on the evidence before it to decide, in accordance with practice, that one-half of the total sum should be paid over to the county, the borough of Bolton having been saved from great liabilities in respect of damage by riot by having the services of the county police placed at its disposal. The same course was pursued in regard to Blackburn nine years ago, in the case of disturbances there. The Government Grant on that occasion was paid to the County, as the Act of Parliament directed that it should be. No doubt, under the circumstances, the County of Lancaster was the gainer. The hon. and gallant Member suggested that the County should make some allowance to the Borough, and, if there was a way open for a private arrangement, he did not think that such an allowance would be inequitable, and the Home Office would offer no objection.

COLONEL BRIDGEMAN said, the payment was made at a time last year when there was no opportunity of raising the question. He should be quite satisfied if some communication were made to the Lancashire Justices from the Home Office in reference to it.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, he had no doubt that the persons who were interested in the matter would naturally take notice of what had been said in Committee of Supply.

COLONEL BRIDGEMAN wished to remind the hon. Gentleman that there was not a very large attendance in the House at that moment, and there were very few Representatives of Lancashire present.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, he would be happy to cause a communication to be sent.

COLONEL BRIDGEMAN said, that under those circumstances he would withdraw the Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.) said, that this was the last occasion, before the formation of the County Councils, that they were likely to have this question of the police brought under the notice of the Committee, and there was one question which he would like to ask. He wanted to know the exact position in which the Chief Constable would stand in regard to the two Committees—the Police Committee and the County Council Committee. Were either of those Committees to have power to dismiss the Chief Constable, or were they not? Was the Home Secretary still to exercise the power of dismissal, or was it to be delegated to the new Body? The question was one of considerable importance at the present moment, seeing that the new Body was shortly to be created. He had a further question to ask, which was also an important one. With regard to the other arrangements of the police, he presumed the Chief Constable would have exactly the same power he always had possessed with regard to the distribution of the Force and the promotion of its officers.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. and gallant Member was irregular in raising that question, seeing that it was not dealt with in the Vote now before the Committee.

DR. TANNER said, he should like to have some explanation of the increase of this Vote.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, the Home Office could not refuse consent to reasonable increases of provincial Police Forces. The police naturally increase *pari passu* with the population and the rateable value, the number of inhabited houses, and the length of streets to be patrolled; and he had no doubt the hon. Member would find that the natural and automatic increase was due to those circumstances.

DR. TANNER asked if he was to understand that this automatic increase had been going on for years to the extent of £15,000 a-year; that there had been such an increase in the population last year, and in the rateable value, that the increased cost of the Police Force had amounted to £15,000? Any intelligent person who went into the matter would regard the statement of the hon. Gentleman with a certain amount of surprise. The total sum now asked for for the police was £875,000, and if it were to go on increasing at this rate every year, what would it be by-and-bye? The matter was clearly one that was worthy of investigation, for he failed to understand why there should be such an automatic increase to such a terrible extent. The explanation of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State disclosed another fault in regard to those Estimates. He (Dr. Tanner) had asked what that increase of £15,000 was due to, and the hon. Gentleman informed him that it was merely the automatic increase to the cost of the Force. In such circumstances it was most desirable that there should be some detailed accounts in the Estimates. He had pointed out in the course of his remarks that there did not appear to be an increased number of men.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must inform the hon. Member that his remarks were perfectly irrelevant to this Vote.

DR. TANNER said, he was merely asking that the Committee should have some knowledge of the case why this increased amount of money was asked for. He desired to know the special purposes for which the increased Vote was to be passed. So far, all he was told was that it was due to an automatic increase arising from the increase of population and the rateable value. He therefore wanted to know what the increase had been in the number of men, or whether the additional cost was for clothing, or what other particular branch of the expenditure was the occasion of the increase?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, the hon. Member would find an explanation of the exact increase in the number of men upon page 245 of the Estimates. It would be seen that, as a matter of fact, fewer men were needed this year than last. He thought there were eight men less. There had been an actual increase in some counties, but six of the boroughs in Lancashire had elected to take over the control of the police into their own hands. That was the reason why in the counties this year the actual number of men was less than it was last year. As a matter of fact, there had been an increase in the number of men, although, judging from the Estimates, there would appear to have been an actual decrease. The total increase in the number of men employed in England and Wales was 332. The application for an increase in the Police Force always came from the locality and was made to the Court of Quarter Sessions.

Vote *agreed to.*

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £311,180, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Expenses of the Prisons in England, Wales, and the Colonies."

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) said, he wished to say a word or two upon this Vote; and in the first place he desired to express the satisfaction which he felt at the reduction which had taken place in the Vote. There was a reduction of £30,000 or £40,000, and he thought that that was a subject of congratulation. The prisons were under the eye of Sir E. Duncane, the head of the Department, and all who had been in official relations with him agreed that no one at the head of a great Office was more successful in enforcing judicious economy. As he had said, in connection with a previous Vote, he was not responsible for the present Vote during the short time he was at the Home Office; he only took over the Estimates which he found there, and before he left the Home Office the task of preparing the Estimates for the coming year had not commenced. His hands were, therefore, free; but he wished to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) to the great inequality which existed in regard to the payments of chaplains and doctors in England as compared with Scotland and Ireland. Anyone going through the Estimates

would see that in Scotland and Ireland the rates of pay in respect of these officers was much less than in the English prisons. He did not know on what grounds that difference was justified, and why it should be necessary to pay a higher rate for both classes of officers in England. He had no desire to enter into details, but he wanted to hear what explanation the Government had to make. To begin with, he was unable to make out why the rates of pay, for instance, of the chaplains employed in the English prisons and those employed in the Scotch and Irish prisons should show such an enormous difference in favour of the English chaplains. If hon. Members would refer to page 254 they would see that almost the whole of the chaplains employed in England received salaries of £300 and £400 a-year. If they would refer then to the subsequent estimates for the Scotch and Irish prisons, they would find that in Scotland no chaplain received more than £300 a-year, while in Ireland the difference was still more marked, as no chaplain in that country received as much as £200 a-year. He did not know why there should be such a discrepancy in the payments. At pages 335, 338, and 339, the Vote for the Irish chaplains was given, and it would be seen that no Irish chaplain received more than £200 a-year. The general rate was from £150 to £200. The most highly-paid chaplains only received £200, and they were probably chaplains who had been appointed before the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Similar discrepancies existed in the case of the prison doctors. In the prisons in England the surgeons were paid much more than the doctors attached to the prisons in Scotland and Ireland, although the duties were entirely the same. He wished to have an explanation of the reason why a higher rate of pay was given. When he came to add up the number of chaplains and doctors employed in England, the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State would find that the difference amounted to a very large sum, to several thousands a-year in the aggregate. It was therefore important to press on the Home Office the necessity of looking specially into the matter. If anything could be done to equalize the rates of payment the Home Office would remove a very great sore which was felt in Ireland and Scotland at finding they were paid so very much worse than their *confrères* in England. No doubt it would be impossible to interfere with vested interests. He should be the last person to make a suggestion of that kind; but he thought that when it became necessary to fill up vacancies, and make fresh appointments to the offices of chaplain and doctor in England, the appointments should be made on a new scale.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he had put down an Amendment to this Vote to reduce it by £1,000, in order to place the English prison surgeons and chaplains on the same level as their Scotch and Irish brethren. He had on several occasions called attention to this matter in the shape of Questions; but the answer he usually received was one which rendered matters more secure by elucidation, and darkened by explanation. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) told them that evening that the three Kingdoms were united. No doubt, so far as Scotland was concerned, they were united when they wished the Scotch people to pay a tax; but they were not a united Kingdom when it was proposed to expend any money upon a Scotch subject. He wished to point out that this great inequality not only occurred with reference to this Vote, but in regard to every Vote which was to follow. According to the replies he had received in the past from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson), it seemed to be thus—that because some of the higher-paid surgeons in England were surgeons in the convict prisons, that that was a full explanation why they should receive a higher rate of payment for their services. Now, they had only got one convict prison in Scotland, and in that case the surgeon only received £100 a-year; so that, as a matter of fact, the surgeons of convict prisons did not invariably receive a higher rate of payment than the surgeons of ordinary prisons. Nor was the surgeon of a convict prison required to do the work of an ordinary prison surgeon. An ordinary prison surgeon had to examine all the prisoners who were brought before him, while the convict prison surgeon had not anything like the same amount of work to do, because the men he was

required to attend went in for a long period of years, whereas, in the case of an ordinary prison, new men were constantly coming in, all of whom had to undergo an examination. At Kirkdale there were 515 prisoners, and at Leeds 490; so far as numbers were concerned, those prisons were similar to that of Glasgow, which had 450, and the prison at Perth, which had 500. At Barlinnie, the great Scotch prison, there were 735 prisoners, yet there was only one surgeon, with a salary of £200 a-year; while at Wakefield, with about the same number of prisoners to attend daily, there were two surgeons, one of whom was paid £450 a-year, with an assistant surgeon at £250. In the case of Scotland the surgeon had to do all the work himself, while in England the principal surgeon had an assistant. The maximum paid to any Scotch surgeon was £300, whereas the assistant surgeon of Wakefield began at £250. It must be borne in mind that the gentlemen employed in the two countries came from the same class; and it could not be said that the discrepancy arose in consequence of a greater expense involved in living in England, because all these gentlemen are housed free. In his (Dr. Clark's) opinion the discrepancy arose from this fact—that whenever any Vote was wanted for Scotland, it was refused. The Scotch Members were always doing their best to reduce the expenditure of the country; but they did not find that their English *confrères* were willing to aid them in carrying out the same object. Then, in regard to the prison chaplains. They were in the same position. He was not in favour of State chaplains at all; but while they did employ them in their prisons he did not see why a Presbyterian clergyman should be paid only one-half of what they considered it desirable to pay to an Episcopalian chaplain. He did not see why a chaplain of the first class in Scotland should begin at a salary of £200, while in England it was £400. He intended to press the Motion for the reduction he had moved to a Division. He had referred to the subject last year, and had endeavoured time after time since to obtain a satisfactory explanation from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, but without effect. Unless he got a satisfactory explanation why in the Scotch prisons the surgeons should be paid £50 a-year less than the assistant-surgeon of an English prison, he should consider it his duty to take a Division, as a protest against the unequal payment of surgeons and chaplains in the two countries.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item D, Pay and Allowances, be reduced by £1,000, in respect of Medical Officers and Chaplains."—(*Dr. Clark.*)

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) said, he was glad that the question had been raised by his hon. Friend the Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark), because it was one in which he had taken a great deal of interest, and he was curious to hear what explanation could be given from the Treasury Bench. The discrepancy was so very great that he could hardly see what explanation could possibly be given. They were told by his hon. Friend that the chaplains and doctors were exactly of the same class, both in England and Scotland, and what his hon. Friend had said was perfectly correct, that the work of the surgeons in Scotland was much heavier, more continuous, and more responsible than that of the same class of men in England. They had to examine very carefully and report upon the condition of the large number of prisoners who were weekly, and almost daily, passing through their hands. The only explanation he could see was that as a general principle everything was worse paid in Scotland than in England. Personally, he should feel inclined to say that it was a case for levelling up, rather than levelling down; he did not say that the English surgeons were paid too much, but he maintained that the prison surgeons of Scotland were paid too little.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he wished to say a few words upon this Vote, because he had been prevented last year from bringing before the Government, as well as he could have wished, the question of the chaplains which had been raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers). It was not his fault but due to something else, having been ruled out of Order. He objected altogether to this system of paying chaplains considerable salaries for all the different prisons. If they would look at the list which appeared

on page 260 of the Estimates, they would find an entry of the assumed average daily number of prisoners attended, and they would find that in a very small number of the prisons was there anything like as many as 100 persons in daily average occupation. He scarcely understood what was meant by the words, "assumed daily average." Were they to understand that that represented the number of prisoners actually in prison from month to month, or what? If hon. Members would look down the list, they would find that there were a very large number of prisons in which there were only 50 prisoners, and in most of them there were under 100. He would take one particular prison—namely, that of Dorchester, of which he had received information from persons who were cognizant of the facts. He was assured that in that case the assumed average number, put down in the Estimates at 115, was greatly in excess of the real number, and that it would be more correct to say that the average daily number of prisoners was something like 60. But whatever the general average might be in those prisons, he did not see what they wanted with a chaplain, who was paid a salary of £200, £250, £300, and as much as £450 a-year, for the purpose of looking after them. Last year, in answer to a Question he had put, he was told that it was impossible to cashier all these chaplains at once; but it was suggested that, as they died off or resigned, their places would not be filled up. He did not know whether that was the policy which was now adopted by the Government. [Mr. MATTHEWS dissented.] He saw that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary shook his head, and therefore he assumed that it was not. He submitted to the Government that it would be very easy to do this business of religious instruction, or whatever business the Chaplains were supposed to perform at the prisons, at a much cheaper rate. Without dealing with such prisons as those at Wandsworth and Pentonville, with 1,150, or Liverpool with 1,000, or Strangeways at Manchester, but with prisons where there were an exceedingly small number of prisoners, he did say that it was an extravagant and wasteful expenditure to maintain on the establishment chaplains who were paid £400 a-year for their services. He represented an important portion of a county which was almost entirely devoid of crime; indeed, it was the usual rule for the Judge who attended the Assizes at Bodmin to receive a pair of white gloves. At any rate, the average number of prisoners in the gaol there was only put down at 40; so that showed how exceedingly free from crime, with a population of more than 330,000, that part of the county was. With so small a number of prisoners, he felt bound to deprecate the appointment on the establishment of chaplains with high salaries. He would suggest to the Government that there was an easy remedy for this state of things. He would suggest that the religious functions and ceremonies required by the prisoners should be performed, not by separate chaplains who were made fixtures in the prisons, and had practically nothing to do on week days, except in special circumstances, and whose principal duty was to conduct one, or at the most, two services on Sunday; he would suggest that they should follow the same line which had been pursued, with much advantage, in connection with the workhouses. In the workhouses they never thought of having a separate chaplain, but they obtained the services of some of the resident clergy. He believed that in connection with the Union Workhouse at Redruth, in his own Division, the Rector of the parish within which the workhouse was situated, received about £40 a-year for his ministrations there. He was a most estimable gentleman, and did all that was necessary for the benefit of the occupants of the workhouse; and he would venture to say that there were more persons in that workhouse than there were in the gaol at Bodmin. Take, for instance, another gaol which he had already mentioned—namely, that of Dorchester, of which he knew something, because he had relations who live there. [*Laughter.*] He did not mean that they lived in the gaol, but in the town; and he had mentioned the fact, because he wished the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary to understand that he was not putting forward merely theoretical views. In the Town of Dorchester there were numerous reverend gentlemen, some of whom were perfectly willing to do all that was necessary in the way of ministerial duties

in the gaol for a far less sum than that which was paid to the chaplain of a prison for attending to the religious wants of the prisoners. He maintained that their expenditure in this direction was wasteful and wholly unnecessary, and he failed to see why they did not apply to the gaols the same principle which had been found to work so well in the workhouses. Indeed, there was nothing to occupy the whole time of the chaplains, and if the Government would cause an inquiry to be made, they would find that in all the towns where those gaols existed they would be able to obtain the services of clergymen and ministers of different denominations who would do all they required for £40 or £50 a-year. Indeed, their duties in the gaols would amount to a very small addition to their customary duties in the parish. Another reason why he pressed this matter upon the Government was, that he found on page 254 of the Estimates that the Presbyterian visiting clergymen only received £100 a-year. He did not know what his visits consisted of, and whether he visited only one gaol, but he would suggest that, as it was possible to get a Presbyterian minister to visit a prison and do what was necessary for £100 a-year, it would be just as easy to get clergymen of other denominations to undertake the same duties for the same remuneration. He thought it was wrong to go on paying those large salaries to gentlemen whose duties were exceedingly light. There was another matter in connection with this Vote which he was anxious to refer to, seeing that it related to the personal health and comfort of the prisoners themselves. He thought the right hon. Gentleman would not contradict him when he said that it was the universal rule for the prison cells to be whitewashed. The walls, consequently, were very dazzling to the eyesight. He had no wish to introduce Irish matters in this question, but he believed hon. Members behind him would support him when he said that, through the constant glare of the whitewashed walls, the eyesight of the persons confined in them had become much injured. He believed that that had been the case with most of the prisoners who were sent to gaol, and he held that they had no right, physically, to injure any man whom it was found necessary to send to prison for the commission of any crime, whether political or otherwise. Therefore, if it could be shown—and he was satisfied it could be shown—that the glare of the white walls did produce an injurious effect on prisoners who were confined in gaol for weeks and months, Her Majesty's Government ought to see whether they could not remedy the evil, so as not to inflict a permanent injury upon the prisoners. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman to give an undertaking that he would make inquiry as to whether it was not possible to cover the walls of the cells with a different coloured wash—say green, pink, or blue. All that he asked was that the right hon. Gentleman would make an experiment in the matter. He was speaking now of the class of men and women who were not able to represent their own grievances in that House. He thought it was a matter of common humanity that they should not inflict upon the prisoners permanent injury. If the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would consider the points which had been urged, both in regard to prison chaplains and surgeons, he thought it might be possible, in future, to face the amount of the Vote.

Mr. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, he was sorry that he was obliged to differ from his hon. Friends in reference to the question of prison chaplains.

Mr. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) rose to Order. He understood his hon. Friend to move the reduction of the Vote for surgeons and not for chaplains. Was it competent, therefore, to discuss the question of the chaplains on that Motion?

The CHAIRMAN said, the Question he had put to the Committee was for the reduction of the Vote in both classes.

Mr. MOLLOY said, that in the case of the chaplains it was necessary that they should be permanently attached to the prisons. It would be most undesirable to have one chaplain coming in one week and a different man the next. It was therefore necessary that every prison should have a chaplain attached to it, who should attend to the religious wants of the prisoners and have no other work to do. The work of the chaplains in the prisons was about the best kind of work that could be done, because a considerable number of persons in the gaols were persons who

were rather there by accident, and not because they were professional or habitual criminals. They had rendered themselves liable to punishment for having committed one single fault, and they were, therefore, peculiarly amenable to the influence of the chaplain of their own denomination. He, therefore, could not support his hon. Friend in the policy he had advocated of doing away with the office of prison chaplain. There was, however, a considerable discrepancy in the pay of chaplains of different countries. He knew nothing about the number of chaplains employed who belonged to the Established Church, and whether they were absolutely necessary or not, but he could not see what reason there could be for selecting chaplains of one creed, which he would call the English creed, and giving them double the salary of other clergymen of the Scotch and Irish creeds. At the same time he might say, on behalf of the Roman Catholic chaplains, that he was satisfied with the remuneration they received. He thought that £200 a-year, rising to £250, was sufficient for the purpose. It was given merely in the nature of sustenance and support to them in carrying out the objects of their sacred calling, but to give large salaries to a considerable number of chaplains of one particular denomination was altogether unnecessary, in addition to which there was the danger of creating appointments in the nature of sinecures, which would be sought for that reason, and not for the purpose of doing good. There was another reason why he was in favour of the retention of prison chaplains. Considerable progress had been made of late years in regard to the aid given to prisoners on leaving gaol by such institutions as "The Prisoners' Aid Society." The officers of such Society were able to hear from the chaplains, who being in constant attendance on the prisoners knew a great deal about them, and the prisoners thus were consequently able to obtain assistance and good advice when they left the gaol. He certainly thought that the distinction drawn in the payment of clergymen of different creeds was marked, and afforded a justifiable ground of complaint both to the Scotch and Irish Members. He was of opinion that a reduction might fairly be made in the Vote, and, if possible, in the number of chaplains employed also. The contrast, so far as the payment was concerned, was very great, and no satisfactory reason was given for it. It was simply a remanet of the old rule and custom observed in the House of Commons, that where Scotch and Irish matters were concerned economy should be practised, but where English matters were concerned there should not be economy, but absolute waste and extravagance.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he entirely agreed with his hon. Friend, and did not think that the Committee would vote in favour of there being no chaplains at all. That, however, was not the question. Nobody asked that there should be no chaplains in the gaol; but they were simply asking that those gentlemen should receive a fair and adequate, but not an excessive, amount of remuneration. In many cases, clergymen with not more than £200 a-year had to do a considerable amount of duty in the parish, while the prison chaplain was paid a salary of £400 a-year. There was not the slightest question that if those offices were thrown open to the clergy of the Established Church in the locality, or to other creeds, there would be an enormous number of applications from gentlemen who would be ready to undertake them for £100 or £150 a-year. The strong point was that the State did not pay Roman Catholic clergymen nor Presbyterian clergymen the same sums which they paid for clergy of the Established Church. Nor did they pay the clergy in Scotland at the same rate as they paid the clergy in England. He thought there ought to be one fair rule. Let all denominations be paid alike, and then they could discuss whether the amount was excessive or not. Because it happened that in that House the clergy assumed a sort of predominance and superiority over other sects, there was no reason why the clergy of the Established Church should, therefore, receive higher remuneration than those of other sects. He was not going to state his own religious views, nor to what Church he belonged; but assuming that he belonged to the Church of England—he meant the Established Church of England—he should be the very last, and he could not understand how any member of the Church could do it, to insist on the predominance of the members of his own particular Church

over everybody else. It did appear to him that gentlemen who were opposed to the doctrines of disendowment and disestablishment were doing great service to those doctrines by putting forward a plea that so long as the Church of England was not disendowed and not disestablished its members should be paid for the services they had rendered on a far higher scale than was accorded to the clergy of other denominations for the performance of precisely similar duties. He thought there ought to be a fixed amount of remuneration for clergymen of all creeds.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he quite acknowledged the kindly spirit in which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) had introduced this question, and he was already acquainted with most of the facts which had been commented on by hon. Members. But really the whole question was a very simple one. There were two prisons in Glasgow now—the Glasgow Prison and the Barlinnie Prison. The Glasgow Prison was originally a large prison, and the pay of the surgeon connected with it was settled by consultation. When Barlinnie Prison was established the duty of looking after it was given to the same gentleman who was the surgeon of the Glasgow Prison; but by and bye Barlinnie got so large that it became necessary to make a new arrangement, and the question was whether the surgeon of the Glasgow Prison should receive the services of an assistant, or whether the two prisons should be entirely separated? In the end the two were separated, and a surgeon was appointed to each of them. It so happened, however, that Barlinnie Prison had become the larger establishment of the two, but the surgeon attached to it received the smaller of the two salaries. He would remind the Committee, however, that the appointment was quite a recent one, and the gentleman who accepted the office made no objection to the salary. It did, however, so happen that the gentleman who had been appointed surgeon at the Barlinnie Prison—the larger prison of the two—had the smaller salary. There were two plans by which this undoubted anomaly could be corrected—one would be to give a slight increase to the salary of the surgeon at Barlinnie; and in that respect he would point out that the appointment had been recently made, and that the gentleman who took the office was appointed practically upon a permanent salary. The other plan, which was quite within the competence of the Scotch Office, was to transfer the more highly-paid surgeon from Glasgow to the larger prison at Barlinnie, and bring the surgeon of Barlinnie Prison to Glasgow Prison. He had most carefully considered the matter in conjunction with Sir Edward Du Cane, who, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh had said, had a larger experience in connection with these matters than any other man in the country; and they had come to the conclusion that, although there was an anomaly, and he was prepared to admit that the payment of the surgeon at Barlinnie was rather less than the circumstances warranted, yet, at the same time, it was open to contend that the payment of the surgeon at the Glasgow Prison was rather more than was necessary.

DR. CLARK asked, on what basis the surgeon of Glasgow Prison received a larger salary? Was it because his daily attendance at the prison was greater, or upon what grounds?

MR. JACKSON said, the ground was that the surgeon received a larger salary because he had previously filled the two offices of surgeon at the Glasgow and surgeon at the Barlinnie Prison. The excess might be regarded as something in the shape of a personal allowance, which, in all probability, if a vacancy were to occur, would not be continued to his successor. It would be absolutely impossible to draw a hard-and-fast line, and to make a scheme which should be applicable to every case. A comparison between the English and the Scotch prisons showed, no doubt, that the lower rate was paid to the latter; but there were no prisons in Scotland with so many inmates as were to be found in the largest English gaols. In some of the English prisons there were as many as 1,300 prisoners. His right hon. Friend the Home Secretary informed the House that the number was still larger. The prison now in course of erection at Wormwood Scrubbs would, he believed, have room for 1,400 prisoners. There was no such prison in

Scotland, and, so far as he remembered from the Scotch scale of payments, there was a classification according to numbers; but there was no provision made for prisons with more than 700 inmates. The English scale was divided into many gradations—that was to say, that the classification represented a less number between one scale and the next above it. Of course, it was quite open to consideration whether the existing scale might not be advantageously revised, and whether they were not paying on too high a scale. They were now settled practically on the lines of the salaries paid by the Local Authorities previous to 1877, when the prisons were taken over by the Government under Lord Cross's Act. The scale was settled at that time on the lines of the amount that had been given previously, and, apparently, the scale adopted by the Local Authorities in England was higher than that of the Local Authorities in Scotland. That, no doubt, was one reason why there was some discrepancy. The suggestions which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) were quite worthy of consideration, with a view to seeing whether the system of classification to which he had referred ought not now to be revised. His own opinion was that they ought to have a scale rising from 200. For instance, one classification for prisoners less than 200, and the next for 400, then 600, 800, 1,000, 1,200, and 1,400. But, at the time the classification was made, there was no prison containing so large a number of prisoners as some of the gaols contained now. There had been going on for some years a process of closing the smaller prisons, and concentrating the prisoners in the larger prisons. It was considered that that tended to improve the discipline of the prisons. With regard to the chaplains, he pointed out that it was quite impossible for gentlemen to discharge the duties of chaplains in large prisons if they had other duties to perform outside. He understood that the hours of service in prisons in this country were about the same as those in churches and chapels. The payments which were made, he believed, were based on population, and he was not prepared to say that anomalies did not exist; but he thought, on the whole, that the arrangements were made fairly as between England, Ireland, and Scotland, and that the small anomaly which he was prepared to admit did exist amounted, at the outside, to not more than £50 a-year. In dealing with these salaries the tendency was to endeavour to extract more money from the Treasury, and it was very difficult to resist demands sometimes when individuals found strong support in Members of Parliament. If the hon. Gentleman opposite asked why, if the amount were so small, it was not altered, he would answer that if they began to tamper with individual cases they would not know where to stop. He could assure the hon. Gentleman that there was every disposition on the part of the Treasury to inquire into the anomaly which existed, and try to remove grievances.

MR. CHILDERS said, the Committee would be obliged to the hon. Gentleman for the way in which he had promised that this matter should be looked into; but the hon. Gentleman appeared to think that this was a small matter, whereas it was, indeed, a very large one. There were 150 surgeons and chaplains on salaries provided in this Estimate for England only, and the total amounted to between £35,000 and £40,000. When they saw that the large sum he had mentioned was spent in England, and that the scale itself was nearly double that applied to Scotland and Ireland, he thought they ought to have a distinct promise from the Representatives of the Home Office that the scale should be reduced, so that everyone hereafter appointed should not receive more than the sum fixed. If the hon. Gentleman would give the Committee an assurance that the Treasury and Home Office would at once take in hand a new scale for the payment of chaplains and surgeons, he would undertake to say that in the course of years, as vacancies occurred and vested interests ceased, a reduction of £10,000 per annum would be thereby secured. As he had said, the question was a very large one, and he should not ask the Committee to take his view were it not that he felt strongly upon this subject. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman, or the hon. Gentleman at his side, to say that the Treasury and the Home Office would set to work and reform the scale of payment in the case of these officers.

MR. JACKSON said, he did not suppose that the right hon. Gentleman wished to reduce the salaries of the existing officers.

MR. CHILDERS said, he wished the Treasury and the Home Office to frame a new scale for all fresh appointments and promotions. He had no wish to interfere with existing payments.

MR. JACKSON said, that while he desired to give the Committee every assurance that the question would be most carefully considered, he would point out that there were some difficulties which might arise to make it almost impossible to give immediate relief. It was very easy for hon. Members to get up and ask the Government to pledge themselves on every Vote and on every item to make a reduction or some alteration, but it was a physical impossibility for them to deal with all these questions at once; there must be some little time given for due consideration, and, therefore, he thought he was not unreasonable in asking for it. What was the position of the Treasury at that moment? It was occupied in the defence of one set of Estimates and in the preparation of another, and the present was the very busiest period of the year. As he had said, there was a limit to human endurance, but he promised the right hon. Gentleman that what it was possible to do should be done.

DR. CLARK said, he had asked two months ago whether the Scotch surgeons who were paid the salaries mentioned in the Estimates had a greater or less numbers of prisoners to attend than the English surgeons, and the answer of the hon. Gentleman was that there was a less number of prisoners in the Scotch prisons. But in the prisons at Glasgow and Edinburgh there was a larger number of prisoners than in the same class of English prisons, and his contention was that the surgeons should be paid on the English scale in the Scotch prisons. The hon. Gentleman told him last year that the matter should receive his consideration, but, as his consideration had produced no practical effect, he should divide the Committee upon his Motion to reduce the Vote, unless the hon. Gentleman would say that there should be one scale applying equally to England and Scotland according to the number of prisoners. If the hon. Gentleman would give that assurance he should be ready to withdraw his Motion, but as the matter stood they were paying men in Scotland, having the same qualifications, and drawn from the same class, only about one-half what they were paying to those in corresponding positions in England.

MR. JACKSON said, he was afraid he could not satisfy the hon. Gentleman in the manner he wished. He could not pledge himself, and he had no information at hand to enable him, when challenged in this manner, to say without a moment's hesitation that the Government would deal with this matter. The scales were misleading, because they did not in every case indicate an equal number of prisoners. He had made an examination with regard to the offices held in Scotland, and he could assure the hon. Gentleman that if a hard-and-fast rule were applied, and the English scale, according to population, were adopted, there would be as many salaries reduced in Scotland as would be increased. He was quite ready to rectify anomalies, but he thought the hon. Gentleman must be aware that he could not make pledges that he did not see his way to fulfil.

DR. CLARK said, the hon. Gentleman had made a statement which he could not allow to pass unchallenged; he therefore called his attention again to the subject, and asked him whether the figures placed in the hands of hon. Members were accurate or not, because, in the former case, the statement of the hon. Gentleman could not be accurate. He found that the prison he referred to stood at the head of the four Scotch prisons, and that the daily number of inmates was 735; whereas the numbers given for Leeds were 583, for Birmingham 586, and for Kirkdale 594. That being so, he did not see how any change, such as was proposed, could affect Scotch surgeons except in the way of increasing the money paid for surgeons.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said, that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had, in reply to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers), used an extraordinary argument, inasmuch as the reason he gave for not adopting the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman was that the Government had in hand two sets of Estimates. So far as the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to

the Treasury was concerned, he allowed that this was a valid argument, but it was one which undoubtedly reflected upon his official superiors and the responsible Members of the Government, and he would ask how it affected the taxpayers of the country? His argument was that, because the Treasury had two sets of Estimates, one set of these Estimates could not be put right; in other words, because the Government had muddled away the time of the House, the anomalies which had been pointed out in the course of the discussion must continue to exist. But it was not only Scotland that was badly treated; he wished to draw attention to the unfair manner in which Irish officials were treated as compared with those of England. He found that the chaplains in English prisons received £400 or £500 a-year, whereas those of a corresponding class in Ireland only got £100, and the great majority of them only £80 a-year. He did not see why this anomaly should be allowed to exist. If the hon. Gentleman would entertain the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh, and would agree to modify the scale before next Session, either the officials of Ireland and Scotland would get the same amount of pay, or the taxpayers in Ireland and Scotland would get the benefit of contributing less to the general taxation in future. The anomaly that had been pointed out was one which he did not think the Government could justify; but he had risen chiefly to draw attention to the extraordinary argument of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, with respect to the Department having in hand two sets of Estimates, and he thought the Government ought either to increase the staff of assistants at the Treasury, or else to take care in future that the business of the country should not be postponed to the last moment, and the undue pressure of work be made the reason for not reforming existing anomalies.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) asked, whether it would be competent for him, after the Committee had divided on this Amendment, to raise the question of the salaries of the medical officers at Kirkdale Prison, Liverpool, before the Vote was passed?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 101 Noes 161: Majority 60.—(Div. List, No. 291.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.) said, he desired to ask the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Office (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) a question with regard to an item which appeared on page 150—namely, that of Extra Receipts paid into the Exchequer as the proceeds of mat-making. He had on former occasions asked for information, for Returns, and also for a Select Committee to inquire into this subject, but he regretted to say that he had not received satisfaction on any one of those points. On one occasion the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department said that he declined to comply with the request, because the prison authorities had considerable objection to publish the details asked for. When the Prisons Act of 1877 was passed, which dealt with the question of prison manufacture, a clause was inserted to prevent unfair competition with outside trade, while due regard was to be paid to the maintenance of the penal character of prison discipline. He had been unable to obtain from Her Majesty's Government any information, and he was, therefore, obliged to place before the Committee the information which he himself possessed. He was informed by those engaged in the trade that the labour in risons was let to contractors, who sent in their own materials, and that the goods were placed on the market in competition with other manufacturers, the goods being sold at prices representing a trifle more than the cost of production. He was told that the prices paid by contractors for prison labour would average no more than £3 per man per annum, and that there was an undue proportion of prison labour employed in mat-making. He would point out that the men engaged in mat-making had a real grievance; their trade was very bad, and the complaint was that those engaged in it were suffering from the competition of prison manufacture. As he had shown, it was the intention of the Act passed in 1877 that this unfair competition should not take place. He hoped that evening to obtain some information from the Government,

and a promise of an announcement, in a short time, that the unfair competition which undoubtedly did exist should not be allowed to continue.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) said, with reference to the general question of prison labour, there would, of course, be a grievance if they were to employ a large number of prisoners in any particular manufacture, because it would tend seriously to create disturbances in trade. Ten years ago there were about 3,000 prisoners employed in mat-making; whereas at the present moment there were, according to the Return, less than half that number, or 1,472, the Government having greatly reduced the number employed. He could assure the hon. Member that reductions in this respect were made wherever it was possible to do so, but it was necessary to find varied forms of employment for prisoners of all classes. It must be remembered that there was now only the small number he had mentioned of prisoners engaged in mat-making, out of 20,000 prisoners, including convicts. Each prisoner was estimated to do one-fourth or one-fifth of the work of a free man; and, therefore, the whole amount of prison labour devoted to mat-making amounted to that of about 300 men only, which he did not think could have any appreciable effect upon the industry in question. Nor were all of these 1,472 engaged in making mats for sale to the public, for many of them were engaged in making for Government Departments. At one time when mat-making was first practised in prisons the number of private manufacturers was extremely small, and the comparatively large number of persons now engaged in the trade showed that it had grown up during the time when the competition of prison labour was, according to hon. Members, far more unfair than it was at present. As a matter of fact, then, the decrease of wages in the trade must be largely due to an increased number of producers coming into the market. Nor had that competition been developed in this country alone; because there were several foreign countries in which the mat-making industry had grown greatly, and which countries exported their goods to England. As he had said, it would be seen that the very small number of prisoners engaged in this industry could not produce that depreciating effect attributed to it. This had been obviously caused by other forms of competition. He was informed that it had happened more than once that Envoys had come over here, with high diplomatic credentials, for the purpose of studying the mat-making processes in our prisons, with a view to introducing it into the prisons in their own countries. To a recent application of the kind the Home Office had opposed a steady refusal. So far as it was consistent with proper discipline and treatment of prisoners, the number engaged upon this work had been steadily reduced.

MR. CREMER (Shoreditch, Haggerston) said, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) would pardon him for saying that his reply was not altogether of a satisfactory character. This had been, with a large number of persons, a fixed and sore question during the last 20 years. From time to time Ministers of State had been approached by them with the view of getting their grievances redressed, and he could not think that the answer given to the hon. Gentleman the Member for West Southwark (Mr. Causton) was in any degree sufficient. It was laid down in the Prisons Act of 1877, in the most emphatic manner, that there should be no undue pressure or competition with any particular trade or industry; but there had been undue competition owing to the fact, stated over and again, that the Government competed with honest industry, the result of which was that a very serious reduction had taken place in the wages of those engaged in the industry of mat-making. This had, as he had already pointed out, been a subject of complaint during 20 years, and the sufferers had never been able to get any real redress, notwithstanding the reiterated applications made to various Governments. It seemed to him that a remedy was to be found in the issue of specific instructions that no goods manufactured in prisons should be sold at less than market prices. That, he believed, was as far as they could go in redressing the grievance of which complaint was made; and he thought that if the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary would give a pledge that the provisions of the Prisons Acts of 1877

should be carried out in spirit and in letter, no more would be heard on this difficulty with regard to the mat-making industry. It was not only the operatives who suffered severely from this undue competition—the manufacturers were also injured. It seemed to him (Mr. Cremer) that at a time when the Government had appointed a Committee to inquire into the sweating system in the Metropolis and elsewhere, it was a most anomalous spectacle to find them engaged in this work. For the sake of good example to the community, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would see that positive instructions should be issued that the goods made in prisons and workhouses should not be sold below market prices.

MR. BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich) said, he sympathized very strongly with the mat-making industry and the wood-choppers of the Metropolis, but he trusted the Government would not, in response to this complaint, for a moment pledge themselves to reduce the amount of productive labour put into the hands of prisoners. Those who were not directly affected by the competition of prison labour were, nevertheless, interested in this matter, because they had to pay for the cost of maintenance of prisoners in gaol, and if they were put on productive employment they would cost less than they did when engaged in useless work. There was more in this question, however, than he had stated, because if they put a man upon unproductive labour they did not make him any fonder of work than he was when he went into prison; whereas, if they taught him a trade which he could exercise when he came out, he was much less likely to go back to prison. He had heard recently of a very interesting plan pursued by the Italian Government. They had made it a rule, with regard to women convicts, that a certain firm which worked for the Government in the manufacture of lace should give employment to nearly 300 prisoners in lace-making. These were paid for at the rate of 2½*d.* a-day each, of which 1½*d.* was kept for the female convicts employed, and it was found that women in this way would earn 200 or 300 francs on the average, while the contractors undertook to give them employment when they came out of prison at the rate of 7½*d.* a-day. The most interesting part of the story was that not 2 per cent of these women went back to prison, and, therefore, he recommended the Government to increase, rather than diminish, the amount of reproductive labour put into the hands of prisoners.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) said, the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) seemed to have missed entirely the point raised by the hon. Member for West Southwark (Mr. Causton). He had placed before the House the view that, having undertaken to reduce the number of persons engaged in mat-making, the Government were thereby endeavouring to meet the difficulty, but that was not the case. The great thing was to prevent prison labour coming into competition with any other labour, and the complaint of the firewood choppers was not so much that the wood was chopped in the workhouse, as that it was afterwards sold under the market price. Now with regard to mat-making the case was serious, because the Government had set up machinery by which mats could be produced at a much cheaper rate than by the manufacturers, and this had had the effect not only of their keeping ona smaller number of men, but, at the same time, of reducing wages, and in this way the prison system acted quite as prejudicially to the manufacturers as to the mat-makers themselves. He sympathized with the hon. Gentleman with regard to the difficulties surrounding this matter, still he thought those difficulties could be surmounted if they would always keep before their minds the fact that in no case should the goods produced in prisons, workhouses, or any other Government establishments, be allowed to undersell the productions of free labour. If the Government undertook to look into this matter and deal with it in some way or other, he felt sure that free labour would be able to hold its own in the market.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) said, he desired to impress on the Representatives of the Home Office the view taken by his hon. Friend. The question was of much greater importance than they seemed to think. If he had caught the figures rightly, the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department said there were 1,400

men employed, with the aid of machinery, in the industry of mat-making. This would show at once that the output of these men must be very large indeed, and must seriously affect the outside trade. With regard to the information which the hon. Gentleman thought it right to withhold from the House—namely, the price paid by the manufacturers who had material made up in prisons, he was at a loss to understand why the price paid should not be known to the Committee. The price given in every trade for having work done was perfectly well known to everyone engaged in particular industries, and why there should be any secrecy about the price paid for prison labour, as he had said, he could not understand. None of them were opposed to the principle laid down by the hon. Member for Northwich (Mr. Brunner) with regard to making the time of prisoners as valuable as possible. They were as anxious as he that the best should be done with their time, so that these unfortunate persons might be able to earn their living when they left prison, but they did not want unjust competition with free labour.

Mr. CAUSTON said, that one of the difficulties which the Government had to contend with was that they encouraged outside people to send in material to be manufactured. He believed that if this plan were discontinued, and the Government made up their own materials, the goods being sold at market prices, there would be an end of the difficulty. Of course, manufacturers were only too glad to get the labour for next to nothing, instead of paying men £1 and upwards per week. He thought he was right in saying that no other materials of outside people were sent in to be made up than those used in mat-making.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY said, he could not possibly make the promise asked for by the hon. Member who had just sat down. He fully agreed that all should be done to get the best price for prison labour; but he did not think that the price now obtained undersold the market.

Mr. HOWELL said, he did not think the hon. Gentleman could have looked into this question. Deputations of manufacturers, mat-makers, and working men had waited on the Home Secretary over and over again during the last 25 years; and he had himself, when Secretary to a Parliamentary Committee brought before the Office deputations from these men, pointing out how unfair the Government practice was towards the trade. This could hardly have taken place were it not that there existed a real grievance. The contention had always been that the mats made in prisons came into unfair competition with those in the open market. He did not think it feasible that the manufacturers and men would have spent their money, time, and labour upon these deputations if this question were merely a sentimental one. The fact remained that prison manufactured goods did, and were, coming into competition with the productions of free labour. As to the small price charged for the labour in making up materials, that was a concession to the manufacturers which enabled them to undersell the trade in the open market. He had no wish to detain the House on this matter. All that he wanted was a recognition on the part of Her Majesty's Government of the injustice done to the trade by underselling. He acknowledged the great difficulties experienced by the present and previous Governments in dealing with this question; but he trusted they would endeavour to see whether there was or not an actual grievance on the part of the men, and, if so, endeavour to redress it.

Mr. DILLON said, he rose to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £350 a-year, being the salary of the Medical Officer of Kirkdale Prison, Liverpool. He moved this reduction in order to direct the attention of the Committee to what seemed to him to be a very irregular and most objectionable proceeding recently adopted by the Head of the Irish Government. On a recent occasion he (Mr. Dillon) was visited in an Irish prison by a gentleman—he did not know whether he was right in calling him a gentleman, because he did what was always a very suspicious thing when one wished to be considered a gentleman—that was to say, he refused to give his name. That person came to the prison in a mysterious and sudden way, and he (Mr. Dillon) had asked him whether he attended the prison on behalf of the Government or not; but he refused to answer the question. He had asked him whether he was an official of the Government, and he had given him to understand that he was not. He (Mr. Dillon) asked that

person who he was; but he would not say who he was, what he was, or where he came from. That person claimed the right to examine him (Mr. Dillon) medically. Well, he (Mr. Dillon) wanted to say, before he adverted to the practice of sending officials from English gaols over to Ireland to act as spies upon the officials in the Irish gaols, that that person, in his official relations with himself, had not acted the part of a gentleman. His conduct was insulting and offensive, though he might have known before he came into the prison that, though he (Mr. Dillon) had the misfortune to be an inmate of a prison, he was really not in a position which justified him in using treatment of an offensive and insulting character. That person must have known that he (Mr. Dillon) was a brother member of a profession which he did not honour himself, and in spite of that knowledge he was false to the traditions of an honourable profession, and took advantage of the opportunity which the engagement of his professional services by the Government afforded him to insult him (Mr. Dillon) and treat him as no gentleman would treat another. So much as to the personal action of that individual. That, as a matter of course, was a matter of very minor importance. What he (Mr. Dillon) wanted to know was, for what reason was that man sent over to Ireland to play the spy on the officials of the prison in which he (Mr. Dillon) was confined? He had made no complaint to the Government, or to anyone else, from the time he went to the prison to the time he left it. He had claimed no medical inspection. The gentleman who had charge of that prison was a gentleman—an Irishman and a gentleman—and in all his relations with him in that prison he had no fault to find with his treatment or conduct. The Government, therefore, could not honestly say—though the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had made statements to that effect—that in sending this Medical Officer to Dundalk Prison he was anxious and solicitous for his (Mr. Dillon's) health. He had been perfectly satisfied himself—and, after all, he ought to be the best judge upon such a matter—with the attendance of the medical gentleman who had charge of the health of the prisoners in Dundalk Prison; and the right hon. Gentleman, therefore, had no ground to go upon. The Government were not anxious and solicitous for his health; and he could not imagine any other motive for the treatment to which he was subjected than that the Government wanted to find out what the doctor in the gaol was doing, and to intimidate him lest he should be treating the prisoners too well. He (Mr. Dillon) maintained that it was a mean, cowardly, and low act to send an English official over for such a purpose. He contended, moreover, that it was a departure from precedent, and an insult to every Medical Officer in every prison in Ireland. If the Medical Officers in Irish gaols were competent men—if they were educated men, and fairly represented their profession, and were fit to take charge of prisoners in Irish prisons, they were fit to do it without being spied upon by an official of a prison in Liverpool. He submitted, however, that, as a matter of fact, the individual in question went over to Ireland for the purpose of brow-beating, spying upon, and intimidating the doctors of the Irish prisons, and that he endeavoured to carry out that object. What occurred when he came into the prison in which he (Mr. Dillon) was confined? Fortunately he (Mr. Dillon) had had some experience of that kind of thing before. When that individual came in, he asked him (Mr. Dillon) to allow him to inspect him, saying that he wished to examine him medically. He refused to allow the individual to examine him. Had that person been a gentleman, or had his object been simply to do that which was professed to be his purpose by the Head of the Irish Government, he (Mr. Dillon) would simply then have quitted the room, and there would then have been an end of the matter. But he did nothing of the sort. He proceeded to cross-examine him (Mr. Dillon) in a hostile spirit as to the condition of his health, though he (Mr. Dillon) repeatedly told him that he had no complaint to make, either as to his health or as to his treatment. He plainly intimated that he (Mr. Dillon) was a malingerer, and had no right to be in the infirmary at all—a place, let it be remembered, in which he had never asked to be put. That individual, plainly exhibiting the spirit of the in-

structions which he had received by the questions he put, conveyed to his (Mr. Dillon's) mind a clear impression that his object was to prove that he (Mr. Dillon) was pretending to be ill when he was not. He need hardly point out that in that case, besides the offensive character of the man's proceedings, no shred or shadow of excuse could be found for such a course of conduct, as the facts of the case were that from the day he (Mr. Dillon) entered the prison to the day he left it he never made the slightest reference to his health, unless in answer to the questions of the Medical Officer; and yet that individual came to the prison, cross-examined him in the most insulting way, and clearly suggested to him that he was malingering. Surely that was a very bad precedent. Surely that was an irregular proceeding, and a gross insult to the Medical Officers of the Irish prisons and to the Medical Profession in the City of Dublin. What had been stated in that House that day? He (Mr. Dillon) was informed that when a question was put to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary as to why he sent that English official over to inspect prisoners in Irish prisons, the reply of the right hon. Gentleman was that he was so solicitous for the health of the prisoners that he was bound to send over the best Medical Officer he could to see how they were getting on. Were they to be told that the City of Dublin, and the whole of Ireland, contained no medical man honourable and skilful enough to satisfy the right hon. Gentleman upon that point, and that he was compelled of necessity to go to Kirkdale Prison in Liverpool for a Medical Officer? He maintained that it was a bad precedent, both in reference to the Medical Officers of the prisons in Ireland and the Medical Profession in Ireland generally. But he doubted very much whether he should have raised the question simply on the personal ground that that man did not know how to act as a gentleman, and that he dealt with him (Mr. Dillon) in a manner unmistakeably to suggest that he had been sent to the gaol to treat him as an ordinary pickpocket and a criminal and not as a gentleman. He did not know that he should have raised the question had it not been that a precedent was involved, and that the treatment or mal-treatment of hundreds of his countrymen in Ireland was a mistake. It was an undoubted fact that in many of the Irish prisons—though he regretted to say not in all of them, but in many of them—the cruelty and brutality of seeking to treat political prisoners as ordinary prisoners was mitigated, to some extent, by the gentlemanly feeling, kindness, and humanity of the officials. He raised this question because he thought it was a monstrous and outrageous piece of meanness and cruelty that where an official was inclined, so far as he dared do it, to mitigate the rigour of the Rules in those prisons against men with whom in his heart of hearts he deeply sympathized—for he believed that many of the officials, if they dared to express their views, would say they sympathized with the political prisoners—he should be subjected to insult and offensive intimidation on the part of such individuals as that Medical Officer from Kirkdale Gaol. It was a monstrous thing that Irish prison officials should be intimidated for attempting, in the smallest degree, to carry out the Rules of the prisons with humanity. It was because he considered it such a monstrous thing that he looked upon the question as of sufficient importance to bring it under the notice of the Committee. That, again, affected the position of hundreds of political friends of his who were now in gaol, and who would yet go to gaol. To mark his sense of the whole of the proceedings, as well as of the conduct of the individual in question, he moved that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £350.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Item D, Pay and Allowances, be reduced by £350, in respect of the Medical Officer of Kirkdale Prison."—(*Mr. Dillon.*)

THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND (Mr. A. J. BALFOUR) (Manchester, E.): I hope that the Committee will have noticed the very singular views of prison discipline which have just fallen from the mouth of the hon. Gentleman the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon). He appears to think that the proper way to carry on prison discipline in Ireland—and, I suppose, in England too—is, that each prison official should form his own estimate of the guilt or innocence of

the various prisoners committed to his charge; and when he happens to sympathize—if he ever does sympathize, which I very much doubt—with the offence for which a prisoner is put in prison, he is to break through the Regulations laid down by Parliament, and, I suppose, by a parity of reasoning, if the official took a darker view of the crime than happens to be taken by the Court, then he is to take the other view, and, in the exercise of his discretion, increase and augment the severity of the punishment which the law allows to be inflicted. ["Hear, hear!" *from the Irish Benches, and cries of,* "That was Barr's object!"] That is the theory which the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) has laid down as regulating prison discipline in Ireland.

MR. DILLON: I shall have an opportunity of replying by-and-bye, and, therefore, I will not interrupt the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: The hon. Gentleman has attacked Dr. Barr's manner towards himself, and has said that Dr. Barr behaved in an ungentlemanly way. I know enough of Dr. Barr—[*Ironical cheers from the Irish Members.*] If hon. Members will control their excitement for one moment, they will better understand what I mean. I know enough of Dr. Barr—and what I know of him and how I know it I will explain directly—to know that the charge of the hon. Member, on the face of it, is an absurd one. My own personal knowledge of Dr. Barr was confined to one interview which I had with him in Dublin at the end of August last; and I must confess that, as far as one man can judge of another in one interview, and can make that a basis of the estimate of his character, I was favourably impressed by Dr. Barr's appearance, conduct, and conversation. But I am far, of course, from resting my estimate of Dr. Barr upon what happened then, or during the few minutes I conversed with him. Dr. Barr has other titles to the consideration and respect of this House. Hon. Gentlemen are in the habit of talking as if I had selected Dr. Barr myself from a knowledge that I possessed that he was endowed with those qualities of unscrupulousness and brutality, which would make him a fit instrument of a brutal and unscrupulous Government. [*Irish cheers.*] I see I have adequately represented the ideas of hon. Members opposite. Unfortunately, as so often happens with the allegations of hon. Gentlemen opposite, there is not a shadow of foundation for the charge. I never heard of Dr. Barr until he was selected by the English Prisons Board—when through my right hon. Friend near me (Mr. Matthews)—[*Renewed Irish cheers.*]—[An hon. MEMBER: It is all coming out now!]—I requested the Prisons Board to select a man of high character and qualifications to carry out the work, the object of which I will presently describe. The Prisons Board—as was explained to the Government by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone)—acting independently of the Executive, chose this gentleman as a man amongst their subordinates of especially high character and qualifications, and it was because they so chose him, and only because they so chose him, that I made use of his services in Ireland. Dr. Barr is a gentleman—I believe a Northern Irishman by birth—[Dr. TANNER: An Orangeman too!]—he was educated in Glasgow, and in Glasgow won not only the respect of all those who were capable of judging of his medical qualifications, but also the respect and affection of all those who judged of him personally. The high character which he thus honourably won in Glasgow he fully maintained, and more than maintained, in Liverpool. Dr. Barr was universally known—and I trust is still known—in every part of the country where people still retain the capacity of judging of Nationalist criticisms upon Irish officials, in the favourable manner I have described to the Committee. Now, I told the Committee that I would inform them what was the object for which I asked the Prisons Board of England to supply me with an able and capable officer. The hon. Member for East Mayo appears to think that it was to screw up to an undue pitch of severity the Prison Rules which are applicable to Irish prisons. It was nothing of the kind. I was perfectly aware that, as hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite had attacked most virulently, and with little scrupulousness, the Administration of right hon. Gentlemen opposite when they had to deal with Ireland—I was

perfectly aware that I was not likely to fare better in the hands of the hon. Member and his Friends, and that the prison officials in Ireland were not likely to fare better at their hands. I desired, therefore, to obtain an undoubted independent testimony—[An hon. MEMBER: So you got an Orangeman!]—some proof that Irish prison discipline did not differ from English discipline in its practice, or that, at all events, if it did differ, it did not differ in any manner unfavourable to the prisoner. That was my first object, and I think it was a proper and humane object; but I frankly admit that it was not my only object. Though we had not at that time the painful, and even horrible, evidence that has since come out, I was aware that every official in Ireland in any way dependent on Nationalist surroundings would be the subject of the most savage and unscrupulous persecution if he ventured in any way to do his duty; and I thought it was only due to these men, marked out beforehand for calumnious attacks, that they should have behind them to direct them a man who, because he was an Englishman by residence and the servant of an English Board, and not of an Irish Board, and because he did not depend on the favour of the Nationalist Organization, would, at all events, have no hesitation in telling the truth when he liked, where he liked, and how he liked. It was for that reason, as well as for the other reason which I have submitted to the Committee, that I asked the English Prisons Board to lend me the services of Dr. Barr; and most fortunate was it, in the interests of truth and in the interests of justice, that that course was pursued, because it was through the independent and indubitable testimony of Dr. Barr that we have been able to expose and bring to light the foul conspiracy of which the unhappy Dr. Ridley was the victim. [An hon. MEMBER: Your victim!] I think I have said enough to show that I was justified, before I made the appointment, by the general considerations which affected the Irish Government, and the circumstances which have happened since the appointment have amply, and more than amply, justified the course I then pursued.

MR. T. C. HARRINGTON (Dublin Harbour) said, he thought they had reason to be thankful to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland for the speech he had just delivered. For months past the right hon. Gentleman had been going through the country proclaiming that his object in sending Dr. Barr to visit prisons was to look after the safety of the prisoners of Ireland. That night, however, the right hon. Gentleman had come out in his true colours, and, as plain as words could express it, he had given the Committee to understand that the object with which he had sent Dr. Barr to Ireland to visit the prisons was to intimidate the officials in those prisons, and to add persecution to the infamy of imprisonment which he had already inflicted upon men more honourable than himself. The right hon. Gentleman had plainly avowed his object, and the statements which had been made about Dr. Barr, and which had been written in the Irish newspapers, had been amply justified by the speech of the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman probably thought he would be supported in this country in the statement that it was a proper thing to see that prison discipline in Ireland was maintained in the same manner as prison discipline in England. Well, those who knew the prison system of both countries must know well enough that it was impossible for any set of officials to carry out the prison treatment in the one country and the other equally with all men. There were hundreds of instances in which they had to make allowances for one man's constitution and habits. Every Commission which had sat to consider the subject had gone on the principle of making some distinction between the treatment of certain classes of prisoners. Did the right hon. Gentleman remember the evidence given by the English Inspectors before the Commission on Irish Prisons, to the effect that prison officials were instructed to examine the condition of the prisoners in order to see when it was necessary that the ordinary Rules should be relaxed rather than that the health of a person confined in gaol should be broken? Rather, however, than that Regulation should be carried out in a humane spirit, they saw this emissary of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, Dr. Barr, sent over to Ireland in order to prevent the Irish

prison officials from exercising their discretion and adopting a humane system, and in order to see that the treatment of Irish prisoners was such a treatment as would please the right hon. Gentleman. As to the statement that the object with which Dr. Barr was sent out was a humane one, he (Mr. T. C. Harrington) should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he could point to a single instance in which Dr. Barr's mission had resulted in the removal of a prisoner from a bad cell to a good one, or in a beneficial alteration of the dietary? No; Dr. Barr had gone to Ireland, well knowing his mission and the work expected from him, and he had reported regularly to the right hon. Gentleman. He had reported not only in the one conversation which the right hon. Gentleman said he had had with him, but he reported regularly the result of his mission. Now, as to one portion of Dr. Barr's action in Ireland at the present time, they had nothing to say, although they expected at some futurer Sitting of the House to be able to bring under discussion his conduct; but he (Mr. T. C. Harrington) denied that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had at all removed from himself the responsibility of the appointment of this individual by saying that he relied on the discretion—the tried discretion and well-known experience—of his Colleague the Home Secretary in making the selection. If the right hon. Gentleman had no better defence to make than that he relied upon the skill of his Colleague, that was not a defence which was likely to be considered satisfactory. What was the real object for which Dr. Barr had been selected; what were the reasons which the right hon. Gentleman gave to the Prisons Board? What kind of official did the right hon. Gentleman tell them he wanted? Those were the points upon which the right hon. Gentleman should vindicate his conduct; those were the points from which he should remove from himself, if possible, the culpability which undoubtedly attached to Dr. Barr in his treatment of Irish prisoners. Beyond all manner of doubt Dr. Barr's visit to the Irish prisons had struck terror into every Irish prison which he entered. The officials in the Irish prisons used to speak of him as "the unknown medical man." The right hon. Gentleman himself could not visit the Irish prisons, and being anxious that no leniency, no mercy, should be shown to the men in prison under his system, he selected a fitting instrument to carry out his object—one who anticipated his wishes and was willing to carry them out.

MR. DILLON said, he had heard with astonishment the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland say to the Committee that he had employed Dr. Barr because he was an Englishman, and a servant of an English Board, and dared to speak the truth under all circumstances. Those were two very extraordinary propositions. Of course, the insinuation conveyed was that if he were an Irishman he would not speak the truth. But the extraordinary part of that was that Dr. Barr, as a matter of fact, was not an Englishman, but a well-known Orangeman from the North of Ireland, a hanger-on, a *protégé* of the Hamilton interest, which was so strongly represented in the Government. It was a curious coincidence that although the Committee had been told by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that he knew nothing of this great English official, that his chief claim to be sent upon this mission was because he was an Englishman and would speak the truth, he was the son of one of the chief leaders of an Orange Lodge, a tenant of the Duke of Abercorn's, a creature of the chief prop of the landlords in Ireland. This was the impartial and open-minded Englishman who was sent over to the Irish prisons for the deliberate purpose of insulting the Irish Party when they were being treated as common prisoners in Ireland; and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary would have the Committee to believe that the man was sent over because no Irishman would tell the truth. He (Mr. Dillon) wished to goodness the right hon. Gentleman himself would always tell the truth. [*Cries of* "Order, order!"]

THE CHAIRMAN: I must ask the hon. Gentleman to withdraw that expression.

MR. DILLON said, he did so. He did so unhesitatingly—and was about to qualify the statement. He was about to say, when he was interrupted by the Chairman, that he made no accusations of deliberate untruth against the right hon. Gentleman, but wished to convey that

he would not take the pains to ascertain the truth of the representations made to him upon which he founded his remarks in that House. He challenged the right hon. Gentleman to get up and repeat his statement as to Dr. Barr being an Englishman.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I think that anyone who heard my speech will admit that the hon. Gentleman has given a version of it which bears not a shadow of resemblance to the original. What I said was that Dr. Barr was a native of the North of Ireland, that he was educated in Glasgow, and that he is practising at Liverpool—I gave his whole biography. The hon. Gentleman accredits me with casting an aspersion upon the Irish officials which I had no desire to cast upon them. What I had desired to convey was, that Irish prison officials living in country districts were to some extent dependent upon Nationalist surroundings——

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) said, gaols in Ireland are not in country districts.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: And my desire was that a man should be selected for the work who would not be open to intimidation. That was all I said.

MR. DILLON said, that a more unfortunate charge could not be made. The right hon. Gentleman denied that the father of this man was a tenant of the Duke of Abercorn.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I did not deny it—I do not know what he is.

MR. DILLON said, that at any rate he had found out that fact. Dr. Barr had admitted that he was a prominent leading member of one Conservative Committee in a district, he believed, represented by one of the Hamilton family, and he (Mr. Dillon) maintained that, under the circumstances, a more unhappy selection could not have been made to send upon such a delicate mission to the Irish prisons, and to place in the position of being able to insult and outrage the feelings of Irish gentlemen. With reference to the personal statement he (Mr. Dillon) had made on this subject, he wished to point out the ridiculously inadequate answer made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary. When he (Mr. Dillon) had said, as a matter of fact, that this individual was ungentlemanly in his conduct towards him, and that his manner was most offensive, the right hon. Gentleman only replied that the charge was an unfounded one. On what ground did the right hon. Gentleman say this? Why, on the ground that Dr. Barr had interviewed him in Dublin Castle, and that nothing could be more courteous than his conduct.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: I expressly stated—I believe I said it twice—that I did not rest my estimate of Dr. Barr on one short interview. Surely the hon. Gentleman ought not to get up in the House and say that my only ground for what I said was my one interview with this gentleman.

MR. DILLON said, he would give the right hon. Gentleman credit for as many interviews as he liked, but his experience of men who were extremely insolent when they were in authority was that very often they were the most servile in the presence of superiors. It was no proof that a prison medical officer would treat the prisoners with civility and humanity merely because he was cringing and servile to the right hon. Gentleman. No one knew what had taken place at the interview between Dr. Barr and himself (Mr. Dillon) but themselves, and the only report the right hon. Gentleman could have received with regard to it until to-night was from Dr. Barr. He should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he had instructed Dr. Barr to refuse to give his name? If he did, it was an extraordinary proceeding, but if he did not, the fact that Dr. Barr refused to disclose his name when it was asked for showed that he was a coward, and not the courageous, truthful man that the right hon. Gentleman described. He maintained that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, in his reply that night, was not a fair one, so far as it was descriptive of what had fallen from him (Mr. Dillon) as to the treatment of the prisoners by Irish prison officials. He had not led anyone to believe that he considered that the officials in Ireland should modify their treatment of prisoners according to their conception of the criminality of those prisoners. What he had said was what everybody who had any experience of the enforcement of Prison Rules knew perfectly well—namely, that prison officials could make an enormous difference in the sufferings of the prisoners without transgressing

any of the Prison Rules at all. What he had meant to say was, that where they had to deal with the lowest and most criminal classes, who were probably very often found malingering—such men as Dr. Barr was likely to have to deal with in the Kirkdale Infirmary of Liverpool—classes which he was probably well fitted to deal with—the Rules of the prison might be administered by the prison officials in a different spirit to that which should actuate them in dealing with political prisoners, such as there were now in the gaols of Ireland. These political prisoners were perfectly orderly, and in every case honourable men, against whom in no instance could a case of malingering be alleged. He submitted that a medical man who approached such men in the same spirit as he would approach the refuse in the streets of Liverpool was false to his duties. There was an immense difference being treated as though you were a gentleman, and an honest man, even when it was necessary to observe certain Prison Rules, and being treated as though you were the scum of the streets who had to be watched in order to prevent your malingering or breaking the Rules of the prison. The prison official, without over-stepping the Prison Rules, could, if he chose, make the treatment of a prisoner a perfect hell; and his (Mr. Dillon's) charge—and it was a charge which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary did not traverse—was that Dr. Barr was sent over to see that Irish political prisoners were treated in the same way as pickpockets, and night-walkers, and the perpetrators of scandalous offences were treated in the gaols of Liverpool. What was the highest qualification of a surgeon? Why, he (Mr. Dillon) was a surgeon himself, and had had a large acquaintance amongst Army surgeons, and was, therefore, in a position to say that the highest qualification of a surgeon was to be able to detect an injury. Well, the great reputation of Dr. Barr might be built up on the fact that he was a successful detector of malingering in the prisons of Liverpool. Had he gone over to Ireland to examine into those cases where he saw the Prison Rules administered with humanity, to find out if anyone was malingering? The political prisoners in Ireland were not malingerers. Whether their cause were right or wrong, it was, at any rate, attended in an honourable spirit, and to have a man like their enlightened Chief Secretary and Governor sending over a medical practitioner to Ireland to grind Irish political prisoners down to the level of the lowest prisoners in England, was, he maintained, a disgusting, mean, and cowardly act. He wanted to know who paid the expenses of Dr. Barr? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had told them that one of his great objects was to protect the officials of the Irish prisons and of his own Government against the calumnious charges which the Irish Members were in the habit of making. Was there no man in Ireland amongst all the members of the medical and surgical professions who, according to Ministers opposite, were nearly all Unionists, skilful enough and courageous enough to afford this protection to the right hon. Gentleman? Could the right hon. Gentleman not obtain anyone from amongst the doctors in Dublin to carry out this inspection? Why should the right hon. Gentleman cross the Channel for a doctor? He asked, where was the bill of expenses for Dr. Barr's frequent excursions to Ireland? Did Dr. Barr get fees for these excursions, or was he sent across at his ordinary pay on the English Establishment? He desired to know why a Dublin medical man was not engaged? If the object of the Government was to protect themselves by independent testimony, why did they not get independent testimony? The first question he had put to Dr. Barr when he came into Dundalk gaol was, "Are you an English official?" but he would not answer, like the coward he was. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had sent to Ireland an official whom he could strike out of his place to-morrow if he displeased the Government. Surely, then, he was not an independent witness, and could not be regarded as a protection to the Government. He was an official witness, who went to Ireland with a brief, and who would consider that he had discharged his duty to his employers and paymasters when he made such a report as they could easily gather the nature of from the right hon. Gentleman whilst he was making his speech. No doubt the right hon. Gentleman and Dr. Barr had parted mutual friends. If this was

the idea of the right hon. Gentleman about independent testimony for the purpose of protecting Government officials and the Government, all he (Mr. Dillon) could say was that his idea was entirely different. They ought to get a different statement from the right hon. Gentleman as to why this official was selected, as to who paid him, and as to why an independent medical man from Dublin was not selected.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: As I wished to compare the Irish practice with the English practice, it was absolutely necessary to employ anyone who was familiar with the English practice, and the only person familiar with the English practice that I could obtain was an English prison official. With regard to the expenses of Dr. Barr's mission, they do not fall under this Vote; and as to what the hon. Member said about Dr. Barr's not giving his name, I must say, in the first place, I am surprised and rather disgusted that the hon. Gentleman should accuse Dr. Barr of cowardliness, Dr. Barr not being here to answer for himself. I have no special information about it, but I am told that Dr. Barr did not give his name because it is not customary for prison officials, when they go to examine prisoners, to allow themselves to be cross-examined by those prisoners, either to answer questions or to give their names. I do not think there is anything so overpoweringly formidable in the hon. Gentleman that Dr. Barr should be accused of cowardliness.

DR. CLARK said, he intervened in this debate because he happened to know Dr. Barr, having for several years sat side by side with him in the Glasgow University, and from his knowledge of that gentleman, therefore, he had to say that he did not think the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was warranted in the statement he had made by the facts. The right hon. Gentleman asserted, in the first place, that Dr. Barr was very highly qualified, and that was using an adjective which the facts did not permit him to use. Dr. Barr had the most ordinary qualifications that a man could have. He was a graduate of Glasgow University, and a Licentiate—not a Fellow—of the College of Surgeons of Edinburgh. That was not the highest qualification, for the highest qualification would be to become a Fellow of his College, which Dr. Barr was not. Glasgow University did not stand so high as Edinburgh, and Dr. Barr was not a bright student even there; in fact, he was a very dull student, and if the right hon. Gentleman would consult the Calendar of the University, which was published year by year, he would soon find whether the information which had been supplied to him was correct or not. He would find that Dr. Barr, as a matter of fact, was a very common-place person indeed. The Dr. Barr pictured by the right hon. Gentleman was, he assured the Committee, a very different person to the real Dr. Barr, with whom he was acquainted. As to Dr. Barr's position as a surgeon, he (Dr. Clark) should support the reduction which had been moved, because he thought Dr. Barr was an individual who was not an honour to his Profession. He would support the Amendment, because he thought Dr. Barr ought not to have charge of the unfortunate prisoners in Liverpool Prison. Fortunately, Liverpool Gaol was a place where they would be likely to have an assistant surgeon, who would do most of the work; but, whether or no, he thought Dr. Barr was a person who ought no longer to be permitted to be in the prison service. The theories he held, and his practice, was a disgrace to any practitioner, and, looking at the circumstances of this case generally, he should say that Dr. Barr was about the worst man who could have been sent to Ireland to inspect the Irish prisons. There was a medical member of the Prisons Board, who ought to have been asked to do the work. If it was the fact that there was no one so well qualified as Dr. Barr, amongst English prison surgeons, to perform the Chief Secretary's mission, then, unfortunately, in this country they had no well-qualified man at all upon their staff. He considered Dr. Barr a disgrace to his Profession, and he should therefore vote to cut off his salary, holding him to be a thoroughly heartless man, deserving the utmost contempt. [*A laugh.*] He saw the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary laughing. Perhaps Dr. Barr was a man after his own heart. The right hon. Gentleman had made a statement with his usual inaccuracy, and he (Dr. Clark) was very sorry to see that any man who had sat side by side with him in the University of Glasgow should have

allowed himself to become the tool of the present Chief Secretary for Ireland.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) said, he was not acquainted with Dr. Barr, but the answer of the Government was of such a character that he felt compelled to vote for the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Mayo. The real question—which appeared to have been lost sight of—was, that a charge had been made against this official of having been guilty of conduct described as insulting, rude, offensive, and ungentlemanly, towards a prisoner in an Irish prison. But that was not all. The charge was made by a Member of this House, a Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman, a man who, according to the best traditions of this House, was entitled to have his word accepted as true. He (Mr. E. Robertson) did not ask him to condemn Dr. Barr behind his back; but what he contended was, that the right hon. Gentleman was bound to treat the question as an open one, and not to foreclose the question against the hon. Member for East Mayo, saying that because he had a good report from Dr. Barr, and Dr. Barr had created a good impression on him in the short interview he had had with him, that, therefore, the statement of the hon. Member for East Mayo could not be relied upon. He (Mr. E. Robertson) declined to accept that as a sufficient answer.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he had listened to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and had been impressed with the singular heat which the right hon. Gentleman had thrown into the controversy. It seemed as if the cap which was being made for Dr. Barr exactly fitted the right hon. Gentleman himself. He (Dr. Tanner) could not help noticing, in looking over the list of the various medical officers attached to the prison establishments of England, this rather extraordinary fact—that the medical officer selected for duties of such a very delicate nature was really a medical officer belonging to the second class. All the medical officers of the first class were passed over, and one of the second class was chosen. Now, he (Dr. Tanner) did not intend to enter into the controversy which was initiated by his hon. Friend (Dr. Clark) as to the medical qualifications of Dr. Barr. His medical qualifications might be good. It did not always follow that because a man happened to be a Licentiate and not a Fellow, that, therefore, he was not well qualified. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was laughing as usual—just as Dr. Barr laughed when he had seen his victims—but this did not seem to him (Dr. Tanner) as a laughing matter, however much it suited the risibility of the right hon. Gentleman. He did not think the people of England would look upon it in that light. Not only was Dr. Barr a medical officer of the second class, but it was rather interesting, so far as this question was concerned, to note the statistics relating to the health of the prisoners in Kirkdale Gaol. In proportion to the number of inmates in the gaol there were more men on the sick list of the hospital than in any other prison in England. They would imagine that the responsible medical officer looking after the welfare of these unfortunate prisoners would notice the fact of the large amount of sickness, and endeavour in some way or other to explain it. But that was not the case with Dr. Barr. They found in the general report of Kirkdale Prison the statement that the medical officer had reported that "The health of the prisoners has been very satisfactory." The right hon. Gentleman opposite was laughing again, but soon he (Dr. Tanner) would give him some figures which would, perhaps, convince him. The daily average of male prisoners in Kirkdale Gaol was 403, and the total number of cases of illness treated in the hospital during the year was 236. Compare these figures with those of other gaols. In Durham Gaol the total number of males was 308, and the number of cases in hospital 129. In Birmingham the number of males was 307, while the number of cases in hospital was 164; and in Millbank Prison, whilst the average number of males was 391, the hospital cases were only 94. It appeared, therefore, rather extraordinary that some inquiry had not been made into the sanitary condition of Kirkdale Gaol. Another thing he should like to call attention to was that during the absence of Dr. Barr—this bar sinister—in Ireland, the only fatal case that took place during the year occurred. The right hon. Gentleman was again laugh-

ing—he always had a smile for any statement concerning deaths, misfortunes, or illnesses. It might suit the right hon. Gentleman to laugh, but he did not think that anyone endowed with the commonest feelings of humanity would be inclined to follow suit. The Committee were entitled to some explanation as to the sanitary state of affairs in Kirkdale Prison. He should like to know why, during the past year, in that gaol, there had been no fewer than four cases of pulmonary diseases of a serious character? Then there had been two cases of phthisis, and two cases of acute tuberculosis. Every medical man knew that a gaol was not a likely place for such a disease as consumption, notably when there was no trace of the disease in the prisoner on admission. He hoped that there would be some medical investigation into the circumstances he had recounted, so that the country might see whether Dr. Barr had been doing his duty as a medical man in the Kirkdale Infirmary. The state of affairs appeared to him to be uncommonly bad; but that, perhaps, could be explained, because Dr. Barr had been withdrawn from his duty in the Kirkdale Hospital, and called upon to do duty elsewhere. It had been suggested that Dr. Barr had an assistant surgeon, but there was no item for an assistant surgeonat the Kirkdale Hospital. If Dr. Barr was taken away from his duties in the Kirkdale Prison someone must have been there to do his duty. It was perfectly plain that medical men, who were always the most charitable people in the world, frequently, free of expense, discharged another man's duties; but, after what they had heard to-night of Dr. Barr, it seemed to him that it would be less difficult for him to get anybody to perform the duties of *locum tenens* than for another medical man. If he had anyone to perform his duty while away, why were the Committee not shown what sum of money was paid to the *locum tenens?* He was surprised the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary should laugh and sneer over the sad circumstances which had been brought to light. Investigation into the circumstances was urgently demanded; something should be done for the benefit of the people who were incarcerated in the Kirkdale Gaol; at any rate, they ought to be supplied with a qualified and efficient medical officer—with a humane medical officer—not one who considered it his duty to grovel at the feet of men who were in power, and to insult the unfortunate persons who might be committed to his care. He (Dr. Tanner) hoped that, in due time, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland might put off that savage and insulting manner which characterized Dr. Barr.

Notice taken that 40 Members were not present; Committee counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. GILL (Louth, S.) said, he did not intend to speak on the merits of prison treatment generally under the present Coercion Act, because on a future occasion a debate would take place covering the whole question. What he wanted to point out was that they had not had from the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary a distinct statement as to the reason why Dr. Barr was sent to Ireland at all. There had been several suggestions, not definite statements, as to the object of his visit. One suggestion was that Dr. Barr was to make a report, the object of which would be the assimilation of the Irish and the English methods of prison treatment. On what authority did the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary undertake to assimilate the prison rules of Ireland to the prison rules of England? There were a great many differences between the two systems of prison treatment, and he very much desired to know upon what authority the right hon. Gentleman undertook to send an emissary to Ireland for the purpose of seeing that those rules were made alike? On the other hand, if Dr. Barr went there for the purpose described, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had very good authority for sending him there, why was not the system of prison treatment in Ireland modelled on every particular point upon the system in England? One of the chief differences between the Irish and the English system was that in England the Governor and the staff of a prison were left largely to their own discretion to interpret the letter of the prison rules. In England it was in the power of a prison Governor to modify, or to suspend, or to enforce, according to his own discretion, the

rules that were laid down for the management of the prison; and in the Report of the recent Commission which inquired into the prison discipline of Ireland and England, approving reference was made more than once to this great distinction. It was pointed out that the Governor and the staff of a particular gaol acquired a knowledge of the peculiarities and the temperaments of the various prisoners under their control, which would suggest to them, in some instances, a modification of the prison rules, a knowledge which could not possibly be possessed by the Prisons Board at the centre or the capital of the country. In Ireland quite the opposite prevailed. There the Governor of a gaol could not——

THE CHAIRMAN: The hon. Gentleman must connect his observations with the Motion before the Committee.

MR. GILL said, he was endeavouring to point out that if Dr. Barr was sent to Ireland, as the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary alleged, for the purpose of seeing that a system of treatment similar to that existing in English prisons was enforced in the Irish prisons, Dr. Barr did not see that in the case of the chief distinction between the two systems of treatment the English system was adopted in Ireland. The chief distinction was that discretion was allowed in England to Governors and staffs of prisons in the interpretation of the prison rules, and he was about to point out that in Ireland, after Dr. Barr's visit, the system of absolute irresponsibility of the prison staffs, and their incapacity to interpret the rules according to their own discretion, was more rigidly carried out than before. In fact, judging by results, the object of Dr. Barr's mission really was to see that the peculiarity or difference in the two systems was more firmly maintained than it had previously been. The Governor of one of the prisons in which the prisoners whom Dr. Barr was sent to visit were confined had to go up to Dublin and consult the Prisons Board, as he himself said, at a certain inquest in the country, in order to obtain their instructions as to how he was to interpret the prison rules under certain peculiar circumstances which had arisen. How was it that the chief distinction between the two systems had been increased, if anything, and not modified since Dr. Barr's visit? Dr. Barr was stated to be an English prison official of the highest rank, and his high qualifications were alleged by the right hon. Gentleman to be the reason why he was chosen for this very onerous and delicate mission. He (Mr. Gill) wished to emphasize the point made by his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner)—namely, that Dr. Barr, instead of being an official in the English prisons of the very highest rank, was really a minor officer of the second and not of the first rank. That bold, solid, matter of fact, as seen from the Records of the Government, utterly demolished the theory set up by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, that Dr. Barr was chosen for this mission on account of his extremely high qualifications as a medical man. The hon. Member for Mid Cork also pointed out that in the prison which was in the medical charge of Dr. Barr—the Kirkdale Prison—the percentage of sickness was far higher than that of any other prison of the same size in England. The two facts proved that Dr. Barr, instead of being an official of the highest rank, was an official almost of the lowest rank in the whole prison system of England, and led many Members of the Committee to the conclusion that the reasons given from the Opposition side of the House for Dr. Barr's appointment were the true reasons—namely, that Dr. Barr was, as he proved himself to be at the inquest to which reference had been made, a rabid partizan of the Party of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, and a man among whose characteristics humanity, at any rate, was not the most prominent. This discussion had been very useful in bringing out these facts, which would be of some purpose in the debate which would be raised on the whole question of prison treatment in Ireland at a later period of Supply.

MR. LABOUCHERE said that coercive Governments always had to use vile instruments. It was not for him at present to go into the whole question of what Dr. Barr did in Ireland, but when the time arrived there seemed no doubt he and his hon. Friends would be able to prove that Dr. Barr was the vilest instrument that the present Government ever used in Ireland, and that he was directly and immediately responsible for two deaths. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen might say "Oh, oh!"

just as much as they liked, but that was his opinion. He was perfectly aware that hon. Members had been round and about the country copying this Dr. Barr in abusing his victims, but they would find out that they would be answered in the House of Commons. ["Oh, oh!"] Hon. Gentleman might continue to say "Oh, oh!" and sneer as much as they liked. He noticed that the hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston) appeared to disagree with him, but it was a matter of absolute indifference to him as to whether that hon. Gentleman or any other Orangeman disagreed with him or not. He trusted that in every word or thought the hon. Gentleman would always disagree with him; he should be utterly ashamed of himself if he found the hon. Member did agree with him. Why did the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland say he sent Dr. Barr over to Ireland? He said he sent him over because he was an Englishman, and that if an Irishman had been sent to investigate the prison discipline in Ireland, he would have been subjected to the most virulent abuse. He (Mr. Labouchere) must say that as far as abuse went the right hon. Gentleman did not seem to have succeeded, for Dr. Barr was the subject of abuse, and Dr. Barr deserved the abuse. But it was a remarkable fact that when the right hon. Gentleman told them he thought it desirable to send an Englisman over, he sent an Irishman and an Orangeman who had lived in Scotland. Now, what did Dr. Barr himself say in respect to his going there? The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary said that Dr. Barr was not sent by him, that he was sent by the Prisons Board, and that he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) knew absolutely nothing about the mission. It was a remarkable thing that the Prisons Board should select this Orangeman and Irishman, and send him over to Ireland to inquire into the prison system. But what did Dr. Barr himself say? He was asked this question, "Have you learned that you were sent over at the instance of some Party?" and he answered, "I believe I was." That was the testimony of Dr. Barr himself, that was how he replied to his first defender in the House of Commons. The right hon. Gentleman said that Dr. Barr was endowed with every virtue possible, and that he learned this at one interview he had with Dr. Barr. The interview made a favourable impression upon the right hon. Gentleman, but perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would remember that Lord Byron said in one of his letters that the man who made the most favourable impression upon him in an interview picked his pocket. Surely, they were not to judge a man by one interview, whether the interview be favourable or unfavourable. Why was this Dr. Barr, whose salary was put upon the English Estimates, sent over to Ireland; what ground was there for taking him from his own duties? Why were they now asked to vote his salary as an official of an English prison? He supposed that during the year Dr. Barr was employed in Ireland he received some sort of remuneration, no doubt out of the Secret Service money, and the Committee was now asked to pay Dr. Barr for duties which it was his business to fulfil at the particular time he was away. Putting aside the hon. Gentleman's character of Dr. Barr—and he (Mr. Labouchere) would have something to say of that later on—the Committee ought not to vote the salary, because Dr. Barr was improperly taken away by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland from duties which he had to fulfil here; the Committee ought not to endorse the conduct of the Prison Commissioners in sending, when called upon by the Irish Secretary to send a man over to Ireland, someone who had distinct functions and duties here. His hon. Friend (Mr. Dillon) proposed a reduction. He (Mr. Labouchere) should vote in favour of it, and he trusted that before this Session was over they would have an opportunity of going into the whole action and character of this man, when they would most distinctly prove everything that had been said about Dr. Barr from time to time.

Dr. TANNER said, that before the discussion closed he must press for an answer to the various points he had raised. He had pointed out that Dr. Barr was taken from his duties, that that gentleman had made a report in which he said that everything was satisfactory in the prison at Kirkdale. He had pointed out, too, that the prison at Kirkdale was about as unhealthy a prison for its size as there was in the country. Of course, as an Irish Member, he was apt to submit to the treat-

ment which was usually accorded to Irish Members in the House of Commons. He was not a North of Ireland Orangeman, or he supposed he should receive such treatment as the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston) did. In rising, however, he hoped that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Matthews) would have the courtesy to explain, if he could, the matters which he (Dr. Tanner) had previously mentioned. It was the duty of every Member who took the trouble to read the Blue Books, which were gratuitously supplied to Members of the House, to scrutinize closely the various items which were asked for by responsible Ministers of the Crown. He had no doubt that some hon. Members opposite did not quite understand the meaning of medical statistics; and, of course, they did not feel the same amount of interest in the matter as one who happened to be a medical man did. He refrained from making use of any very strong language as regarded Dr. Barr. He might or might not be mistaken; but surely responsible Ministers of the Crown, when they came to ask for money, ought to be in a position to afford satisfactory explanations as to the various items required. He wanted an explanation upon three points. He wanted to know whether the Kirkdale Prison was a healthy one or an unhealthy one; whether Dr. Barr told the truth in his Report, or whether the prison statistics which he had quoted at some length were right or wrong? He hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, who was paid a very good salary for presiding over—in the very good way which he had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman did—a section of the Department he adorned, would condescend on the present occasion to give the Committee some answer to the points which had been raised.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, he confessed that he did not think that this discussion about Dr. Barr's conduct in Ireland was very relative to the present Vote. Of course, he could not object to the course of hon. Members if they wished to have a full-dress rehearsal of the debate which was promised on the Irish Prisons' Vote later on. As, however, the hon. Gentleman (Dr. Tanner) had directly called upon him to answer certain observations, he felt bound in courtesy to rise. He was obliged, however, to point out, in the first place, that the hon. Gentleman's conclusions were hasty. There were two prisons in Liverpool, and for one of them Dr. Barr was responsible. If the hon. Gentleman would turn to the figures, he would find that the second prison in Liverpool presented even a higher percentage of cases of sickness than did the prison at Kirkdale. In the second Liverpool prison, out of 465 males, no less than 244 were treated for sickness in the hospital, and out of 400 females, 251 were treated in the hospital for sickness. He did not know that the proportions differed very materially from other cases; but so far from that telling against Dr. Barr, he should apprehend it rather told in his favour. It was always upon the recommendation or authority of the medical officer that a sick prisoner was treated in hospital, instead of being left in his cell. It was no fault of the medical officers that the prisoners who found their way into the Liverpool prisons were persons, for the most part, in a very low state of health from bad diet, and in a condition by no means conducive to their being able to stand prison discipline. As he had said, the fact that so large a proportion of prisoners in Liverpool were admitted to hospital, so far from telling against Dr. Barr, rather told in his favour, and spoke for his humanity and desire to give prisoners the full benefit of his assistance. He understood that the hon. Member laid stress on the fact that four prisoners were released on medical grounds from Kirkdale Prison. The hon. Member was, no doubt, aware of the course pursued when prisoners were released on medical grounds, which could only be done ultimately by the authority of the Secretary of State, if the case came up on the recommendation of the local medical man of the prison. The medical man advised the Governor that a certain prisoner was so far suffering from confinement that his health was in danger, or his recovery made more difficult by reason of confinement. The grounds of the medical opinion were then considered, and if found sufficient the order for release was made. Again, so far from that testifying to want of

skill or want of humanity on the part of Dr. Barr, it testified to exactly the reverse. It was the medical man who set on foot the series of representations which ended in a prisoner being released. It really seemed to him that the criticisms of Dr. Barr failed entirely in their force. Now, he had some part, though a very small one, in the selection of Dr. Barr. He was asked by his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland to recommend to him some English prison medical officer who was both capable and experienced. He had no idea when the request was addressed to him for what purpose the services of Dr. Barr were desired by the right hon. Gentleman, but he transmitted the request to the Board of Prison Directors, who knew no more about the matter than he did.

DR. TANNER: Why was a second-class officer chosen?

MR. MATTHEWS said, that Dr. Barr was not a second-class officer in any sense, but it happened that the prison in which he served had not a sufficient number of inmates to bring the medical officer under the higher scale of salary. Dr. Barr was a gentleman who had a large private practice in Liverpool before he was selected as prison medical officer, and he was selected, not by the Executive Government, not even by the Prison Commissioners, but by the Justices, before the transfer of the local prisons to the Government. Dr. Barr's conduct in the discharge of his duties in Kirkdale Prison had always given the highest satisfaction, and his reputation in Liverpool, both as a private practitioner and as a prison official, had always been of the highest kind.

DR. TANNER said, when the right hon. Gentleman drew a line of demarcation between Liverpool Gaol, which was in a most unhealthy district, and Kirkdale, situated in a healthy district, he thought his analogy was not a fair one. He (Dr. Tanner) drew attention to the various county prisons, and he still maintained that what he had stated was substantially accurate—namely, that the number of sick people going into the infirmary wards were largely above the ordinary average. He also pointed out the cases of persons discharged in consequence of suffering, not from general affections, but from serious chest disease—that one of them had acute tuberculosis, and three other phthisis. All the cases of discharge from this prison were of substantially the same description, and the right hon. Gentleman had not condescended to controvert that point. The right hon. Gentleman said that Dr. Barr, although a medical officer of the second-class, was a first-class practitioner, but he could inform the right hon. Gentleman that, as a rule, they would not get any medical man in the first rank of the Profession to take up these appointments, on the ground that men belonging to that class would not be tied down by the duties imposed by the Prison Board officer. The right hon. Gentleman ought to be better informed on these subjects when he came down to the House and endeavoured to controvert assertions which hon. Members were enabled to make upon the facts stated in the Blue Books supplied to them. Having read these Reports, and after what they had heard that night, he thought it would be most improper for the Committee to pass this salary to a medical man who had in the first place behaved in an ungentlemanly and unprofessional way, and was mainly responsible for not doing his duty in consequence of the commands which he received from a partizan Government, which would be passed down to history stigmatized in consequence of misdeeds which had been perpetrated with its cognizance and at its instigation.

MR. GILL said, the right hon Gentleman had said that the large number of cases in hospital was a proof of the skill and humanity of the medical officers, but the humanity of a medical officer would not be shown by allowing a man to suffer ailments of which he complained until they assumed a serious character, and until the man had to be relegated to the hospital in spite of him. Inhumanity of a medical officer would be proved by there being a large number of serious cases in hospital, and that had been proved by the fact that a number of men had gone into prison healthy and had been discharged suffering from disease. One prisoner had died under treatment, and he held that to be the best proof of the inhumanity of the medical officer, and also of his incompetency, because these men complained and the medical officer said they were malingering. The disease under which they were suffering was proved to be no

sham disease, and it at length assumed such a character that Dr. Barr did not dare to refuse them accommodation in the hospital; and two men were consigned to a lingering death from consumption. He made these remarks to point out the absurdity of the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman that a great number of serious cases in Kirkdale Prison which his hon. Friend had quoted as a proof of Dr. Barr's incompetency and inhumanity, were no proof of his skill and fitness as a medical officer.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON said, that the main point was that Dr. Barr, an Orangeman and a partizan, had been sent by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland for the purpose of adding to the refinement of cruelty inflicted on Irish prisoners.

THE CHAIRMAN said, he must ask the hon. and learned Member to observe the proper form of debate.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON said, he would endeavour to do so. He was contending that Dr. Barr was an unfit person to be sent to Ireland for the purpose. The hon. Member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston) was an opponent of the Irish Nationalists, but they always recognized him as an honest opponent both inside and outside the House; but would the hon. Gentleman be a proper man to send over to Ireland to report to the Chief Secretary for Ireland as to the propriety of leaving an Irish Member in prison. Dr. Barr was a man in avowed hostility to their views, and one of the parasites of the Hamilton family who practically ran the Government of this country, and as such he was sent over to Ireland to decide upon the treatment of Irish political prisoners. The hon. Member for East Mayo was not an ordinary prisoner, and the people of this country would not consent that he should be treated as a burglar or a forger. The hon. Member for East Mayo had asked Dr. Barr by what right he inspected him medically, and whether he was an official of the prison; but he had neither the courage nor the honesty to give his name or say whether he belonged to the prison staff. He had had some experience of prisons, but he had never found that prison discipline was relaxed in favour of Irish politicians, but he had found that while the officials, even down to the turnkey, carried out the rules to the last letter, there was a manner of doing so which would allow a man to go through even torture in gaol without having his feelings irritated day by day. He believed the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland was not that the prison rules should be carried out in a humane spirit; and the mission of Dr. Barr was not directed to the object, but his mission to Ireland was practically to see that every odium and indignity should be put on Irish political prisoners. Those men were the honoured Representatives of the Irish people, and were men whose lives, outside the political charge against them, had been blameless, and who stood as high in public estimation in their own country as did the Colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman himself. He and his hon. Friends had made a distinct charge which had not been answered. The right hon. gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had stated that night that the reason why Dr. Barr was chosen was because they wanted to get a high-minded English official, and he had afterwards avowed that Dr. Barr was an Englishman; thereby conveying to the world that an impartial English official, without prejudice, had been sent to Ireland to see whether the prison rules were administered in the ordinary spirit. Hon. Members on those benches had shown how far Dr. Barr came up to that description, and they were content to take a Division on the Vote and allow the matter to rest on the judgment of the country.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 67; Noes 116: Majority 49.—(Div. List, No. 292.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, there were one or two points which it was necessary to clear up. They had the evidence of Dr. Barr that the dietary in the English prisons was less than that in Irish prisons. Man was a creature of habit, and he thought that it was obvious that by suddenly giving a prisoner just enough food to keep body and soul together, his health must be injured; but this would still more be the result of suddenly giving a man less food, and then, after two or three weeks, giving

him more. They ought to recognize the fact that they did not put men in prison for the purpose of torturing them; they ought not, of course, to be made comfortable there; but this species of slow torture, of denying them sufficient food, ought not to be resorted to. Then again, in England and Ireland the plank bed was used, which was on an incline, and the person who lay upon it was on an incline; and when he had to go to sleep, his limbs became so heavy that continuous sleep was impossible. It was intended to put prisoners on hard beds, but it was never intended to torture them in this way. Another point was the warming of the cells. He had asked lately at Millbank Prison why it was that some of the cells were so exceedingly cold, and the answer was that the warming machinery kept the cells that were close to it warm, but that unless the fire was kept up — which was not always the case—the cells in the wings of the building were far too cold. There ought to be an understanding as to what our prison discipline was. It had come to such a point that there should be an inquiry, and it should be declared what our prison discipline ought to be. With regard to prisoners who tried to escape. In Germany the theory was that a prisoner had a perfect right to escape if he could, and it was the business of the prison officials to prevent him doing so. They did not like this—always having to keep watch and ward; but when a prisoner escaped in Germany it was the warders who were regarded as blameable, because they ought to have prevented it. This was the view taken in an enlightened country, and he thought the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary should consider whether the system was not more humane than ours.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY said, he had given attention to all these subjects, and was, of course, impressed with the extreme importance, on the ground of humanity, of making sure that there was no undue severity imposed on prisoners. The prison dietary was, of course, as the hon. Gentleman had said, what was sufficient to support life; but it was clear, if imprisonment was to have any deterrent effect, a person in prison must be worse off than he would be outside. As to the point of temperature, he had visited two or three prisons lately, and he was sure, from what he had seen, that the aim of the system was to keep the cells at a proper temperature, with a system of ventilation to keep out foul air. With regard to the plank bed, the prisoner had sheets, two blankets, and a woollen rug, and, under the circumstances, he probably slept more comfortably than many people in the country; and he was informed that the plank bed was exactly the same as that on which a soldier slept in the guard-room. He could assure the Committee that when any complaint was made by a prisoner, the circumstances were thoroughly examined by those who were responsible to that House; and if occasion appeared to require it, he had always satisfied himself that a change was made.

Dr. TANNER said, there were cases which, owing to their treatment or the unkind laxity of the supervision in gaols, ought to receive very serious consideration before the Vote was allowed to pass. The first class of cases were those of insanity. He had noticed that in the case of one large gaol the number of cases of insanity during the last 12 months were far beyond the average, and he asked whether this was the result of the class of persons confined in the gaol or of any undue severity in the exposition of the rules. Again, it would appear from the Report of the Commissioners of Prisons that in the year ending March, 1888, a great number of persons committed suicide by hanging, as well as several cases of death from cut-throat. Now, he said, these cases could not occur at all were the prisons properly managed, and if the warders and medical men noticed those who were suffering from a suicidal tendency and put them under watch and ward. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would look into these matters, and try and solve the difficulty in a satisfactory way, when he (Dr. Tanner) was quite sure the hon. Gentleman's action would be endorsed by every Member of the House.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked, whether the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for the Home Department would take the opinion of a fair medical man as to the question of the inclined plank bed? Those Irish Members who had

tested it stated that it was absolute torture. With regard to heating prisons he would also ask whether the hon. Gentleman would agree that thermometers should be set up, say in Millbank Prison, to test whether the heating apparatus did the work it was intended to do?

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, he should be glad to make the inquiry referred to by the hon. Gentleman. He had already spoken to some prison officials with the view of having registering thermometers placed to test the warming of the cells.

DR. TANNER said, he had pointed out that there was a disproportion of cases of insanity in certain prisons, and had also asked for an explanation of the increased number of suicides.

MR. MOLLOY said, he believed no convicts were sent to Western Australia, and should like an explanation of the item of £400 spent at Victoria in connection with convicts.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, this sum was paid under an agreement of long standing with the Colony. There were the survivors of old convicts, and the children of some who, being destitute, would be chargeable on the Colony if this payment, which, however, was diminishing, were not made.

DR. TANNER said, the hon. Gentleman had not answered his question with regard to the increased number of cases of insanity and suicide. This was a subject which, in common humanity, demanded an answer.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, he was not prepared to admit that there was an increased number of suicides, but that there was an increase in the number of cases of insanity. He would cause inquiry to be made.

Vote *agreed to.*

(4.) £74,646, to complete the sum for the Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain.

MR. P. STANHOPE (Wednesbury) asked, whether the Government would give any effect to the recommendations of the Chief Inspector, who, in his interesting Report, said "Another year has gone by without any legislation for Reformatory and Industrial Schools?" For many years the Chief Inspector of the Schools had made a large number of recommendations, which had never been followed by legislation of a suitable character, and it was desirable to have some statement from the Government that evening as to their general intention with regard to the schools. The Chief Inspector made a large number of criticisms on the present system, and particularly insisted upon the unfortunate legal necessity there now was of magistrates sending juvenile offenders to prison as a preliminary to their being sent to the schools. He believed everyone would agree that this was undesirable, and that legislation should be initiated to relieve the magistrates of this necessity. The next recommendation was that there should be a separation of the children who were temporarily sent to prison or the workhouse from criminals. If they desired to reform juvenile offenders they ought not to begin by associating them with hardened criminals who were not likely to improve their morals or assist them to reform. Then, with regard to emigration; he would like to hear from the Government whether they had taken any steps to enlarge the field of emigration for juvenile offenders, who, after some time, were supposed to be entirely reformed and capable of earning an honest livelihood. Unfortunately some of the Colonies, which, like Canada, had given facilities for their reception, had since objected to receive them on the ground that in early life they had been in prison. He hoped that this difficulty would be overcome and that the Government would take steps to secure a large field for the emigration of these young people. There had been, during last year, a considerable number of mutinies on board the ships used as reformatories and schools, and notably on board the *Akbar*, from which several lads had escaped. It was alleged that many of these ships were unsuitable as places in which lads should undergo training, and the Chief Inspector recommended that there should be connected with them, at a proper distance, a playground for the children. He thought it would be admitted that where there was no place for recreation separate from the vessels, the lads were almost forced into the mutinous outbreaks which had occurred during the last 12 months. With regard to the day industrial schools, he hoped that, as far as possible, these would be augmented in

number, and that the Government would see that their great and acknowledged benefits were extended to places in which they did not now exist. Finally, there was a large number of young men and boys discharged every year as incorrigible, and he would like to know whether they went simply to increase the number of uncared for young persons in the streets, because that seemed to him to entail a very serious responsibility on those who had charge of the schools. He trusted that a responsible Minister would tell the Committee that the Government were considering all these questions, and would take upon themselves the duty of carrying out the recommendations of their own officials and of initiating legislation before the next Session of Parliament.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, if the hon. Gentleman would take the trouble to go into the Vote Office he would find two Bills, one dealing with reformatories and the other with industrial schools, in which every one of the subjects he had referred to were treated in a satisfactory manner. Not only had the Government carried out the recommendations of their Inspectors, but also other recommendations in connection with the subject which were of great value. With regard to emigration, he was perfectly aware there was difficulty in making a capital advance of money in order to pay for the emigration of a child; there was also the difficulty in handing it over to someone else, the difficulty of finding responsible persons to follow him in after life, and then that of finding Colonies to accept these young persons. But the hon. Gentleman would find, when the discussion took place on this point, that the Minister had taken powers to make advances for these purposes. No legislation could put an end to mutinies on board training ships, which must solely be effected by discipline and management. With respect to the incorrigibles, he pointed out that the schools were not State institutions, and it was impossible to compel the managers to retain those who resisted all the discipline, training, and influences brought to bear upon them in the schools; and the result was that they unfortunately passed into the class from which prisons were populated.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) said, he could not understand why the cost to the State of maintaining boys in training ships should be 6*s.* a-week while in the industrial schools it was only from 3*s.* to 5*s.*, and he should like an explanation of the cause of this difference. The item for industrial truant schools interested him, because he thought he might say that a suggestion of his own, years ago, led to the establishment of these institutions, or to the provision by which children were licensed out of these schools after they had been kept there six months. The whole suggestion he made had not been carried out in its entirety, as it might be with great advantage. When in Hamburg some years ago he visited their "punishment school," and found that not only truants were confined there, but children who had committed such indiscretions as had been referred to were sent there. He was informed, however, that for the first offence children were never sent for longer than one week; that on the second occasion they might be sent for a fortnight; but never, upon any accusation, were they sent for longer than a month. It might be asked, how was it that with such short sentences the number of re-committals were so few? It was simply because of the kind of discipline adopted. He was informed that there was very little corporal punishment inflicted; but that from the time they went in to the time they went out the children were never allowed to speak to each other. They were allowed to speak to the attendants and teachers, but not to each other. He had been struck with the remarkable silence and order of the establishment. It would be easily understood that to children, accustomed to chattering, the imposition of silence had a remarkable effect. Upon returning from Hamburg he had written a letter to *The School Board Chronicle*, which had attracted a little attention; and a scheme was proposed by the School Board of London for the establishment of a school of this kind. Lord Cross was at that time Secretary for the Home Department, and he was waited upon in connection with this matter. He seemed to regard with considerable favour the

scheme proposed; but upon his sending it for consideration to the Metropolitan magistrates, he found they had an objection to it. The magistrates said they had no power to send boys to such a school, as it was conducted on what was considered the silent system. Children had, therefore, to be sent to the truant school for six months instead of one week, as he had suggested. He had always felt that the objection taken by the Metropolitan magistrates was rather an indiscreet one. Amongst the Society of Friends and other Societies which he might mention, it was a common thing to impose a sentence of silence, not towards everyone, but amongst children who had misbehaved themselves, and the system was found to have a very salutary effect. He had gathered from the records of the Hamburg School that there were hundreds of highly respectable people who had been sent there in early life for a week or a fortnight, as the case might be, and had never to be sent there a second time. The discipline exercised in the Continental schools, to which he drew attention, had nothing of cruelty in it, or of that which could frighten or repress any healthy animal vigour, although it exercised a solemnizing influence upon them, such as to prevent their being taken back again. He could not help hoping that their English system would be reconsidered, and that the example of foreign institutions would be followed.

MR. D. CRAWFORD (Lanark, N.E.) desired to have some information as to the policy of the Government with regard to the establishment of day industrial schools in Scotland. He had had a Bill before the House dealing with this subject last Session. Although he had not received any actual pledge from the Government with regard to the Bill, it was not discouraged by them, but stopped from another quarter. He had understood from the Government that a Bill was in preparation dealing with this point as part of the whole subject of industrial schools. A measure had been introduced into the other House; but he was disappointed to find that Scotland was not included in its provisions relating to day industrial schools. Lord Aberdare's Commission had recommended that day industrial schools should be introduced into Scotland, and that country placed in the same position as England in this respect. Day industrial schools had been found to possess a very valuable educational effect in England; and he (Mr. D. Crawford) and other friends of his had constantly urged on the educational authorities in Scotland that the same facilities should be provided for industrial school training there as was given in England. He hoped the Government would consider the subject, and would include Scotland in the benefits of the measure of which he had spoken. If his suggestion were not carried out the Scotch Members would have to oppose the Bill to which he had referred when it came from the other House as powerfully as they could.

SIR UGHTRED KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH (Lancashire, Clitheroe) said, that after what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman opposite it was impossible to speak upon this Vote without saying a word or two in reference to the two Bills introduced in the House of Lords. As one of the Commissioners on Reformatory and Industrial Schools, he must say he was delighted to see that the Bills which had been introduced on this subject went pretty generally on the lines of the recommendations of the Commissioners. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he could give any information to the Committee in regard to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with regard to legislation? These Bills had been introduced after five years waiting; and, naturally, those who had inquired into the whole question and collected a mass of evidence upon it, were anxious to see some result attend their labours. The need for legislation was the subject of much comment seven years ago, when the Commission was appointed, and that need had certainly not decreased. Many of the objects aimed at in the Bills before the House of Lords were of the greatest importance; and it would be a great disappointment if time were not found for pressing them on. The point referred to by the hon. Member who had last spoken (Mr. D. Crawford) was one which had taken him considerably by surprise. The powers already given in England for establishing day industrial schools had not been extended to Scotland, ex-

cept in Glasgow, where they had an Act of their own. But there was no part of the United Kingdom where the day industrial school classes were more needed; and it was to be hoped that they would be applied to Scotland as well as to other parts of Great Britain. He did not think any good would result from discussing the Vote at great length, or from going into this subject until they had the legislative proposals before them.

MR. D. CRAWFORD said, he was not examined in this matter. It was stated explicitly that the Industrial School Clauses were not to apply to Scotland.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, he could neither affirm nor deny the statement of the right hon. Baronet. If the right hon. Gentleman was right it was an oversight on the part of the draftsman, for it was not his (Mr. Matthews') intention to confine the industrial school system to England. As was pointed out, it would not be proper to discuss the Bill. He regretted that it had not been possible to pass it this year, in consequence of Irish and other subjects very interesting to the House having to be settled. It had been a disappointment to himself, after the great labour he had devoted to the matter, that it had not been possible to legislate upon it this year.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) complained that the Kingswood Industrial School, near Bristol, was in an exceedingly insanitary condition. The matter had been reported upon by Inspectors time after time; but the condition of affairs had not been improved. He thought it was quite time that something should be done in the matter.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) said, he would make inquiries into the grievance complained of.

Vote *agreed to.*

(5.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £13,802, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the maintenance of Criminal Lunatics in the Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum, England."

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, that in years gone by there had been a considerable amount of criticism passed upon this asylum, and he even thought that the number of patients was the same this year as last year. There had been a decrease of between £3,000 and £4,000 in the expenditure in consequence of those criticisms. He found that the total expenditure at the present time was £35,005. There were 541 criminal lunatics provided for, and 151 officials to look after them, which certainly seemed to be an excessive number. Taking these figures, it would appear that the cost of each resident in the asylum was a trifle over £60 per annum. A great deal had been said with regard to this asylum, for the reason that this appeared to be little less than a gigantic piece of jobbery. To show the condition of things in the asylum, let them take the first item in the Estimate. Although the asylum was in the country, fuel, light, and water cost no less than £2,300 a-year. Anyone who knew anything about these matters must know that such an item was excessive. Soup cost no less than £3,500 a-year. It was a small item, but it showed the sort of jobbery that went on in this nation—it was just the sort of thing one would expect in an institution where there were 151 officials to attend to 541 lunatics. He observed that the establishment had its chaplain. The chaplain had a house, and received £400 a-year. Really he failed to see what use a chaplain could be in a criminal lunatic asylum. He should imagine that criminal lunatics were irresponsible persons, and that, as much as it might be desirable to give them the benefit of this chaplain's ministrations, it would be impossible. But even if they had a chaplain he should not receive so much as £400 a-year, seeing that he already received £350 a-year as retired pay from the Navy. He protested against this gentleman receiving a double salary. If he were able to fulfil his functions he should be preaching now to sailors and not to lunatics. It was preposterous that, in addition to his pension, the chaplain should be receiving £400 a-year and a house. It was

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almost as much as a Dean received, and was far in excess of the average amount a clergyman in the Church of England received. He was certain that they might find some sturdy young curate of good principle who probably preached and prayed as well as this chaplain for £150 or £200 a-year; and if the position were offered he had no doubt they would have a mass of curates clamouring for the place. Under the circumstances, he begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £400.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £13,402, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) said, it was not part of his business to defend the management of Broadmoor Asylum; but it must be remembered that if there were a large number of criminal lunatics there must necessarily be a large number of people to look after them. Criminals required a large number of people to look after them, also did lunatics, and in this case they had the two classes combined. However bad the management of Broadmoor Asylum might be in point of detail, he could tell the Committee that it had always had a good reputation from a medical point of view. He proposed that, as there was a great deal of valuable clinical material at this Institution which at present was not utilized, and as there were a great number of points under discussion by medical men which might often be cleared up by studying the life and history of the inmates of this Asylum, he should like the Government to provide for the appointment of a Committee of skilled medical authorities to go round the Asylum periodically, in order to register the history and characteristics of the patients, as advised in a lecture recently published in *The Lancet* by Sir J. Crichton Browne. In this way he thought that many points which were at present *sub judice* might be cleared up.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) said, that if the hon. Gentleman would refer him to authorities upon this question he should be happy to consider it. He pointed out that the asylum was under an independent Board of unpaid managers. In reply to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) he would point out that in the nature of the case it was necessary to have a large staff of attendants in the case of criminal lunatics, and that large expenditure in fuel, light, and water was necessary in order to effect cleanliness—cleanliness and cheerfulness diminishing the risk of violence, and in some cases promoting progress towards recovery. The Commissioners had always reported favourably on the management of the asylum. With regard to the Chaplain, he had not been appointed by the present Government.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he did not care who appointed the Chaplain, but his contention was that he received too much. In addition to the salary paid him, he received £18 18*s.* for substitutes when he was absent on leave, the market for substitutes being one guinea. He (Mr. Labouchere) believed that when the incumbent of a parish wished to take a holiday and provide a substitute, the market price for a gentleman to preach and do the service on Sunday was £1 1*s.*, so that the Asylum Chaplain, it would seem, had been absent from his post 18 Sundays in the year. Another item he wished to complain of was a sum of £90 for a year's rations of two gardeners. Everyone knew very well that gardeners did not receive rations at the rate of £45 a-year. He should certainly divide the Committee against the Vote for the Chaplain's salary.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes, 80; Noes, 177: Majority 97.—(Div. List, No. 293.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolution [14th November] *reported.*

"That a sum, not exceeding £233,520, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for contribution towards the Expenses of the Metropolitan Police, and of the Horse Patrol and Thames

Police, and for the Salaries of the Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners, and Receiver."

Resolution read a second time.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) moved that the House disagree with the Resolution with respect to the sum of £3,300, being the salaries of the Chief Constables and Assistant Chief Constables of the Metropolitan Police. There were four Chief Constables, with a maximum salary of £800 each. He desired to be perfectly frank with the House, and not to lay upon the shoulders of Sir Charles Warren anything for which that officer was not responsible. He would remind the House that after the disturbance in Trafalgar Square in February, 1886, a Committee was appointed to consider whether the Metropolitan Police Force should be reorganized. That Committee recommended the appointment of four Chief Constables, each to be in charge of one-quarter of the Metropolitan area, and also made this further recommendation —that the persons selected should be men of good social position, who had seen service in the Army or Navy. Sir Charles Warren seemed to have been the moving spirit of the Committee, which included Sir James Ingham, the police magistrate, Mr. Pemberton, of the Home Office, and the right hon. Members for Bury (Sir Henry James) and Edinburgh (Mr. Childers). He knew he should be twitted with the last name; but he was sorry that the right hon. Member for Edinburgh had joined in that recommendation, and thought he was wrong. He agreed with every word that fell from the right hon. Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) yesterday, who had throughout been consistent on this point. Sir Charles Warren quickly acted upon the recommendation of the Committee, and appointed Colonel Monsell, Colonel Roberts, Major Gilbert, and Mr. Howard. We had a warning against the appointment of a military man as Chief Commissioner, because the Military Profession was clannish, and a soldier would be sure to appoint military men to fill subordinate offices. The appointment of these Chief Constables had been a great mistake. There were really no duties for them to perform. The Committee which sat in 1886 spoke of "the want of initiative among the Superintendents and Inspectors;" but the appointment of these officers between them and the Chief Commissioner was not calculated to increase their initiative and independence. Each Superintendent had 500 or 600 men under him. Their position ought to be strengthened, and one way of doing that would be to raise the maximum of their salaries and impose greater responsibility upon them—not to place them in the leading strings of military officers. Then there were two Assistant Commissioners, who had been recently appointed—one Captain Knowle, an officer of the Guards, who had been placed in charge of the instruction of police recruits, and Captain Deane, who had been in Bombay from 1881 until 1886 in a Lancer regiment, and who was appointed to the command of the mounted men of the Force. He had asked the Home Secretary at the time what experience these gentlemen had of police duties; and his reply had been that they had been in the Cavalry and Infantry respectively, as if military training gave men any knowledge of police duty. Of late the mounted police had achieved a very bad name, and they had more than once been charged, apparently upon very good ground, with riding men down. The time had come for a change in this *régime*, under which the mounted men of the police, with an ex-Lancer at their head, rode people down in the streets, and the Infantry police, instructed by an ex-officer of the Guards, batoned them. What the people of London desired was that their police should effectively detect crime, and that property should be at least as secure as in the last years of the administration of Sir Edmund Henderson.

COMMANDER BETHELL (York, E.R., Holderness) rose to speak, when——

MR. SPEAKER asked whether the hon. and gallant Member seconded the Amendment?

COMMANDER BETHELL: No, Sir.

MR. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, to leave out "£233,520," in order to insert "£230,220."—(*Mr. Pickersgill.*)

Question proposed, "That '£233,520' stand part of the Resolution."

COMMANDER BETHELL desired to consider the case of the resignation of

Sir Charles Warren, and to approach it through the glasses of the late Chief Commissioner rather than those of the Home Secretary. He had no complaint whatever to make of anything the Home Secretary said in relation to that resignation, for he had spoken of Sir Charles Warren in proper and very high terms. The right hon. Gentleman pointed out that the resignation had been accepted because the Government thought it must be made clear that the ultimate power of the police rested in the hands of the Secretary of State. That, of course, meant that Sir Charles Warren had in some way questioned the fact of the superiority and headship of the Home Secretary. He wished to say emphatically, and ventured to challenge contradiction from the right hon. Gentleman, that Sir Charles Warren had not, in writing or verbally, at any time questioned in any way the superiority of the Home Secretary. Moreover, in the very article to which attention had been so much drawn he had stated in so many words that the police were undoubtedly subject to the Secretary of State. And here he ventured to ask the attention of the House to the letter and Memorandum read by the Home Secretary on Tuesday last. That Memorandum would be sent under a covering letter; and he wanted to ask the Home Secretary if he would be good enough in his reply to read the covering letter sent in 1879 to the Commissioner of Police? He did not mean to say that that covering letter contained anything of a particularly remarkable character; but he was inclined to think it might contain a definition of what the Memorandum actually meant. He had a strong suspicion that when the Home Secretary wrote the letter read in the House of Commons and referred to the Memorandum, he knew nothing whatever about the covering letter; and, what was more, he had an equally strong suspicion that Sir Charles Warren also knew nothing about it. If, however, the covering letter did contain such an interpretation as he had suggested, it would have had this effect upon the Correspondence—that, in the first place, the Home Secretary would never have written his letter to the Chief Commissioner couched in such severe terms; and that, in the second, a reply so sharp would not have been drawn from the Commissioner of Police; and that being so, although the explosion might or might not have been delayed, the article in *Murray's Magazine* would not have been the actual cause of the resignation.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) reminded the hon. and gallant Member that according to the Home Secretary himself this was not the first dispute.

COMMANDER BETHELL said, that his hon. Friend was a little too much in a hurry. He would have occasion to refer to that presently. If the Home Secretary had not the covering letter, it was possible that he might be able to supply him with a copy. Passing to the subject of the Memorandum itself, he proposed at the outset to consider the relations between the Commissioner of Police and the Home Office, as viewed, as he understood it, by Sir Charles Warren. Those relations were, as was shown in the debate on Wednesday by the right hon. Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) governed by Statute. It was laid down by one Statute that the Commissioner was subject to the Secretary of State; but the important point was that the Commissioner of Police had power to make certain Rules and Regulations relating to the internal economy of the police, subject only to the approval of the Secretary of State; and the Statute, by an implication that could not be avoided, also said that the Commissioner, and no one but the Commissioner, had power to give orders to those who were beneath him. The Memorandum which the Commissioner was, by order of the Secretary of State, to make known to his men was illegal. The view of the Commissioner was that the Secretary of State had power to give directions to the Commissioner, but not to the men of the police. If the House would allow him, he would like to give a character sketch of Sir Charles Warren as he understood him. There were some men who undoubtedly did take an extraordinarily rigid and high view of the duty they had to perform. As soon as they believed they understood their duties, they would not, for any consideration, neglect or overstep what they believed to be the bounds of those duties, and in them they would not allow any other person to interfere. Hon. Gentlemen would have in their minds such a man as he was endeavouring to describe, and they might like or

dislike such a character, and undoubtedly a character such as that did present some angularities and difficulties that did not exist in more pliant men. He should be disposed to say, from his private knowledge of Sir Charles Warren, that that description of a man rigidly careful of his duty not unfairly described the late Chief Commissioner. He would ask the House to consider the view such a man would take when a person invaded a province in which he believed that person had no right to interfere. In his opinion such a character was to be admired, and it was that of a man not to be hastily thrown aside. In his letter to the Home Secretary, Sir Charles Warren said he would not have accepted the post of Chief Commissioner if he had believed someone outside might interfere with his duty. Sir Charles Warren then went on to say that the duties of the Chief Commissioner were governed by Statute. He did not know whether he had made himself sufficiently clear to convey to the House a just and fair, though, possibly, a contentious view of Sir Charles Warren. The ostensible cause of the resignation of Sir Charles Warren was the article he had published in *Murray's Magazine*. [Mr. MATTHEWS: No.] He did not mean to say it was the real reason; but, at least, fault was found with Sir Charles Warren for writing that article. He wanted to know why that article was thought to be a greater dereliction of duty than other articles which Sir Charles Warren had thought fit to write to other magazines and to the papers? It was only two years ago when there was published in the *Contemporary Review* a very able article, dealing with the dog scare then raging in the Metropolis, in which Sir Charles Warren clearly showed what the duties of the Metropolitan Police were with reference to that condition of things. Was that article censured? Never a suggestion was made that the Chief Commissioner should not have written that article, yet it was in no way different from the article in *Murray's Magazine* in the respect complained of. Nor was any fault found with the articles and notices Sir Charles Warren had lately written with respect to the duties of the police in relation to the Whitechapel murders. If it was wrong of the Chief Commissioner to write the article in *Murray's Magazine*, surely it was wrong to write the other articles, every one of which was telling the public what were the duties of the Metropolitan Police. Hon. Gentlemen might not unnaturally say there was in the tone of his letter an unnecessary vigour and assertiveness. An hon. Member on the other side had interrupted him just now with the remark that that was not the first occasion on which Sir Charles Warren offered his resignation. That was undoubtedly the fact. They knew it because the Home Secretary had been good enough to tell them so. But the question was, what brought about those tenders of resignation? Why had the relations between the Home Secretary and the Commissioner of Police been so disagreeable as that more than one proffer of resignation had been made by the Commissioner? A couple of years ago Sir Charles Warren, when holding a command at Suakin, was telegraphed for by the right hon. Gentleman opposite to come home at once to re-organize the Metropolitan Police. His services were considered so desirable that he was called home at once.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): No; he was offered the appointment of Chief Commissioner.

COMMANDER BETHELL: Am I to understand that there was nothing but a bare offer?

MR. CHILDERS: He was offered the appointment of Chief Commissioner of Police by telegraph, he being at a considerable distance from this country.

COMMANDER BETHELL: He was invited to come back as quickly as might be in order to re-organize the police.

MR. CHILDERS: He was asked to come as quickly as possible, no doubt.

COMMANDER BETHELL: At least we may take it that the Government had a sufficiently high opinion of his services to invite him to come home and to undertake the re-organization of the police.

MR. CHILDERS: No; I wish to make myself quite clear. Sir Charles Warren was first asked by telegraph whether he would accept the office of Chief Commissioner of Police, and by telegraph he replied that he would; and then he was requested to come home immediately.

COMMANDER BETHELL: Then the words "re-organization of the police" did not occur?

MR. CHILDERS: I think not. It is difficult to say with certainty without referring to the telegrams. My impression—and it is pretty clear—is that he was requested to come home and take up the duties of Chief Commissioner of Police as quickly as he could.

COMMANDER BETHELL admitted that the right hon. Gentleman ought to know best; but the point was not very important. At any rate, Sir Charles Warren was to come home and take the command of the police. In such circumstances it was natural to suppose that the Government of the day, and succeeding Governments, would, at any rate, pay great attention to any suggestion that he might make for the improvement of the police; and it would have struck anybody as an absurdity if it were suggested to them that Sir Charles Warren's proposals for alterations in the police would be submitted to or criticized, not alone by the Home Secretary, but by his own subordinate officials. [*Murmurs.*] Sir Charles Warren's proposals for alterations in the police had been submitted to, or, at any rate, criticized, not alone by the Home Secretary, but by his own subordinate officials. That was what he said; and he should be curious to hear whether the Home Secretary would contradict it. If that were so, he wanted to know how discipline could be maintained in any Force whatever? He invited the Home Secretary to consider, in replying to that, the letter of Sir Charles Warren, dated, he thought, March 9, 1887, and the letter of a similar character received in March, 1888. Many Gentlemen opposite, he knew, disliked the views of Sir Charles Warren about the discipline of the police; but he doubted whether any Member on either side of the House would assert that discipline of any sort could be maintained in any Force if the orders or the proposals of the commander of the corps were criticized behind his back by his own officials. He cared not whether the corps belonged to the Army, the Navy, or any other Force. He said that such a thing was absolutely destructive of all discipline. The right hon. Member for Derby yesterday, and in a speech in 1886, told the House what was the connection between the Commissioner of Police and the Home Secretary; and on one occasion, he thought, the right hon. Gentleman said that connection was one entirely of a personal character. The expression which he thought the right hon. Member for Derby used yesterday was not less strong and not less interesting—namely, that their relations "should be those of confidential colleagues." Then, in 1886, the right hon. Member for Derby spoke of the charges made about the permanent officials interfering between the Commissioner and the Secretary of State, and said that, in his opinion, it was absolutely untrue that permanent officials interfered in any way improperly between him and the Commissioner of Police. Now, he would ask the Home Secretary whether it was not true that complaint had been made to him by the Commissioner of Police, and substantiated in correspondence, that his officials, or some officials, had taken upon themselves to correspond with, and take some considerable part in the duty of, the Home Secretary in relation to the Commissioner generally under cover of the Home Secretary's signature, but he believed not always? Did he make his point clear? [MR. MATTHEWS: Oh, yes.] Again, he said if that was true and not absolutely contradicted by the Home Secretary, when possibly a contradiction might be evoked elsewhere, he asked was it wonderful that there had been considerable friction between the Commissioner and the Home Secretary; and was it remarkable that such a slight thing as the publication of an article in a magazine should have brought about a resignation which had evidently been hanging over for some time? They had heard a great deal about the relations which existed between Sir Charles Warren and the Director of the Criminal Investigation Department. It had been asserted, not by the Home Secretary nor in that House, that the Criminal Investigation Department had suffered by the action of Sir Charles Warren. He believed that it was an undisputed fact that Sir Charles Warren did bring to the notice of the Home Secretary in correspondence some months ago this much—that the Criminal Investigation Department was suffering, was falling into confusion, because the

head of that Department was not able to devote his time to his legitimate duties. And why? Because he was employed elsewhere by the Home Secretary, or by his authority. He invited the Home Secretary to contradict that statement if he wished to do so. That was all he proposed to say about the dispute between Sir Charles Warren and Mr. Monro; but he did wish that the assertion which he had made should be clearly understood. He had endeavoured, in the observations which he had made, to look at this question from a point of view which would, he believed, be occupied by Sir Charles Warren. Of course, they knew perfectly well that the Home Secretary occupied a different position. His object in intervening in the debate had been not exactly to apologize—he did not think apology was necessary—nor to defend Sir Charles Warren, but simply to state, as clearly as possible, some of the views which he believed were held by Sir Charles Warren, and to endeavour to soften some of the prejudices which had existed against him in consequence of the action he had taken with regard to the letters.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.) said, that as his hon. Friend (Mr. Pickersgill), who initiated this debate, referred rather pointedly to him, he thought it was his duty to address the House at an early stage of the debate. Although he should not do so at any great length, he would endeavour to put right some few matters about which he did not think the hon. Gentleman had been absolutely correct; and he should also endeavour to put clearly the relation between the late Chief Commissioner of Police and himself. He apologized to the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Commander Bethell) for having interrupted him; but he was anxious that what really took place when Sir Charles Warren was appointed should be made perfectly clear. He did not think the word "organization," or "re-organization," occurred in the telegram which was sent to Sir Charles Warren. But it was not an important point, because undoubtedly all that did pass in the first telegram was an inquiry whether Sir Charles Warren would take the office. Sir Charles Warren replied that he would do so; and then it was possible—he stood corrected if he was wrong—that in the reply some such word might have been used. He said it was possible, because, as he should show to the House in a moment, the word "organization," or "re-organization," occurred more than once in the Report of the first Committee, which sat in the month of March, 1886, to consider the condition of the police. However, there was practically no difference between him and the hon. and gallant Member on that matter. Now, he thought he ought to state to the House very clearly with what view the appointment of Sir Charles Warren was made; and, in the first place, he must particularly refer to the idea which had been shadowed out that, in appointing Sir Charles Warren, he had in view some militarism in the Police Force. Sir Edmund Henderson was a very distinguished military officer, and, therefore, the appointment of one military officer to succeed another did not imply any change in the policy of the administration of the Force. He entirely agreed in every word on that subject which fell from his right hon. Friend the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) yesterday. His right hon. Friend spoke precisely his (Mr. Childers') view as well as his own, when he said that the police should be a civil force; that it should be governed upon civil principles, and not upon military principles. As to that there was no question whatever. They had not the least intention, in the appointment of Sir Charles Warren, of altering what was the well-known condition of the establishment of the police of this country; and he had always been one of those who, both in respect to the English police and especially in respect to the Irish police, had regretted the military tendencies, even in uniform and matters of that kind, which had been displayed within the last few years. Let him also state to the House, without mentioning names, that he found it extremely difficult, when Sir Edmund Henderson ceased to be Chief Commissioner, to select a successor to him who, in his (Mr. Childers') opinion, would be best suited to carry on the work of the police. A great number of applications were addressed to him, and he examined the claims both of a very large number of candidates for the post and of others to whom he might offer it. In the end the names were reduced to six, three of

whom were officers either of the Army or of the Navy, and three civilians, so that the fact that Sir Charles Warren was the man chosen only resulted from the fact that he was one of the six best, three of whom were civilians. Now, he would like to say a word or two upon the question his hon. Friend (Mr. Pickersgill) had raised. After the occurrences in February, 1886, a Committee was appointed, under his (Mr. Childers') authority, to inquire into the origin and character of the disturbances which took place at that time, and into the conduct of the Police Authorities in respect thereto. That Committee consisted of five persons, including himself, four of whom were civilians, and one only a military officer. Therefore, there was no militarism in the inquiry which took place as to the conduct of the police. On that inquiry he had the assistance of the present President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie), and the present Colonial Secretary (Lord Knutsford), and he had also the assistance of the noble Lord the Member for Derbyshire, who sat upon this side of the House (Lord Edward Cavendish), and also of Lord Wolseley. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Ritchie) would confirm him in saying that, in the inquiry before the Committee, there was not the slightest tendency towards militarism. The Committee looked into the matter from the standpoint of the well-known organization of the police, and the recommendations they made were based upon its existing constitution, although they found a good many blots which they thought ought to be remedied. They mentioned in the Report the defective chain of responsibility, and that the duties and responsibilities of the superior officers were not well distributed, and that much ought to be done in that way. They found that there was a deficiency of officers of superior rank who had not risen from the ranks, and who had certain duties to perform which could not be as well performed by those who had risen from the ranks. They also called attention to the insufficient communication between the different branches of the police, and they dealt with a number of points which had come before them in evidence, and which showed that the police, as they then stood, were not organized satisfactorily. They made certain suggestions as to reforms to be effected, and they adopted an unanimous recommendation that the administration and organization of the Force should be the subject of further inquiry. That was the general purport of their Report. After that Report was made the new Chief Commissioner of Police was appointed, and the further inquiry was taken in hand. His hon. Friend (Mr. Pickersgill) had complained of the additional number of superior officers who were appointed upon the recommendation of the Report, and here he (Mr. Childers) wished to take fully the responsibility of having recommended that course to be taken. His hon. Friend said that too much militarism was to be found in the recommendations of the second Committee; that the Committee endeavoured to infuse into the organization of the police military officers in preference to civilians. If the House would refer to the Report of the Committee, he thought they would find that that was not the case. The Committee, like the former one, consisted of five persons, four of whom were civilians. The only military man of the Committee was Sir Charles Warren, and he had only very recently taken over his office. Everything which Sir Charles Warren said to them on that occasion was based upon very short experience, and, indeed, the Report was the civilians', rather than Sir Charles Warren's. On page 4 of the Report the Committee said that, for all local purposes, the Police Force was practically without superior officers; and they gave the reason why it was most important that the Force should have officers above the rank of Superintendents. There were two Assistant Commissioners in the Commissioners' Office; but the Committee found that between the Commissioners and the Superintendents, who were purely district officers, having purely local duty, there was no one who could carry out the orders of the First Commissioner, or who could make those inquiries without which the efficiency of the Force could not be insured. The Committee pointed out the defects in this respect. In the first place, they said there was no effective inspection of stations by superior officers. Of course, a Superintendent could not inspect his own station. Sir Charles Warren reported to them, from his own observa-

tion, that many of the districts, because of the want of superior officers, had not been inspected for a very long time past, and that there was a great deal of inefficiency in consequence. In the second place, the Committee found that the want of a certain number of superior officers led to a vast amount of centralization. They were of opinion that the centralization of all the details of a Force like the Metropolitan Police was open to grave objections; and that, as far as possible, there should be an amount of authority left with the principal superior officers in the different districts. The Reports in respect to promotion came solely from those who had themselves been promoted from the lower ranks; and the Committee reported that it was absolutely necessary that between the Commissioners and the Superintendents there should be officers who should be able to advise on such an essential part of the administration of a great force as that of a satisfactory promotion. For these reasons the Committee came to the conclusion that it was necessary to introduce between the Commissioners and Superintendents officers of superior rank. The same recommendation had been made in 1879; but at that time it was only partially carried out. It was perfectly true that the Committee reported that the gentlemen who should hold these offices, called the offices of Chief Constables, should be gentlemen of good social standing; and the Committee's recommendation was that, as a general rule, they should be drawn from the ranks of the Army and Navy. But the Committee did not recommend that the appointments should be made exclusively from those ranks; and, as a matter of fact, those who were selected were not exclusively drawn from those ranks, although, as the House must know, for such offices the probability was that military or naval officers were the best men who could be chosen. That was the Report of the Committee of July, 1886. The Report was concluded after he left Office, but for it he took entire responsibility. He did not wish to shirk, in the slightest degree, the responsibility of having agreed to the Report, coming, as it did, from a civilian Committee, or what was almost exclusively a civilian Committee. He believed that that Report could be carried out in its entirety with great advantage. He, therefore, could not support the view of his hon. Friend (Mr. Pickersgill), that the Report would take them back to a system which had distinctly broken down. The recommendation made in 1879 was only partially carried out; but the Committee were satisfied that the recommendation was a very sound one. He was very sorry he could not agree with the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Commander Bethell) in the view he had taken of the duty of the Chief Commissioner of Police with respect to obedience to the commands of the Secretary of State.

COMMANDER BETHELL said, he had stated that the Chief Commissioner had never questioned the power or the superiority of the Secretary of State.

MR. CHILDERS said, that the Home Secretary would be better able to answer the hon. and gallant Gentleman on that point than he (Mr. Childers) was; but he maintained that the doctrine contained in the letter of Sir Charles Warren, in reply to the letter of the Secretary of State, was a doctrine which would be fatal to proper control. He was sorry Sir Charles Warren had taken up such a position. He was one of those who, having had some knowledge of Sir Charles Warren's work, not only in this Department, but in other Departments—in civil as well as military matters—knew very well the high qualities and high character of that officer, and how greatly he had raised the efficiency of the police from the condition in which it had been. But it would be practically impossible for any Force to be carried on, under our Parliamentary system, with efficiency, if it was in the power of the Chief Commissioner to govern himself by the doctrine he put forth in his letter in reply to the Secretary of State. Such a doctrine was quite inconsistent with the principle upon which the Metropolitan Police Force had been conducted. He had only now again to say that neither in the selection of Sir Charles Warren, nor in the instructions given to Sir Charles Warren, nor in the two inquiries which were held, was there the least intention to depart from those principles of civil administration of the police, the carrying out of which was, in his judgment, essential to its efficiency. He repeated that he entirely concurred with what, on this point, his

right hon. Friend (Sir William Harcourt) said last night; and he felt certain, judging from the approval the Secretary of State exhibited of the right hon. Gentleman's remarks, the Government were of the same opinion. Whoever might be selected for the office of Chief Commissioner of Police, he hoped the Home Secretary would not be too hurried in making that selection, for the appointment was probably the most important it was possible for a Minister to have to make at the present moment.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, he regretted a little that his hon. and gallant Friend (Commander Bethell) had made the speech he had; for he himself desired—the connection of Sir Charles Warren with the Department having come to an end—to say nothing of him in the House but words of commendation for his past services. He should try to avoid saying a single word that would be disagreeable to Sir Charles Warren and his friends; but it would be necessary to say a few things which, if they were not so agreeable to Sir Charles Warren and his friends as what he said on the previous night, he must say it would not be his fault; the occasion was not of his seeking. He could not do better than take the points as they arose in the speech of his hon. and gallant Friend, premising—there was no use in disguising the fact—that his hon. and gallant Friend spoke as the mouthpiece of Sir Charles Warren, spoke in his name, and expressed his views. The first view was that the Secretary of State, when he issued the Minute of 1879—and here he felt his hands more free, for the Minute was that of his Predecessor—committed an illegal act. That was the position of his hon. and gallant Friend.

COMMANDER BETHELL said, he would not specifically tie Sir Charles Warren to that; but it was his own view distinctly.

MR. MATTHEWS said, that was the theory of his hon. and gallant Friend, and constituted part of his case—first, that the Circular addressed to all the officers of the Department, and sent to many of them, including the Commissioner of Police, was illegal—that the Secretary of State had no power to issue such an Order; and, secondly, that that Circular was in some way qualified by the covering letter on which that Circular was transmitted to the various Departments. Such was the proposition; but to assert that the Minute of 1879 was *ultra vires* and illegal on the part of the Secretary of State was to assert a principle Her Majesty's Government could not admit, and which they regarded as so destructive of the whole constitutional position of the Police Force that they could not allow it to pass unquestioned for a moment. To say that members of the Police Force were to be free, without any check whatever, to carry on in newspaper or magazine, or through the machinery of the Press, publications relating to the Department without distinction—for if the right were conceded to the Chief Commissioner, it must be allowed to the Assistant Commissioner and other officers—to say this would be to say that the conduct of the police might be publicly discussed by police officers, the discussion ranging over various topics connected with administration—for instance, public meetings and the attitude of the police thereto, the manner in which the police should be handled, the duties the police had to discharge in relation to mobs; all such matters would become subjects of controversial publication, some taking one side, some another, the Assistant Commissioner differing from the Chief Commissioner, and so on through all the gradations of the Police Force. The doctrine of his hon. and gallant Friend was that the Secretary of State should stand by to witness this wordy war, powerless to control it, without power to stop the acrimonious criticism by one officer of another in reference to the conduct of a Public Department. Why, the very statement of such a proposition was enough; he repudiated it entirely, and emphatically protested against the doctrine that the Secretary of State had no right to issue the Circular of 1879 Then his hon. and gallant Friend said not only was the issue of the Circular illegal on the part of the Secretary of State, and might, therefore, be disregarded altogether—more than that, the Circular itself was qualified by some covering letter. He had seen that letter, and though he would not profess to have the precise terms of it correctly in his memory, it was a somewhat subtle

point—rather legal than military—to suggest that this covering letter, written by a clerk—by a junior clerk probably—could modify a Minute or Order issued by the Secretary of State himself in the form of that Minute of 1879. But it was an untenable point; the letter could have no such effect. That he submitted confidently to the House. It was unworthy of his hon. and gallant Friend, and the cause he represented, to suppose that this covering formal letter could modify a Circular Order sent to the Commissioner of Police. Then his hon. and gallant Friend said—"Why did you draw this rusty weapon from the sheath; why revive the memory of this Minute of 1879 on account of the article in *Murray's Magazine*, when previous articles from the same pen were allowed to pass unnoticed?" To that he must frankly admit that he had not read the papers or magazines in which those articles appeared; he was totally unware that Sir Charles Warren had written on police administration in papers or magazines. His hon. and gallant Friend alluded to an article about dogs, and he said this had been passed over in silence. He confessed he did not know that the article referred to police administration; if it did he cried *peccavi*—certainly he was not aware of it. In reference to what his hon. and gallant Friend had said, he reminded the House that he had never uttered one syllable of censure of the article itself; what he ventured to censure was the setting at defiance the Order of the Secretary of State, which simply required that any publication of the kind should have the sanction of the Secretary of State. On the article itself he had not one word of censure. But his attention was called to this article in *Murray's Magazine*, not only by a good deal of rumour in the Press, but by a Question addressed to himself in the House. He was asked whether the publication of the article was in accordance with the Rules of the Home Office, and of the Civil Service generally. Of course, thus challenged, he could not do other than look at the article, not to see if he agreed with its drift, not to see if it was in consonance with his own opinions,—that was matter of indifference—he only looked to see if the article fell within the Home Office Rule. Upon that point no two men of sense could differ. Of course the article came within the Rule. It contained various suggestions in reference to police policy; it contained suggestions as to the future policy of County Councils, and their relations to the police. No doubt the article touched the highest questions of police administration, and came within the Rule. However valuable the article, however well-founded it was, that was not the point. The point was that a salaried official had publicly discussed in the article matters relating to the Department in which he was engaged, and therefore the Secretary of State could not do otherwise than draw the official's attention to the Rule. His hon. and gallant Friend complained that this was done in a somewhat severe and abrupt manner. [Commander BETHELL: No.] He should be extremely sorry if he had been guilty of abruptness or acerbity; but he must just say this much, which he hoped was no breach of confidence, that it must not be supposed that his letter of November 8 was the first or only communication from himself to Sir Charles Warren on this subject. He would allude no more to these earlier communications, but he was entitled to say there were less formal, less official communications respecting the Circular of 1879, before the writing of the official letter of which the House had heard the terms. Then the next point of his hon. and gallant Friend was that the answer of the Commissioner of Police to the communication from the Home Office in no way questioned or disputed the personal authority of the Secretary of State. But his hon. and gallant Friend could hardly have read that letter carefully. The Commissioner, after saying that the Secretary of State had no power to issue orders to the Police Force, went on to say—although he had received the letter containing the request of the Secretary of State that he would observe the Circular of 1879, the only request addressed to him—he answered that he entirely declined to accept these instructions with regard to the Commissioner of Police, and again placed his resignation in the hands of Her Majesty's Government. If that was not setting at nought the authority of the Secretary of State on the subject, then he knew no form of words to express that. His hon. and gallant Friend was quite

right; this was not an accidental or isolated expression. His hon. and gallant Friend saw much to admire in that character of firmness and independence that would not resign one jot or tittle of his own rights. He (Mr. Matthews) could not deny the admirable and courageous aspect a character of that sort presented; but, at the same time, it must be admitted a character in which that persistent assertion of right was a prominent feature did not lead to easy official intercourse. He thought he was not saying too much. He wished to measure his words most carefully; but the statement his hon. and gallant Friend challenged him to contradict was so closely connected with this matter, that he could not do better than go through it. His hon. and gallant Friend said with truth that Sir Charles Warren had complained that Home Office officials communicated with him under cover of the name of the Secretary of State. That was perfectly true; that was a matter of which Sir Charles Warren not only complained; but that with an acrimony that certainly embarrassed the conduct of the affairs of the Department. Here he might be allowed a word of explanation. Any Department such as the Home Office, through which a vast amount of business passed from day to day, business on a variety of subjects far more numerous than the Secretary of State could personally transact or dispose of, must act, in some cases, through the Under Secretary and the permanent officials. Confining himself to the Department of Police, he would undertake to say that since Sir Charles Warren had been Commissioner the number of communications coming from him had far exceeded by many times those received in former days, written communications of considerable length, making a variety of propositions, and asking for the orders or decisions of the Secretary of State. Every one of these communications required investigation and examination of various kinds, and it would be simply impossible for a Secretary of State to deal with them all. This was not only the case at the Home Office, but at the Colonial Office, the Indian Office, and in other Departments, and it was simply impossible for the head of the Office to conduct the whole of it himself. Important matters, of course, came before him for his consideration and decision, but minor matters must be disposed of by permanent officials.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) rose to Order. Was not the right hon. Gentleman out of Order in standing with his back to the Chair?

MR. MATTHEWS said, he was sure the Speaker would not suspect him of any want of respect to the Chair if he had inadvertently turned in speaking, so that he might be distinctly heard by his hon. and gallant Friend. He was saying that in every Department there must be a variety of matters that could not be decided by the Secretary of State personally, but must be left to minor officials. But it was perfectly true that Sir Charles Warren had, over and over again, raised the extraordinary contention that letters and communications that came to him signed by the Under Secretary of State had no binding effect upon him, and that he was entitled to disregard them as having no authority whatever. Well, his official experience had been short, but he believed that to allow a doctrine of that sort would make it impossible to conduct Public Business in any Department. The Under Secretary of State and the permanent officials had no power of their own, but they acted as deputies and representatives of the Secretary of State himself, and if every proceeding under their names was to be questioned, cavilled at, and disputed by those connected with the Department, why then the whole disposition and order of public life would become impossible. He regretted to have to dwell on these topics, but he had been challenged to say if there had been complaints of communications from Home Office officials. There had been complaints, and over and over again he had tried to dispose of them. Over and over again he had asserted the doctrine that the Under Secretary spoke in the name of the Secretary of State, and with his authority, but that assertion of his met with little acquiescence or response.

COMMANDER BETHELL said, his reference was to matters of material importance, not ordinary and minor matters.

MR. MATTHEWS said, he was not in a position to speak with any great autho-

rity of the practice of official life, for he was new to Office, but he was assured that the ordinary forms which were in existence before he or Sir Charles Warren was born, and had been used ever since, had been followed in all communications between the Home Office and subordinate departments. Those communications were sometimes signed by one of the permanent officials, and usually followed the form "I am directed by the Secretary of State," &c.; and for any official, however lofty his station, to assert that communications from permanent officials and Under Secretaries were impertinences, and might be disregarded by him, would be totally subversive of all discipline and order in the Public Service. Another point suggested by his hon. and gallant Friend was that Sir Charles Warren's plans for re-organization had been submitted to the criticism of his own subordinate officers, and now it was understood that that reference to a subordinate officer indicated the Receiver of the Metropolitan Police. That was a characteristic complaint, as illustrating what his hon. and gallant Friend called the causes of friction. The Receiver of the Metropolitan Police was by statute a perfectly independent official, not subordinate to the Chief Commissioner, but having his own Secretary and his independent functions. He was, as it were, Chancellor of the Exchequer in regard to police finance, financial adviser to the Secretary of State, whose business it was to assist the Secretary of State to check and control—a difficult matter enough—the expenditure of the Metropolitan Police. All proposals of expenditure that proceeded from the executive branches of the force came under his consideration, and he was independent of everybody but the Secretary of State. That, he believed, was a perfectly sound view, and he only wished these matters could be dealt with by someone having a longer experience and more official knowledge than himself, but he believed the position was indisputable, and it represented a necessity of official life. But he regretted to say that this was a view Sir Charles Warren had persistently disputed and denied. It was not himself that instituted the practice—it was a matter of course, whenever any communication from the Commissioner of Police affected or caused expenditure, it had been invariably the practice of the Home Office to refer this communication to the Receiver. The business could not be conducted otherwise; he was the financial officer to check, economize, and control expenditure, and to prevent anything like extravagance and undue expenditure. He it was who had to correct any estimate, and through his hands all payments of salaries passed for all members of the force; and it was not only the right, but the duty, of the Secretary of State to refer all questions of expenditure to him. This was a doctrine nobody could dispute, or had disputed, until Sir Charles Warren disputed it, as he invariably did, and treated it as a matter of indignity and a grievance that his proposals should be submitted to the Receiver as a matter for that official's criticism and comment. It was also true—and it was almost saying the same thing in other words—that Sir Charles Warren had always insisted that in his position his relations with the Home Office were something like what the relations of a separated Ireland would be to the rest of the Empire, with one personal link, the Crown. Sir Charles Warren's view of his relations to the Home Office were of personal subordination to the authority of the Secretary of State when he spoke in his own name—not, it would seem, in regard to the Circular of 1879, not as to the publication of controversial matter in reference to the Department, but to some limited extent the Secretary of State might exercise personal authority, but the permanent officials had no right to speak. Against this idea he must protest. On one point alluded to by his hon. and gallant Friend he could reassure him. He did not say that the Criminal Investigation Department had suffered by the action of Sir Charles Warren, nor, indeed, did he believe that the Criminal Investigation Department had suffered through anybody's action; he believed it was as good as ever it was. Sir Charles Warren, no doubt, in the matter of criminal investigation, as in other matters connected with the police, claimed to exercise, desired to exercise, began to exercise more immediate personal control than had ever been thought of by his predecessors, or by himself in the earlier days of his occupation of the position of Chief

Commissioner. In that he was quite within his right. It was a department subject to his superintendence and control; he was responsible, and he was entitled to the fullest information and even interference. His (Mr. Matthews') position on that subject had always been in that sense and with that veiw, that the Commissioner might exercise to the full the authority that belonged to him. Having said that he would utter no word of criticism about it, nor had he done so. Having said thus much, he hoped he had satisfied his hon. and gallant Friend, and he hoped he need say no more in regard to observations that fell from him, some of which he much regretted. Only a few words more. So far as he knew—and he asserted it to the best of his belief—there had been no change whatever between the Home Office and the Department of Police since Sir Charles Warren took office. Exactly the same system, so far as he knew—and he only wished some older Secretary of State were present to confirm him—the same procedure, the same practice, the same form of communication, the same mode of administration, had been followed during the last two-and-a-half years as had been followed probably since the institution of the Department. He had taken special pains to inquire if there had been any modifications in the mode of communication, in the submission of proposals, in the manner in which letters were dealt with, signed, and answered; and he was assured that for long before he came into Office there had not been the slightest change. If, therefore, relations which were found peaceable and acceptable to every former Commissioner of Police, were not found acceptable, and did not tend towards peace, in more recent times, it was through no fault of his. He repeated, no change whatever had been made as regarded the relations between the Chief Commissioner and the Home Office; he had been treated as former Commissioners had been treated, and, so far as the Home Office was concerned, with exceptional consideration, inasmuch as a vast number of requisitions and requests proceeded from him. His activity was most admirable, and there was no branch of the Department that his active mind did not incessantly seek to improve. The amount of correspondence, the number of plans to be considered, sanctioned, or the reverse, was enormous; nor were there any proposals from him that did not ultimately prove acceptable. Having now dealt with the observations of his hon. and gallant Friend, and though he had said much he would have avoided, he hoped he had not given unnecessary offence or annoyance. One word to the hon. Member opposite, who was entirely mistaken if he supposed that the Assistant Commissioner went riding about as a sort of General Officer attended by a troop of dragoons whom he led to a charge upon the mob. This picture was completely the creation of the hon. Member's own fancy. The Assistant Commissioner never went out at the head of the mounted men. He had to deal with matters relating to the mounted part of the Force, with the supply of saddles and accoutrements, to see to remounts, that the horses bought were sound—in fact, he attended to matters of organization, for which, as a Cavalry officer, he was well qualified; but he had nothing to do with the conduct of the Force.

MR. JAMES STUART (Shoreditch, Hoxton) said, he thought the continuation of the debate had been of great public value, in that it had called forth a repudiation of that claim for independence for the Chief Commissioner which Sir Charles Warren had sought to establish. He was glad that the Home Secretary had repudiated that claim as warmly as any Member on that side of the House. But there had been no repudiation—and, indeed, the right hon. Gentleman had expressly declined to meet that point—of the sentiments expressed in the article in *Murray's Magazine*. Those sentiments might briefly be stated as follows:—That if the searched history down during the present century it would be found that down to 1886 the mob of London exercised a decided influence in London, and then, for the first time, lost it ascendancy in that year. The ridiculous character of such a statement ought to have been repudiated by the Home Secretary, and he should have protested against the idea enunciated throughout the article that the police ought not to be submitted to criticism. But he did not rise to continue that point of debate, but to ask once more for a reply to his statements in

regard to the financial condition of the police of the Metropolis. He had stated—and had no intention again to substantiate the statement by details—that while in the last 10 years the population of London had increased by 23 per cent, and the rateable value by 38 per cent, the cost of the police had increased by 44 per cent and their numbers by 34½ per cent, and were thus in advance of the highest figure of any other town in England. He had pointed out that, being limited by Statute, the police had always stuck like limpets to the 9*d.* rate; that expenditure had risen with the 9*d.* rate; and had gone ahead of the population and had come to this—that in 1887 the expenditure of the police had exceeded the revenue, while the 9*d.* rate was being levied as before. The total of the 9*d.* rate allowed by Act of Parliament amounted to £1,290,000 odd, and there were further sources of income, £176,000 from public and private bodies to whom services were rendered, and some £55,000 from various other sources of income, reaching a total of £1,521,719, while there had been an expenditure, striking out all items of expenditure of an extraordinary character in respect to buildings and other matters, of £1,542,812, an excess of expenditure over revenue of £20,000. Under such circumstances, while going to the full extent of the 9*p.* rate, the rising expenditure would necessitate passing another Act raising the 9*d.* rate to a higher sum. Upon those statements he asked for a reply. It was a very serious matter, that rise in police expenditure of 44 per cent in 10 years; and in making his request for information, or for correction if he was wrong, he said again that he could not see how the evil could be checked, except by giving the people who paid the money the right to exercise some control.

Mr. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) said, the debate had opened their eyes to the difficulties the Home Office found in controlling the police. Those difficulties had been clearly disclosed in the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary and the right hon. Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers). He (Mr. J. Rowlands) was glad his hon Friend had reiterated his opinion that the people of London should manage their own police, and the sooner the rest of the House of Commons came to that opinion the better would it be for London. Then, when the gentleman at the head of the Force happened to lose his head—as Sir Charles Warren, good officer though he was did—the County Council, with the full weight of popular opinion at its back, would soon teach him a wholesome lesson. But into that point of the discussion he did not desire to enter further. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh, in his quotations from the Report of the Committee of two years ago, showed the failure of that Report and the source of present difficulties. The Report insisted that it was necessary to have some "superior persons" in certain positions. Herein was the great blot on our police administration, that whenever there was a responsible post to be filled, with a large salary attached, then those men who had gone through lower grades, mastering all details and profiting by long experience, were passed over in favour of some "superior person" to whom the superior salary was given, the claims of the man who by honest hard work had earned promotion being ignored. Against that system he strongly protested. It was a policy that had been carried out for a long time, but against it many Members would not cease to protest. The right hon. Gentleman had given reasons why he thought the appointment of four Chief Constables for London had been an advantage; but he (Mr. J. Rowlands) could only take practical experience of the relations of the police to the people of London as compared with what they were in years gone by, and thought the creation of four Chief Constables had been a great misfortune for London. The Superintendents of Police should have a much more responsible position, each having authority and responsibility within his own district; nor was it necessary to have any authority between himself and the Chief Commissioner. There would then be decentralization and sub-division, which the creation of four Chief Constables did not secure, but rather increased centralization. [*Interruption.*] To Provincial Gentlemen those matters might not be important; but to London Members, taking an interest in the welfare of their constituencies, it was of serious importance, and they would not divide until the

subject was threshed out. Another point that required attention was the increase of the mounted police in London. In any part of the City the mounted patrol might be seen with his sword by his side. But why was he there? If a burglary, or any crime, was being committed, of what use was the mounted patrol for prevention or detection? If the City were in a state of siege he might be useful. These mounted men were not serviceable as a Civil Force—they were a kind of *gendarmerie*. What had been the result of their being employed to keep a crowd of people in order? A body of foot police could do it much more effectually. A London mob was usually good-natured; it was generally the fault of the police if it became otherwise. Anyone who had had experience of London crowds must have seen how the police gradually obtained control without conflict; but the moment a mounted man was put on duty he commenced turning his horse about—the crowd, the mob, the rabble, as they were sometimes called, became aggravated, and then such incidents as that which occurred the other night at Clerkenwell Green arose. From the best information he could obtain, it appeared to him that if there had been no mounted police there would have been no disturbance. It arose from the mounted police riding among the people, and one person was arrested whose only offence was trying to pick up another who had been thrown down. He was a resident in a respectable artizan neighbourhood; he was bailed out by a master man; and it was clear that the police on that occasion had not to deal with a lawless rabble, but with respectable artizans. But the action of the police was such as to excite distrust among these people, instead of their being regarded as guardians against crime and lawlessness. In the changes of organization the system of Chief Constables should be abolished, and also the system of mounted patrols, except so far as they might be useful in scattered suburbs. Unnecessary expense was entailed, with the result demonstrated by his hon. Friend the Member for Shoreditch (Mr. James Stuart), in figures that demanded serious attention. If that attention were not given, then, when the time came to ask for a 10*d.* rate, it would be found that the people of London who had to pay were thoroughly alive to the exigencies of the case. He urged the Home Secretary seriously to take the matter in hand, with a view to the introduction of such changes in management as would bring back the old feelings between police and people as they existed in days gone by when the constable was not encouraged to live in barracks, when he lived among the people and had touch with the feeling among his neighbours, felt himself part of the popular system, and not set apart from the people among whom he performed his duty.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) said, he recognized the courageous and high-minded manner in which the hon. and gallant Member for the Holderness Division (Commander Bethell) had defended his absent friend. Not very often were absent friends so defended. He could assure the hon. and gallant Member, that though he took an absolutely different view of Sir Charles Warren's public performances he had formed the same estimate of the late Chief Commissioner's private character. He had also to compassionate the Home Secretary on the difficult task he had had during the past year. He was not aware of the difficulties, or he would not have added his mite to them. He was not aware of the constant scenes of wrangle and dispute at the Home Office between the Secretary of State and the Chief Commissioner. He would not pause to ask whether Sir Charles Warren retired or not because he wrote an article on dogs; but he thought electors had to congratulate themselves on the fact that Sir Charles Warren was not appointed by a Conservative Government, but by a Liberal Government out of slavish panic that arose in London when a few windows were broken. The people of London might draw some information from that action of a Liberal Government who paraded as the friends of the poor, and on the first occasion when the poor assembled to cry for bread were the first to send over to Suakin for a soldier to put them down. He often wished the Galleries of the House were larger, in order that the people of the country, who were so very grateful to the Chiefs of the Liberal Party and elected them, might mark the difference between platform and Parliamentary

utterances. In former debates, in reference to the conduct of the police and public meetings, he had endeavoured to obtain what he considered to be justice for the people of London; and, without disrespect to any Members of the Liberal Party, he ventured to suggest to some of the poorer electors of London that if they looked for justice or protection from the Chiefs of the Liberal Party they were, indeed, relying on a broken reed. In that matter the people could think a little for themselves; the Birmingham *bourgeois* Caucus had promulgated no ukase on London matters. It did not matter that a man was trampled down in London; he must be an Irishman before the Liberal Leaders would stand up for him. The sympathies and tears of a Liberal audience must be evoked, according to the Birmingham programme, over the deaths of two men at Mitchelstown; not a tear for the two poor men killed under almost precisely similar circumstances in London last year. It was a strange thing that the sympathies of the Leaders of the Party could only be evoked when capital was to be made out of them—[*Laughter*]—political capital he meant—such capital as would enable them to ride into Office upon some popular cry, to change places with hon. Gentlemen who now occupied the opposite Benches; but he could assure them that when the day did come to change places, when on the wave of popular opinion, as they would call it, they rode into Office they justly merited, in London the change would not be due to popular opinion, but from sheer weariness and the wish on the part of the people to change something that might be bad for something that, perhaps, was not much worse. As regarded the appointment of a General Officer to command the mounted men, he would draw the attention of the Home Secretary to the fact that, in the many cases he had had to submit to him of collisions between the police and the people, he had not always charged the police with having been the aggressors, nor was it invariably on the mounted men he had endeavoured to fix the blame. He would not say they had invariably acted in a brutal and barbarous manner; but he would say that, on many occasions, men and horses were strangely out of control. In the occurrence at Clerkenwell Green on the 13th, a state of affairs existed among the mounted men not satisfactorily accounted for by the appointment of a Cavalry man to command them. He pressed his hon. Friends to go to a Division now and quickly, in order that the people might see the Liberal Party were in earnest about something.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 143; Noes 30: Majority 113.—(Div. List, No. 294.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in said Resolution."

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) said, he thought they had some right to an explanation as to the financial aspect of the question put forward by his hon. Friend the Member for Shoreditch (Mr. J. Stuart), that the ratio in the last 10 years of the cost of the police had increased more than double the increase of population.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam) said, of course, engaged, as he had been, upon other Estimates, it was impossible for him to take up and deal with the figures and propositions advanced by the hon. Member for Shoreditch (Mr. James Stuart). Though he (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) could not adequately deal with the financial points raised, he could not accept the accuracy of the calculations and the inferences drawn therefrom. The hon. Member had proceeded on a fallacious method, taking the year 1887, comparing that year with a previous year, and concluding that there had been a steady increase during the intervening period. The year 1887 was an altogether exceptional year, and it was not fair to take it for comparison. A large influx of visitors to the Metropolis added largely to the labours of the Force and to police expenditure. There was the further addition of some £186,000 for the purchase money of a freehold site for the new Central Offices, in addition to the rent of present Offices. He admitted there had been some increase in expenditure on the upper ranks; but the proportion of higher officers barely exceeded that in Provincial Forces. He believed he could follow the hon. Member, if the opportunity were more favourable, through all the items, and show

that an exceptionally unfavourable year had been chosen, upon which a fallacious argument had been founded.

MR. JAMES STUART said, he was surprised that, after allowing a day for consideration of this important point, the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department should plead that if he had had an opportunity of looking into the facts he could answer the figures. He denied that he had taken exceptional years for comparison—he had chosen fair average years from the Annual Returns. On those he had based his statement. In 1878 the total cost, excluding anything of an exceptional nature, cost of buildings, and so on, was £1,075,237. In 1887 it was £1,542,812, and upon the figures he gave he based his statement of the increase of expenditure beyond proportionate increase in population. The solid fact existed that, whereas the population in 10 years increased 23 per cent, the cost of the police had increased 44 per cent. The expenditure of the Metropolitan Police in each year from 1884 onward was as follows (taking round figures) : — £1,340,000, £1,378,000, £1,440,000, £1,500,000, and £1,540,000. It was a significant thing that with the quinquennial valuation, up went police expenditure; they stuck to their 9*d.* rate like limpets. That came of giving the police a rate they were not responsible for raising. That the Government might have an opportunity of answering the statement he made in detail on a former occasion, he begged to move the Adjournment of the Debate.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he endorsed what his hon. Friend (Mr. J. Stuart) had said, and seconded the Motion he would have been prepared to move himself. With fulness and ability his hon. Friend stated his case, and again had repeated it in a condensed form, but the Government had not taken the trouble to make any reply. The plea that there had not been time was an argument in favour of Adjournment.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. James Stuart.*)

The House *divided:*—Ayes 25; Noes 116: Majority 91.—(Div. List, No. 295.)

Original Question again proposed.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he would appeal to hon. Members to allow the Vote to be taken. Admitting there had been an increase, it was not one for which the present or the late Government were responsible; it had been the growth of many years; and, as he knew himself, was in consequence of communications and arguments addressed to the Home Office and to the Heads of the Metropolitan Police, as to the requirements of the Metropolis, and the strain which on particular occasions was placed upon the men employed. He could assure hon. Gentlemen that all the facts as bearing upon the financial question should be carefully examined by the Home Secretary, and no expenditure should be sanctioned that could not be justified to the House and the ratepayers.

MR. JAMES STUART said, if he was to understand that the Government pledged itself to a thorough examination into the facts, he would be content.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) said, he appointed a Committee some months ago, one of whose functions was to review the whole financial position, the growth of expenditure, and to consider how far it had kept pace with the growing demands of London.

MR. JAMES STUART again rose.

MR. SPEAKER said, the hon. Member had exhausted his right to speak, and could only speak by indulgence.

MR. JAMES STUART, while disclaiming any intention to continue debate, asked the indulgence of the House, and proceeded, amid some cries of "Order!" to say it was clear that the Government had not studied the figures. He hoped, however, they would now take the subject into consideration. He brought no charge against the present Government; on the contrary, he attributed the state of things of which he complained to the administration of the police without popular control. That was the whole point of his remarks. Would the Home Secretary say if the Committee had commenced their work?

MR. MATTHEWS said, they had been sitting for some months.

MR. JAMES STUART said, he would press the matter no further.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

BANN DRAINAGE BILL.—[Bill 312.]
(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

BILL WITHDRAWN.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Appointment of Select Committee be read, and discharged."

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he objected to that course being followed with that and other Bills.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not competent for the hon. Member to object to the withdrawal of the Bill.

Dr. TANNER said, he thought there was recent precedent for objecting to the withdrawal of a Bill, and that he was entitled to do the same.

Mr. SPEAKER: Quite an unusual course.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Order *discharged.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

SUFFRAGANS' NOMINATION BILL [*Lords*].—[Bill 363.]
(*Mr. Attorney General.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 12th November.*]

Order for Committee read.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, as it was obvious there would be no opportunity for discussing the Bill, would it not be better to withdraw it at once?

The SECRETARY to the TREASURY (Mr. Jackson) (Leeds, N.) said, it was for the Minister in charge to take that responsibility.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH remarked, that other Bills had been withdrawn in the absence of the responsible Minister.

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, though the Bill stood at Committee stage, it had on previous occasions been taken at a late hour without debate.

Mr. SPEAKER: If opposition is offered, the Bill, of necessity, is set down for another day.

Committee *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE.

Ordered, That the Report of the Select Committee on Estimates Procedure (Grants of Supply) be referred to the Committee of Public Accounts.—(*Sir Herbert Maxwell.*)

House adjourned at Two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 16th November, 1888.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Four o'clock, to Monday next, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 16th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—Supply—*considered in Committee*—Civil Service Estimates; Class IV.—Education, Science, and Art, Votes 2, 3, & 4.

Resolutions [November 15] *reported.*

Public Bills — *Ordered* — *First Reading* — Bankruptcy Law Amendment * [384].

First Reading—Quarter Sessions * [383].

Committee—Report—Land Charges Registration and Searches [356].

Withdrawn—Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers' Expenses) (Scotland) [4].

IMPRISONMENT OF A MEMBER (MR. SHEEHAN).

Mr. SPEAKER acquainted the House that he had received the following Letter, relating to the imprisonment of Mr. Jeremiah D. Sheehan:—

Tralee,
Nov. 14th, 1888.

Sir,

I beg leave to inform you that the Bench of Magistrates presiding at Petty Sessions at Killarney on Tuesday, 13th Nov. 1888, of which I was chairman, convicted Mr. Jeremiah D. Sheehan, a Member of the House of Commons, of the offence of using threatening and abusive language to District Inspector Rodgers, Royal Irish Constabulary, while in discharge of his duty, and ordered the said Jeremiah D. Sheehan to find bail to be of good behaviour for twelve months, himself in £50 and two sureties in £25 each; and in default ordered that the said Jeremiah D. Sheehan be imprisoned for one calendar month.

Mr. Jeremiah D. Sheehan having declined to find bail as aforesaid, he was yesterday, 13th Nov., conveyed to Tralee Prison to be im-

prisoned for the said term, and he is at present in the prison at Tralee.

I have the honor to remain,
Your obedient servant,
CECIL R. ROCHE, R.M.

The Right Honble.
The Speaker of the House of Commons.

QUESTIONS.

—o—

POST OFFICES—GATESHEAD OFFICE.

MR. W. H. JAMES (Gateshead) asked the Postmaster General, Why there is no telegraphic delivery office in connection with the Gateshead Post Office; or whether a similar state of things exists in any other borough with a population of 60,000?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The telegrams for certain outlying districts are delivered from the post office in Gateshead; but as regards other portions of the town the delivery is effected from Newcastle. This arrangement was made in what were believed to be the best interests of the residents. A large force of messengers is maintained at the telegraph office at Newcastle, and that office has direct communication with most of the principal towns in the Kingdom. It was believed, therefore, that messages for Gateshead could be more quickly delivered from Newcastle than from the post office in Gateshead itself. The arrangement is an exceptional one; and I may say that the question whether it should be maintained is at present under consideration. I shall be happy to receive any suggestions from the hon. Member or his constituents.

POST OFFICES (METROPOLITAN DISTRICTS)—MEMORIAL OF POSTMEN, &c.

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he can give any information with regard to those clauses of the Petition received by him in August of last year from the district and suburban postmen which, in his answer of 27th October, he reserved for further consideration?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): Yes, Sir. The summer clothing has, as the postmen desired, been made of lighter material, and better capes have been provided. On the subject of extra pay for extra duty, my recommendations have long been before the Treasury, and I am expecting their Lordships' decision daily. The other questions which affect the Establishment are of a complicated nature, and require further consideration.

SALMON FISHINGS (SCOTLAND)—LEASES—SALMON FISHING IN LOCH NEVIS.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether his attention has been directed to an advertisement issued within the last few days by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, inviting offers for a ten years' lease of the salmon fishings in Loch Nevis and the sea, *ex adverso* of the lands of North Morar, on the west mainland of Inverness-shire; whether these fishings have been previously let; and, if so, at what rent, and to whom; whether representations have reached him that the placing of bag nets by tenants of these fishings, the only mode of fishing this rocky coast for salmon, will be highly prejudicial to the white fish and herring fishermen, who from time immemorial have fished these waters without obstruction; and, whether he will stop any leasings of salmon fishings until the promised Committee on Salmon Fishings in Scotland shall have reported?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): No, Sir; the fishings have not been previously let. Representations have been made to me as to the interests involved, and I have asked the Commissioners of Woods and Forests to suspend taking any further action in the matter at present.

BANK ISSUE ACT, 1845—THE BELFAST BANKING COMPANY.

MR. BLANE (Armagh, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the accounts of the Belfast Banking Company be subject by statute to public audit; if he can state the amount of gold and legal securities held against deposits by the Belfast Banking Company at present; if the Belfast Bank be empowered as a "bank of issue"; and, if so, can he state the amount of paper issued; what reserve is now actually held to meet the paper issue of the Belfast Banking Company;

and, if such reserve be equal to the requirements of the Banking Act, 1844?"

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The accounts of the Belfast Banking Company (Limited) are subject by statute to public audit. The published accounts appear to contain all the information asked for in relation to the assets and liabilities of the bank. The bank is one empowered to issue notes. Full information of its notes in circulation and the gold held against the same is to be found in the Returns which are published in *The Dublin Gazette* at the end of each period of four weeks. These Returns are also furnished at like periods and duly verified by declarations to the Commissioners of Stamps and Taxes, whose duty it is to see that the gold and silver coin held satisfy the requirements of the Bank Issue Act of 1845. The Banking Act of 1844 is the English Act.

EAST INDIA—HYDERABAD (DECCAN) MINING COMPANY—THE NIZAM.

MR. KELLY (Camberwell, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he will inform the House if he is aware of any negotiations now being on foot with the object of obtaining from the Nizam's Government an alteration of the terms of the contract made between that Government and Mr. Watson, such alteration being intended to include some fresh arrangement with reference to the royalties payable by the Deccan Mining Company; whether any such negotiations could proceed without sooner or later passing through the Residency at Hyderabad; and whether he will undertake that no alteration in the terms of the original contract should be sanctioned by the Indian Government if it were detrimental to the interests of the Nizam?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Secretary of State is aware that proposals relating to the Deccan Mining Company are now under the consideration of the Nizam's Government at Hyderabad, in consultation with the Resident. No terms have been yet submitted for the approval of the Secretary of State in Council; but, of course, no alteration detrimental to the interests of the Nizam will be sanctioned.

MR. KELLY: May I ask if there really is a Resident at Hyderabad?

SIR JOHN GORST: Yes; certainly.

IRELAND—HOME INDUSTRIES—LACE-MAKING, &c.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY (Londonderry City) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the visit paid by Mr. Alan Cole in October last to Irish lace-making centres is the only one sanctioned since the suspension of his visits and lectures; whether representations have been since received by the Irish Government as to the value and importance of continuing these visits and lectures, as part of a movement in course of successful development for promoting technical instruction in connection with home industries like lace making, embroidery, and crochet work; whether requests have been also received from different lace-making centres in Ireland for a regular continuance of such lectures and visits; and, whether Mr. Cole can, therefore, be directed to visit and lecture at these centres in March and October of next year?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The reply to each inquiry contained in the first three paragraphs of the Question is in the affirmative. As regards the last paragraph, no decision has been as yet come to respecting the arrangements for next year. But the matter is at the prer sent time receiving careful consideration.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, What was the total cost (for fees and travelling expenses) of Mr. Alan Cole's lecturing tours in Ireland, in connection with the Irish lace industry, in the years 1886, 1887, and 1888; and under what subhead of the Vote for the Science and Art Estimates this expenditure is included?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford) (who replied) said, the total cost in the years named was £412 19*s.* 3*d.* The fees for lectures were charged to Sub-head A (2), and travelling expenses to Sub-head G (8) for the years 1886 and 1887, and to Sub-head H (8) for 1888.

PUBLIC HEALTH (SCOTLAND)—POLLUTIONS FROM THE CLYDE — LOCH LONG AND LOCH GOIL.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he is aware that the pollution of Loch Long is still continued by the deposits of dredgings from Greenock and Glasgow to the extent of many thousands of tons in each week; whether the Government can now state the course intended to be pursued to mitigate the nuisance, having in view the scientific Reports on the pollution of Loch Long and of Loch Goil; and, whether it will be possible to take any steps to compel the dredgings to be deposited towards Ailsa Craig, or otherwise than in, or at the mouth of, Loch Long?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): I understand that dredgings from Glasgow continue to be deposited in Loch Long to the extent of many thousands of tons each week. I am told that at present Greenock is not contributing any dredgings. Communications are at present taking place between the Board of Trade and the Clyde Trustees on the subject; and until the result of these negotiations is known, which I expect to be soon, the Government are not in a position to determine what course should be pursued.

COMMON LODGING HOUSES, METROPOLIS.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will consider the propriety of strengthening the law for regulating common lodging houses in the Metropolis, and of seeing that the provisions now in force are more fully carried out as regards inspection, registration, and over-crowding?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I am informed by the Police Authorities that the provisions of the existing law are fully carried out. There are officers specially appointed in every district of London to inspect the common lodging houses, and to enforce the existing Regulations against overcrowding and against insanitary conditions. The Regulations have proved, in the main, sufficient to prevent over-crowding and to secure cleanliness and order; but I think they are capable of being strengthened as regards the inspection of sanitary improvements, and I will consider that question carefully with the assistance of the Local Authority.

MR. HOWELL asked whether there were any Reports from these Inspectors which could be laid on the Table?

MR. MATTHEWS said, he did not think the Reports were in a form to be so produced.

MR. HOWELL asked whether many of the terrible outrages in the East End, not only recent, but those that had happened during the last few years, were not more or less associated with the common lodging houses?

MR. MATTHEWS: I could not assent to that proposition in its general form.

POST OFFICE—CONTRACT FOR POST-CARDS.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether in the case of the contract for post-cards given to Messrs. De la Rue a sealed pattern or sealed patterns were kept; and, whether all such sealed patterns are still in possession of the Government, and available for comparison with the post-cards actually manufactured?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): No provision was made in the contract with Messrs. De la Rue for any sealed patterns strictly so-called. Consequently, no such sealed patterns were provided; but two bundles of post-cards comprised in the then existing stock of post-cards, which had all been provided by Messrs. De la Rue, were, in 1880 (the date of the contract), marked by them as specimens or standards for weight and quality. These bundles, being a portion of the stock of the Controller of Stamps, had to be produced to the Inspectors of the Board of Inland Revenue at each quarterly stock-taking; but, unfortunately, on the occasion of the stock-taking at the end of the first quarter of 1883 they were inadvertently issued to a Postmaster instead of ordinary bundles. It is to be regretted that this accident happened; but it should be stated that no difficulty could have arisen therefrom, because that which was more in the nature of a

sealed pattern than the bundles themselves still existed. The post-cards in the bundles were according to patterns of post-cards which were approved in 1877 by the Board of Inland Revenue, and have since been kept in the specimen book, which is in careful custody. I may add that the Board are assured by their expert officers that the quality of the post-cards supplied by Messrs. De la Rue has in no way fallen off since the date of the contract.

MR. HANBURY asked who was responsible for the fact that there was no sealed pattern, and who was responsible for the custody of these patterns, which took the places of sealed patterns?

MR. JACKSON said, that he had stated that the stock was in the care of the Controller of Stamps, and he assumed that that officer would therefore be responsible for them.

MR. WOOTTON ISAACSON (Tower Hamlets, Stepney) wished to know how long a time the contract had to run?

MR. JACKSON: Two years, I think.

MR. HANBURY: Will this contract run for 10 years without any real guidance as to weight and quality?

MR. JACKSON replied, that there were samples for three years when the accident occurred, which he had stated.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—BALLYCOTTON NEW PIER.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he has seen a letter, which appeared in the Cork daily papers of Tuesday, November 13, written by the Rev. M. P. Norris, of Ballycotton, in which the reverend gentleman describes the effects of the late gale on the Ballycotton New Pier, and the present ruined condition of the sea wall and other works; whether he will instruct Mr. Wolfe Barry to inquire into these allegations before presenting his Report to the Treasury; and, whether he will give instructions to the Irish Board of Works to have such repairs immediately executed as will insure the safety of this pier, for which £20,500 has been just paid to the contractor, on the certificate of Mr. Manning, their chief engineer, and which the Grand Jury of the County of Cork have refused to take over from the Board of Works?

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) also asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether Mr. Wolfe Barry has yet made his Report on the condition of the Ballycotton Pier; whether it is a fact that, in consequence of the recent gales, a portion of the pier head was blown away, that the old fissures have been widened, and that 11 new cracks have appeared in wharf pavement after the storm of the 6th instant; whether it is true that on the 20th ultimo a large fishing boat was driven ashore upon the remains of the old pier, not 100 yards from the harbour's entrance, and was with difficulty saved by the prompt and energetic action of Mr. Steel and the coastguards; and, whether any immediate repairs will be carried out to prevent further damage and collapse; and, if so, who is to carry out and be responsible for the necessary repairs?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) in reply, said, that the hon. Member for East Cork had forwarded to him a copy of *The Cork Examiner* containing the letter from the Rev. M. P. Morris, referred to in the hon. Member's Question. The information which reached him from Ireland did not confirm the somewhat exaggerated and alarmist statements which appeared in the letter. In a telegram he received from Ireland this morning it was said there had been no serious damage done to the pier. He had, however, sent the papers to Mr. Wolfe Barry, and asked him to look into the matter.

MR. LANE asked, whether, in the event of damage having been done, the Board of Works would execute the necessary repairs?

MR. JACKSON said, the hon. Member would see that if his (Mr. Jackson's) information was correct—namely, that there had been no serious damage done, there was no serious damage to repair.

MR. LANE asked, whether, if Mr. Wolfe Barry reported that the pier had been seriously injured, the hon. Gentleman would give instructions to the Board of Works to execute any necessary repairs which the circumstances required?

MR. JACKSON said that the hon. Gentleman must see it would be extremely improper for him to give any answer pledging the Government to a course until they had seen the Report of Mr. Wolfe Barry. When the Report was received it would be the duty of the Government to consider it and decide what action, if any, should be taken upon it.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—SENTENCE ON MR. DENIS O'SHEA, MACROOM QUARTER SESSIONS.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to the sentence of four months' imprisonment recently passed by County Court Judge Ferguson, at the Macroom Quarter Sessions, upon Mr. Denis O'Shea, of Carriganimma, for intimidating a Mr. Cotter by writing him a certain letter; whether it is a fact that Cotter swore that he did not receive the alleged intimidating letter, and subsequently, when the letter was read to him, further stated that even had he received the letter it would not have intimidated him; and, whether a further judicial investigation of the case will be ordered?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Chief Secretary has no power to review the decisions of County Court Judges. The course suggested in the last paragraph of the Question cannot be taken.

DR. TANNER said, he must really ask the hon. and learned Gentleman to give him an answer to the second paragraph of the Question—namely, whether Mr. O'Shea was in prison for having intimidated a man who stated he was not intimidated, and for having written an intimidatory letter, which letter he stated he never received?

MR. MADDEN said, he had already stated to the hon. Member that this person was in prison under an order of the County Court Judge, and that the Chief Secretary had no authority or right to go into the question.

DR. TANNER intimated that he would raise the Question on a future day, in another form.

THE CURRENCY COMMISSION—THE REPORT—FALL IN EXCHANGE.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government had been drawn to that portion of the Report of the Currency Commission in which the Commissioners unanimously dwelt on the injury inflicted on the European *employés* of the Indian Government by the continuous fall in exchange, on the ground that—

"They derive no benefit from the fall of gold prices, as the fall has affected wholesale more than retail prices, and has not affected at all many of the prices in which they are interested;"

and, whether Her Majesty's Government, in consultation with the Government of India, will consider a scheme for rendering the home pensions and sick and leave allowances of such *employés* independent of the fluctuations of exchange?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The passage quoted by the hon. Member gives an incorrect view of the opinion of the Commissioners when separated from its context. The whole passage is this—

"So far as their incomes are spent in India, or are devoted to the purchase of commodities the gold price of which has fallen as much as that of silver, they do not sustain any loss. But on a large proportion of their remittances to Europe they derive no benefit from the fall of gold prices, as the fall has affected wholesale more than retail prices, and has not affected at all many of the prices in which they are interested. In reply to this it is pointed out that the loss sustained by the servants of the Government in connection with their remittances is a matter for discussion and settlement between themselves and their employers. If the salaries of the Indian officials do not represent as much real remuneration as before, the Government will ultimately be compelled, by the same forces which settle the market value of all other commodities, to increase their salaries."

It does not seem desirable to the Secretary of State to deal with one branch of the subject while the action of Her Majesty's Government on the general report is under consideration.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE: Who is the authority with whom these European servants of the Indian Government can negotiate in order to obtain the addition to their pensions and leave allowances?

SIR JOHN GORST: They must negotiate through the Government under whom they serve and the Secretary of State in Council.

COMMISSIONERS OF PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND)—IMPROVEMENT LOANS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, with reference to the statement of the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, that the improvement

loans granted by them to owners of land are mostly to persons who have acquired ownership under Lord Ashbourne's Act, Whether he has approved of these advances, under the Rules applicable to owners, to nominal owners, who have not appreciably reduced their debt to the State for the whole purchase-money; whether the Government have any lien whatever for these further advances on the one-fifth purchase-money when deposited by the landlord; or whether, in the event of default and failure to realize both advances, the whole purchase-money must first be credited, and the loss on the second advance will fall on the Government alone, with no security whatever; and, whether it is at all clear that both advances have priority over any previous obligations for which the tenant-right may have been pledged?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): Of the improvement loans granted to owners in the six months preceding the last Annual Report of the Board of Works, 29 out of 55 were to purchasers under Lord Ashbourne's Act. Such persons cannot, of course, as yet have appreciably reduced their debt to the State in respect of the purchase-money of their properties. But no loans have been sanctioned to purchasers under Lord Ashbourne's Act, except where the Board of Works were satisfied that the selling value of the property was in excess of the combined charges for purchase and for the land improvement loan, and after notice had been given to the Land Commissioners of the application for the loan. The hon. Member should bear in mind that the value of the property in the hands of the purchaser under Lord Ashbourne's Act includes the tenant-right, which furnishes a margin of security in the case of these loans, and also that the annual value of the property is improved by the loan in excess of the extra charge imposed upon it. With regard to the second and third paragraphs of the Question, the Government have no lien for such advances upon the one-fifth of the purchase-money deposited by the landlord; but in the event of a sale of the property by the Land Commissioners, it would be sold subject to the Board's charge for the improvement loan, which, they are advised, has a priority secured to it. The Board are likewise advised that it is perfectly clear that both charges, that for the purchase-money as well as that for the improvement loan, have a priority over any previous obligations attaching to the tenant-right of the purchaser.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: The Chancellor of the Exchequer has given reasons why the Commissioners conclude that they can make these advances with safety. I do not think that that is any answer to the Question I have asked. Does he, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, approve of the proceedings?

MR. GOSCHEN: Of course, it is impossible that the Treasury could investigate every single one of these cases; there are no means of doing so. But the principle of such advances has been sanctioned, and a Schedule containing the particulars is submitted to the Treasury.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): What is the amount that has been advanced?

MR. GOSCHEN: If my right hon. Friend will ask me that Question on another occasion, I will answer him. I have not the figures with me.

PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—KNAPHILL PRISON.

MR. HANKEY (Surrey, Chertsey) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been directed to the present condition of the prison at Knaphill, Woking, which is now almost entirely unoccupied; and, whether, in view of the great want of suitable barrack accommodation at present existing throughout the country, he will at once take such steps as will enable him to convert the prison into barracks, or utilize it for the military service of the country?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Communications have been entered into with the Home Office with a view of obtaining for military purposes the buildings and lands of the Woking Convalescent Convict Prison; but no decision has yet been arrived at. The position of these buildings, within easy reach of Aldershot, makes it most desirable to obtain them.

SUGAR BOUNTIES (INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE)—FURTHER PAPERS.

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can lay upon the Table any further Papers relative to the Conference on Sugar Bounties, in continuation of the Papers last presented?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): I shall be happy to lay Papers on the Table if my hon. Friend will move for them.

AFRICA (EAST COAST)—BLOCKADE OF THE ZANZIBAR COAST.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he will produce or quote the instructions which the Admiralty have been requested to issue to the Naval Commander regarding the blockade of the Zanzibar Coast; and, any instructions to the British Representatives on that coast as to the measures they are to take for the safety of British subjects in the event of hostilities resulting from the blockade?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): It would be contrary to a sound practice to produce or quote the instructions to the Naval Commander-in-Chief regarding the blockade of the Zanzibar Coast. I have repeatedly stated that the details are left to his discretion, in concert with the German Admiral. The general purpose and limitation of the operations are defined in the Papers before the House. Again, no special instructions have been given to the British Representatives for the safety of British subjects. The Consul General has shown the utmost solicitude for their safety, and the blockade was postponed for a week, so that they might be withdrawn from dangerous positions.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether, in regard to the political question, he was to understand that the blockade of the German portion of the coast was to be undertaken by British ships, to be left entirely to the Admiral, and that no instructions on that point had been given?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: I have again and again stated that the Admiral has been placed fully in possession of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government, and he will use his discretion in regard to the division of the work.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: What are the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with regard to the use of British vessels in blockading the German portion of the Zanzibar coast?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: The hon. Member must have read the Papers which have been laid on the Table of the House. They give the plainest description of the purposes of the blockade, and it will be strictly limited to those purposes.

AUSTRALIA — QUEENSLAND — APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR—SIR HENRY A. BLAKE.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he is in a position to inform the House of the nature of the reply received from the Acting Governor of Queensland to the telegram despatched on Monday last relative to the appointment of Sir Henry Blake?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): Perhaps I may be allowed to answer this Question in the unavoidable absence of the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Baron Henry de Worms). The reply was received last night, and is as follows:—

"The Officer Administering the Government of Queensland to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, received 15th November, 1888, 6.45 p.m.—Referring to your telegram 12th November my Ministers consider—(1) That Sir Henry Blake is not known in Australia as a gentleman who has administered responsible government with discretion and success; (2) that the importance of the Colony entitles it to a Governor of proved ability and discretion in the administration of responsible government; (3) that his experience in responsible government is considered to be one year's service in Newfoundland; (4) that his previous experience is, in their opinion, a disqualification for the office of Governor of Queensland; (5) that the expressed disapproval of his appointment, when announced, was spontaneous, immediate, and general; (6) that this disapproval was more strongly accentuated because the appointment followed closely upon a constitutional crisis, where the rigid adherence to the exercise of prerogative came in direct antagonism with responsible government, when the former had to give way; (7) that it is impossible to make the appointment from an Imperial point of

view alone. A gentleman appointed simply as the conservator of Imperial interests can in no adequate sense be called a Governor. The Governor of a Colony with responsible government must work heartily and loyally for the interests of the Colony. When Imperial and Colonial interests clash the Governor's Ministers have always sought out and advised a course that would harmonize both. (8) The Colonial Legislature votes and the Colony pays the Governor's salary. The amount voted, and the fact of payment, imply approval of the occupant of the office. My Ministers desire me also to point out that their being asked now to give specific reasons against the appointment shows that they were reasonable or right in seeking to express an opinion before the appointment was made.—A. H. PALMER."

The answer to this telegram will be communicated to the House as soon as there has been time for its consideration. Perhaps I may be allowed to add, with reference to an answer given last night by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), that what my hon. Friend intended to convey was that the Governor's salary is "provided"—not "voted"—by the Colony, as it is secured by a permanent law, and is not subject to an annual Vote.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I should like to ask the hon. Gentleman whether we are to understand that the "previous experience" alluded to by the Ministers of Queensland was that of an Irish Resident Magistrate?

SIR JOHN GORST: I cannot tell. I have only read what the Colonial Ministers say, and the hon. Member is just as well able to interpret it as I am.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): Is the hon. Gentleman aware that the communication appeared in the newspapers before he read it; and can he say whether it was sent by a Member of Her Majesty's Government, or by a Representative of the Colonial Government in this country?

SIR JOHN GORST: I must have Notice of this Question.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON: Is it not the fact that the Colonial Government vote the money necessary for the Governor's residence in addition to the sum provided by the Act of Parliament for his salary?

SIR JOHN GORST: I am not answering for my own Department, and I must ask the hon. Gentleman to give me Notice of a Question of that kind.

POOR LAW — ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF CHILDREN IN ST. GEORGE'S WORKHOUSE.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to the alleged illtreatment of children in the St. George's Workhouse, Southwark; and, what action he proposes to take in the matter?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): One of the Inspectors of the Local Government Board attended a meeting of the Guardians of the St. Saviour's Union last evening, and the Guardians appointed a sub-committee to thoroughly inquire into the facts. A copy of the Report will be forwarded to the Board, and the Board will then consider what further action, if any, on their part will be necessary.

BRITISH GUIANA — ALLEGED ILL-TREATMENT OF MR. DE SOUZA.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he intends to take any, and what, action in reference to the alleged unjust treatment of Mr. de Souza by the Judges of British Guiana?

MR. BERNARD COLERIDGE (Sheffield, Attercliffe) also asked the hon. Gentleman, Whether he will obtain a full official Report of all the circumstances connected with the case of Mr. de Souza, lately sentenced to six months' imprisonment for contempt of court in British Guiana, and of the expressions used by Chief Justice Chalmers in passing the sentence.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham) (who replied) said, in a letter received at the Colonial Office on the 12th instant, Mr. de Souza has notified that he intends to prefer charges of misconduct against the Chief Justice and the other Judges of British Guiana; but that he had been prevented from having those charges ready for transmission by the mail then leaving. On the receipt of the charges Her Majesty's Government will consider what action should be taken; and if they are not accompanied

by a full Report will call for such further Report as may be necessary.

MR. BERNARD COLERIDGE (Sheffield, Attercliffe) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that Mr. de Souza, a coloured barrister, practising in British Guiana, has been sentenced, without appeal, to fine and imprisonment, and to come up for judgment when called upon within 12 months, for contempt of Court, in respect of a matter not pending before the Court; and, whether there is any authority or precedent for punishment for contempt in respect of a matter not pending before the Court.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether the commenting on or criticism of Judges or judicial proceedings, after such judicial proceedings have ceased to be matters *sub judice*, constitutes a contempt of Court under the English Law; whether the Law on this point administered in British Guiana differs from that of the Courts in the United Kingdom, and if so, why; and, whether, if the Judges of British Guiana have acted in contravention of the Rules of British Law, there is any, and what, means open to the person aggrieved by such action to bring their conduct under review of the Home Government, or by appeal to the Privy Council?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): My only knowledge of the case referred to is from the statements made in the House last night, and from the Questions upon the Paper. There is both authority and precedent for punishment for contempt after judicial proceedings have terminated, and in respect of a matter not pending before the Court. It depends entirely on the nature of the act complained of, and whether it is such as to be likely to bring the adminstration of justice into disrepute or contempt. As far as I know there is no difference in this respect between the law which would be administered in the Courts of the United Kingdom, and that applicable in British Guiana. It has been decided that the Court of British Guiana can commit for contempt, and that no appeal lies from their decision.

MR. BERNARD COLERIDGE asked, Whether anyone had been imprisoned for contempt in respect of a matter not before the Court?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, it was impossible for him to say; but there was not the slightest doubt that punishment could be inflicted after the termination of proceedings in cases which came within the principles he had laid down.

POST OFFICE—MESSRS. DE LA RUE & CO.'S CONTRACT FOR POSTAL STATIONERY.

MR. JENNINGS (Stockport) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether any proposal has been made to the Postmaster General, the Treasury, or the Inland Revenue Department, by Messrs. De la Rue and Co., the present contractors for the postal stationery, to forego their existing contract, under certain conditions, with a view to enable the Post Office to reduce the price of post-cards to 6½*d.* and 7*d.* per dozen respectively; and, whether, in the interest of the public, the Government are prepared to entertain any such offer if made to them?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): The answer to the first Question of the hon. Member is "Yes." His second Question raises a very delicate and difficult issue. On the one hand, there is a proposal the adoption of which would lead to an immediate economy to the Exchequer and an advantage to the public, but with the abandonment of the principle of competition with reference to the contract. On the other hand, there is the distinct recommendation of the Select Committee on the Revenue Estimates that, in future, all such contracts as this under consideration should be determined by public competition, and should not be made for a long period. There is nothing more tempting to a Government than in these cases, where contracts are about to expire in a couple of years, to secure an immediate reduction of the Estimates by the renewal of the contract on better terms, that renewal to be applicable to a portion of the contract still running. But it should be remembered that in such cases the contractor, of course, reckons upon compensating himself for what he immediately gives up to the advantage of the public by the higher terms which

he secures for the latter part of the contract, and which are to the disadvantage of the public. To accept the present proposal would be to repeat, to a great extent, the proceeding which has given rise to so much complaint in the case of the existing contract. I am not, therefore, prepared to consider the present offer of Mr. De la Rue, unless the House were of opinion that there were exceptional reasons for accepting the offer which outweighed the advantages likely to arise from competition and from short contracts, to which the Committee attached so much importance.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) asked, Whether it did not occur to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the whole difficulty would be solved were the public allowed to supply their own postcards cut to the proper size, and to put on a halfpenny stamp?

MR. GOSCHEN said, that was a point upon which he could not express an opinion without consulting the Postmaster General.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked, for how long Messrs. De La Rue had proposed to renew the contract?

MR. GOSCHEN: Ten years from the expiration of the present contract.

ARTIZANS' AND LABOURERS' DWELLINGS ACT—LEGISLATION.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government will, during the Recess, consider the question of introducing a Bill, in the next Session, to consolidate and amend the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Acts, the subject-matter as to which is now regulated by some 18 Acts of Parliament?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): While admitting that it would be an advantage to consolidate the Bills relating to artizans' and labourers' dwellings, the Government are not able to see their way to dealing with the question at present, as they have other Consolidation Bills in hand; but the question will have the early attention of the Government.

MR. HOWELL said, he would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman that the Statute Law Commission might prepare a Bill which, at all events, would facilitate the understanding of the law.

AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT—LEGISLATION.

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN (Kent, Faversham) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the Government will undertake to introduce the Bill for the formation of an Agricultural Department early next Session?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I certainly hope and intend, so far as I am concerned, that a Bill of the kind should be introduced next Session.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) inquired whether the right hon. Gentleman would cause inquiry to be made as to the work done by the Agricultural Departments of Foreign Governments, and give such information as they could obtain to the House?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I will see whether it is possible to lay before the House the information which the Government possesses upon the subject.

REDUNDANT APPOINTMENTS AND REDUCTIONS.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it would be possible to give the House a Return of the number of redundant appointments of over £500 a-year that had been abolished without compensation?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he would consider whether such a Return could be furnished with regard to redundant offices abolished and reductions made during the last two years.

UNIVERSITIES SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. WALLACE (Edinburgh, E.): I wish to ask whether the First Lord of the Treasury can state the numbers and the names of the Scotch Members at whose instance the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Southern Division of Edinburgh (Mr. Childers) recommended him to defer the consideration of the Universities (Scotland) Bill for such a share of Parliamentary time as could be spared from the discussion of the Appropriation Bill?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I do not think that any answer I have given

with reference to the Question which was put to me with regard to the Universities (Scotland) Bill bears the interpretation which the hon. Member has put upon it. I never imputed to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh that he had consulted the Scottish Members; but I said that he had expressed an opinion which the Government thought was an exceedingly good one, and of which they were glad to avail themselves. I did not understand that the right hon. Gentleman had consulted—[MR. WALLACE: He said so.] If the right hon. Gentleman said he consulted them, he is best able to answer that himself. I did not impute that to him.

MR. CHILDERS (Edinburgh, S.): I am sorry that my hon. Friend, who was in the House with me till half-past one last night, did not tell me he was going to put this Question, because then I should have been prepared to answer him either directly or by giving the First Lord of the Treasury the necessary information. But the fact is simply this: I was under the impression that the Government were going straight through with the Estimates, and then with the Appropriation Bill; and I was also under the impression, from communications made to me by several of the Scottish Members—not by one, but by several—that they did desire to have a debate upon the Universities Bill this Session—not that they approved, in all its clauses, of the Bill, because there are parts of the Bill I myself most strongly object to, and I know they most strongly object to, but they thought it would be convenient that there should be a debate on this Bill. And with that information and that object, I told the First Lord of the Treasury I thought it would be a good thing—I said nothing about the Scottish Members—if, when the Votes had been passed, and we reached the stage of the Appropriation Bill, we had a debate on the Universities Bill. I still think that course would be desirable. It would be in the interests of the question, because the Universities Bill has never been discussed in this House at all. That is all I said.

SOUTH AFRICA—DINIZULU.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India (in the absence of Baron Henry de Worms), Whether the Government had received any confirmation of the telegram in to-day's *Times* as to the entry of Dinizulu and several of his followers into Natal?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): We have to-day received the following telegram from Sir Arthur E. Havelock:—

"November 15. Dinizulu has come to Natal; has been apprehended to-day; he is in custody of Natal police force. Tchingana has been apprehended in Zululand. Special Commission has been commenced to-day at Ekowe."

PUBLIC MEETINGS (METROPOLIS)—THE MEETING ON CLERKENWELL GREEN.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON (Tower Hamlets, Poplar) asked, Whether the Home Secretary had yet received any further information from Mr. Lushington, one of the Metropolitan police magistrates, on the subject of the recent dispersal of a meeting on Clerkenwell Green?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.), in reply, said, he had received a Report from Mr. Lushington stating that there was no evidence at all before him of there having been any attempt on the part of the police to disperse the people at the Clerkenwell meeting. He could not fix the precise spot in Farringdon Street where the people first began to interfere with a post-office van, threatening the driver, and finally attempting to overturn the vehicle. A man seized the reins, and a policeman having come to the assistance of the driver, the man assaulted the policeman. A cry was raised that the mounted police were riding down the people, and some stones were thrown by the crowd. The witnesses cited for the defence had proved nothing like a dispersal of the crowd by the police. What one of the witnesses had alleged was that the police had "broken the crowd into small knots."

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON: Do I understand the assertion to be that there was no attempt to disperse the meeting at Clerkenwell?

MR. MATTHEWS: Yes; that is the distinct effect of the letter.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): Are there not two instances of dispersal—the one at the meeting at Clerkenwell Green and the other in connection with the post-office van?

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): Has the right hon. Gentleman asked the officer in charge of the police to make a Report on the subject?

MR. MATTHEWS: On two occasions I have communicated to the House the substance of Reports from the police.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: Will the right hon. Gentleman answer my Question about Mr. Lushington's remark, made for some purpose I suppose, that "The police had done no more than their duty?"

MR. MATTHEWS: I did not read that part of the letter—

"I said that if the mounted police had prevented an accumulation of the crowd at a disorderly point, they did no more than their duty. I did not say that they had been breaking up the crowd into small knots in the sense used in the House of Commons."

NOTICE OF AMENDMENT.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): With reference to the conversation that took place last night as to the course of Business, I then said that I would give the earliest information to the House as to the course which I proposed to take. I see from the Notice Paper that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland will move on Monday for leave to bring in a Bill for the purpose of further facilitating the Purchase of Land in Ireland. I propose to move an Amendment to that Motion, to the following effect:—

"That, in lieu of proceeding again to vote the sum of £5,000,000 so as to place the State in the direct relation of landlord to the Irish occupier, under the provisions of 'The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885,' it is expedient, especially in view of the lamentable sufferings caused by recent evictions in Ireland, to extend the provisions of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887,' so as to empower the Land Court to reduce or cancel the arrears of rents found to be excessive, as well as to deal with the rents themselves, after the example of the legislation recently and beneficially applied to the crofters' holdings in Scotland."

ORDERS OF THE DAY

SUPPLY—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £195,303, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the Science and Art Department, and of the Establishments connected therewith."

MR. A. H. DYKE ACLAND (Yorkshire, W. R., Rotherham) asked the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) if he had considered the relation of the Science and Art Department to the legislation of the House? Already on two occasions Technical Education Bills had been brought before the House of Commons, both of which had proved to be abortive. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated last year that the Government were determined that the working classes should have technical education in spite of the difficulties which had been thrown in the way. He hoped the Government would adhere to tois. Although he had no wish to discuss the question of technical education generally, he desired to refer to that part of it—the Science and Art Department—which might be said to be connected with it. It was perfectly certain that more demands would be made on the Department in the future, and many difficulties yet remained to be solved. He wished to point out that the present administration of the Department was already broken up into two parts, and the relations between Whitehall and South Kensington must sooner or later be seriously considered, and to some extent altered. Already South Kensington was doing a great deal of work in direct connection with the elementary schools. Out of the large grant of £90,000 for science and art classes, an increasing part of it was going to the higher elementary schools—schools like that at Birmingham, which was already

drawing considerable sums from the Department, and whose demands were expected to go on increasing. Besides the grant to classes there was the large grant of £37,000 for the drawing classes, and of £5,000 for training colleges. It was perfectly certain that since the publication of the Reports of the Commission there would be more demands for science teaching in connection with the elementary schools. In the course of a few years they hoped to see evening schools and continuation schools growing up in the country, and most assuredly there would be a demand from them for grants for science and scientific teaching. Had the Vice President of the Council considered the question of the inspection and examination of this kind of teaching? Was it to be done by the Whitehall Inspectors? A considerable amount of difficulty might be created in this matter, because it would be most undesirable to establish a system of double inspection and examination. So strongly did the Royal Commission feel upon the subject, that in their final Report on the Elementary Education Acts they had published several of the questions set by the Whitehall Inspectors in relation to the instruction given in special subjects. At page 151 of the Report, the questions set on paper in the Fifth Standard to boys, ranging, as a rule, between 11 and 12, were given—

"1. Impenetrability and elasticity do not apply to atoms. Explain this and give illustrations. 2. A nail driven into a piece of wood is not a case of impenetrability. Explain this. 3. *Compressibility* is due to the approach of the molecules. It is a proof of *porosity*. Explain the words in italics. 4. There are two kinds of forces to be found. Explain this and give examples;"

and so on. The Royal Commission called attention to these questions, in order to show that some of the Whitehall Inspectors were scarcely qualified to conduct such examinations. He wished to know what Her Majesty's Government intended to do? Was there to be an amalgamation of the two Departments into one at Whitehall or, on the other hand, were there to be two sets of Inspectors engaged in examining the same kind of work undertaken in the same sets of schools? He wished now to draw the attention of the Committee to the fact that more and more were they coming to the time when the State would be compelled to do something in respect of secondary education. The middle classes who were paying heavily, in the shape of rates, for elementary education, would soon demand from the Government the better recognition of the secondary schools, and further assistance for them. It must also be borne in mind that, in many parts of the country, secondary schools did not exist at all, and it was quite evident that there again the Science and Art Department would have a very important part to play. So far as the elementary schools were concerned they were open to all classes, and in some of the large industrial towns he was glad to see that the middle classes were sending their children to mix with the children of the poor. Both would benefit from this. But this was no the case with science teaching. Hitherto the children of the rich were practically shut out from some of the greatest advantages of efficient teaching, the instruction being given mainly to the industrial classes. In the two Technical Education Bills which had been brought before the House, the Science and Art Department had been indicated as the authority which was to take charge of the matter and to provide the subjects. That seemed to him to be a very important question. When once the Science and Art Department began to provide subjects, great pressure would be put on them to make grants. If the thin end of the wedge was got in in this way, it was impossible to say how far it might go. They wanted specially in regard to this Department to decentralize as much as they could; but there was one thing they wanted also to do, and he was glad the Department was encouraging it, and that was to draw nearer all the existing agencies of scientific teaching in the different parts of the country, and make it more in accord with the University Extension Movement that was going on. One of the Inspectors reported, the other day, that in the teaching of geography in his district, by far the best instruction was given on notes made by a teacher who had been attending one of the University Extension Courses. So far as the teachers were concerned, a great deal more was necessary, and to his mind the question of the teachers was the most important point of all. He condemned mere grant earners, and was of opinion that that class of teachers did great harm to the cause of scientific teaching

He was inclined to say that if they were to withdraw any grant, part of the grant for payment by results should be the first to go, while for really effective scientific teaching it ought to be increased. He thought they were all coming to the conclusion that there was a considerable amount of evil in the existing method of making the grants. They were paying the teachers upon purely commercial lines. He wanted to get rid of that system where possible, and to get teachers with a higher ideal of teaching. Professor Huxley, in his Report of last year on the Science and Art Department, said—

"During the past few years there has undoubtedly been an improvement, but this is manifest chiefly in the avoidance of gross errors. There has not been a corresponding progress in the manner of teaching, or in the amount taught. The teachers teach much in the same way that they did, and teach about the same things, only they avoid the conspicuous blunders to which the Examiners have called attention in their successive Reports. This is the reason why the numbers in the first class remain low, though the actual rejections are diminished. We must once more repeat the statement of former Reports, that some knowledge of chemistry and physics is an indispensable preliminary to the study of physiology; and that teachers simply waste their own time, and that of the Department, in attempting to teach physiology to pupils who do not understand the difference between carbon and carbonic acid.

Professor Huxley was of opinion that one thing we wanted for technical and commercial education was science teachers. In an address delivered at Manchester in November, 1887, Professor Huxley made these remarks—

"I venture to say that there are no persons more cognizant of the defects in the work of the Science and Art Department than those who administer it. But those who talk in this way should acquaint themselves with the fact that proper practical instruction is a matter of no small difficulty in the present scarcity of properly-taught teachers, that it is very costly, and that in some branches of science there are other difficulties, which I will not allude to. But it is a matter of fact that, wherever it has been possible, practical teaching has been introduced, and has been made an essential element in examination; and no doubt, if the House of Commons would grant unlimited means, and if proper teachers were to hand as thick as blackberries, there would not be much difficulty in organizing a complete system of practical instruction and examination, ancillary to the present science classes. Is it possible, under the conditions, to enlarge the work of practical teaching and practical examination, which is the one desire of those who administer the Department? . . . For this purpose, for the obtaining of teachers of science and of technical classes, the system of catching a boy young, making a pupil teacher of him, compelling the poor little mortal to pour his little bucket into a still smaller bucket, that which has just been poured into it, and passing him afterwards through the training college, where his life is devoted to filling the bucket from the pump from morning till night, without time for thought or reflection, is a system which should not continue. I repeat, that kind of thing will not do for science teachers, for science teachers must have knowledge, and knowledge is not to be acquired on these terms. . . . So far as science teaching and technical education are concerned, the most important of all things is to provide the machinery for training proper teachers. The Department of Science and Art has been at that work for years and years, and though unable, under present conditions, to do so much as could be wished, it has, I believe, already begun to leaven the lump to a very considerable extent. It has often occurred to me that probably nothing would be of more service in this matter than the creation of a number of not very large bursaries or exhibitions, to be gained by persons nominated by the authorities of the various science colleges and schools, more to supply good teachers than anything else."

For his own part, he could not help fancying that £5,000 might have been better spent in teaching a smaller number of teachers, and teaching them more effectively. He very much doubted whether any real progress in scientific training was being made in the training colleges at the present time. Whatever else happened, he hoped the Vice President would do all he could to provide efficient training for the teachers. He was firmly convinced that that was necessary, and he would only add that, in order to do it thoroughly, they ought to bring Departments like this more in connection with the wants of the country. Before he sat down he would like to read one or two words from the Special Report of the late Mr. Matthew Arnold on "Certain points connected with Elementary Education in Germany, Switzerland, and France." Mr. Arnold said—

"The instruction is better in the foreign popular schools than in ours, because the teachers are better trained. This is the main reason of the superiority, that the teachers are better trained. But that they are better trained comes from a cause which acts for good upon the whole of education abroad, that the instruction as a whole is better organized than with us. Indeed, with us it is not and cannot be organized as a whole at all, for the public administration which deals with the popular schools stops at those schools, and takes into its view no others. But there is an article in the constitution of Canton Zurich which well expresses the idea which prevails everywhere abroad of the organization of instruction from top to bottom as one whole: the higher estab-

lishments for teaching shall be brought into organic connection with the popular school."

He was quite convinced that until we had a Minister of Education, we could not get that organization of education, which was needed quite as much in the interests of the poorer classes as it was in the interests of the richer classes. It was in that sense that he hoped the right hon. Gentleman was approaching the subject. He was glad that during the last 25 or 30 years much of the work of the Science and Art Department had accomplished splendid things for the industrial classes. The Department had given them opportunities for acquiring scientific knowledge, of which they would otherwise have remained in absolute ignorance. Great changes had taken place since the Department was started. Elementary education had made a rapid advance, even into the region of secondary education, but he thought that great changes were still needed in organization, so that they might be able to make the best of their materials.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) said, he had put down a Notice on the Paper of his intention to move the reduction of this Vote, but in doing so, it must not be supposed that he in any way wished to reduce the amount given by the State for the purpose of promoting science and art instruction and technical education. Indeed, he thought it would be a great advantage if still larger sums of money were voted for that purpose. In going back to the beginning of the history of the Department, it was somewhat strange to find that a Department of Art was commenced even before the idea of a public Department in connection with elementary education was contemplated. In 1836 a Committee of this House which inquired into the subject reported that instruction in Art or Design, as it was then called, should form the basis of a system of popular education, and thus a School of Design was the beginning of the system of granting aid to some sort of technical instruction in our schools. Therefore, for upwards of 50 years this work had been going on. In 1847 another Committee sat and reported that the education given in our schools was not of a sufficiently practical character, and urged that a greater amount of instruction in art should be given. In 1853 the Department of Science was added to the Department of Art, and then began a system of annual grants, increasing largely from year to year, in order to enable the working classes of this country to acquire education in all the true bases of science, art, and manufactures. When they looked at 50 years of effort in connection with art, and 25 years in connection with science, during which time the House had granted millions of money for this purpose, it was only reasonable that they should ask themselves what the result of that expenditure had been. He, for one, believed that it was absolutely essential to our welfare that these subjects of instruction should underlie the basis of our educational system. But when they studied the new Report just issued, it was strange to find that art teaching and drawing, which all the witnesses examined before the Commission and the Commission itself stated to be the basis of our educational system, were at the present time in England not only deficient, but almost wanting. In foreign countries it was the fault of the workman himself if he did not get art training, but in England the reverse was the case. Our system of instruction was altogether insufficient in these bases of instruction. The remarks concerning scientific teaching were still more unsatisfactory. It was said by many witnesses, and adopted by the Committee in their Report, that our elementary scientific teaching was quite in its infancy. The hon. Member opposite (Sir Henry Roscoe), who, he was glad to notice was in his place, had said that elementary teaching in schools was going backwards rather than forwards, and if this were so, there must be some reason for it. Not only was this House liberal in its grants, but it would be more liberal if it were certain that it was getting more value for its money in an extension of science and art education amongst the population. In the Science and Art Directory, the Science and Art Department said they were the Department for spending and applying grants of money given by Parliament for the promotion of science and art; and they added that they were promoting that class of education amongst the industrial classes of the community. As an indication that our forefathers really knew more about these mattres than we sometimes thought, it should be remembered that when this

Department of Science and Art was established it was placed under the Board of Trade. He did not say that that was a wise system, but it showed that technical education was then considered to have a strong bearing on the trade of the country, and he was sure that the Committee would agree that that view was correct, and that our supremacy in manufactures and commerce could only be maintained by an efficient and thorough system of artistic and technical education. He must refer to a large number of figures in the remarks he was going to make, for what he wanted to impress upon the Committee was that the money granted went in an enormously too great proportion to the staff, rather than to the actual encouragement of science and art instruction. The Vote for last year—and it was a little more this year—was £386,493 for this particular branch, leaving out Ireland and Scotland, for, after all, the museums in Edinburgh and Dublin had staffs of their own, and did not want more than a small amount of supervision from London. One third of this amount, or about £130,000, was spent on the staff of this Department. Now he asked the Committee whether it was reasonable that about 6*s.* 8*d.* in the pound should go to the staff. He should be sorry to say a word against the staff, because he believed it was most efficient, but he contended that there must be something wrong when such an enormous proportion of the cost was paid to the staff of the Department. What were the numbers of the staff and their cost? In the first place in what was called the staff department there were 46 persons costing £11,000 a-year. That was a fairly large staff, no doubt, but not an unreasonable one. It was probably a more liberal staff than they would see in a large office not connected with Government, but, still, with regard to this he would say nothing. Then the second item came under the head of direction, inspection, and examination. The staff for this consisted of 404 persons, costing £33,650 a-year with travelling expenses. It was true that not all of these gave their full time, but considering that there were 404 persons employed costing over £33,000, the Committee would see that a very large proportion must give their full time. This was not all; there was the Normal school of Science, in which 38 more were employed, with salaries amounting to £10,187. Then there was the Normal Art Training School with 17 persons, earning £2,445. Next, there were the Museum Offices with 24 persons, costing £10,248. There were nine technical assistants, costing £1,800; occasional professorial and professional assistants, 20, costing £600; and 8 persons employed in the Stores Department, costing £1,550. So that as a result the general administration employed 566 persons, earning £71,487. He thought it only reasonable and right that, having a seat in the House, he should look into these facts, and especially into those relating to a Department with which he was so well acquainted. He knew a good deal about the Department in question, and it was only right that he should use that knowledge to see that the House got the full possible amount of good for the money it granted. It might be considered that 566 officials, costing £71,478 a-year, were necessary, but this was not all—there were the officers of the Department. The rank and file he had not yet referred to. He found that, in addition to the officers he had mentioned, there were 101 copyists, earning £9,880, and 225 attendants, messengers, repairers, labourers, etc., receiving £22,116. There were 91 policemen for South Kensington and Bethnal Green Museums, earning £12,650, and finally there were 183 firemen, artizans, Royal Engineers, and so on, earning £11,800. Thus the rank and file, as he called them, were 600 in number, earning £56,445. The total staff, with the officers and rank and file, was 1,166 officials, costing £128,000 a-year. He had not finished yet, however, because there were a certain number of persons in all parts of the country who got a small fee for conducting examinations. The country voted £3,500 more, distributed amongst 2,000 for assisting at various examinations. Considering that these people only got on an average the paltry sum of 30*s.*, he was bound to say that he thought their work would be better done if it were left to gentlemen in the districts. All this expenditure which he had described was for the purpose of administering the sum of £216,000. The Committee and the Treasury, and he thought, also, the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council, would agree

with him that these things required a good deal of looking into. The hon. Gentleman who last spoke (Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland) had said that he considered the Department required reorganization, and he (Mr. Bartley) had no hesitation in saying that that was his opinion also. The country would not grudge the amount spent, if it went to promote the object they were all driving at; but there must be something done to put a stop to the enormous increase of the staff. The hon. Member for Leeds had stated the other day, in the most graphic terms, that the officials at South Kensington were herded together, and that the offices were overcrowded in a most unhealthy manner. Of course they were. The officials had been continually increased, so that now that the Department was so overstocked, they were going to build fresh offices to accommodate them. He trusted the House would hesitate before it permitted money to be spent on the building of fresh offices. It should, he thought, first see if the officers could not be greatly reduced. The time had come when the two Education Departments should be combined—when they should have the whole educational system of the country under one head. As had been pointed out over and over again, there was no reason why they should have one Department looking after the drawing and another looking after the writing. He saw that the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had stated in the House, only last week, that the subject of drawing had been for some time a sort of football between the two Departments to the immense detriment of art teaching. He did not wish to say anything unfriendly or unpleasant, but he thought the House was bound to look into these facts. In conclusion, he thanked the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council and the Secretary to the Treasury for their courtesy in giving him the statistics he had read to the Committee.

SIR HENRY ROSCOE (Manchester, S.) said, he did not propose to enter into details with regard to expenditure on the question which had been so fully and ably discussed by the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down; but he should like, in answer to a remark on one particular point, to say that, so far as he could judge, the remuneration of the scientific work done by the Department was not at all heavy, nor was it, indeed, beyond what the requirements of the case demanded. It must be remembered that this system of examination, and of teaching by examination, was one peculiar to our own country, and not found abroad. It was brought about, as they all remembered, by the late Prince Albert, and it had brought to the doors of the poorest of the poor a system which, if not complete in itself and not very deep, at any rate, so far as it went, was sound. He thought in this respect it was absolutely necessary, if this scientific instruction was to be good, that the men who were intrusted with the examinations should be men of the highest eminence, and if the country was to secure the services of gentlemen such as Professor Huxley, and other well-known men of science, they must pay adequately for their services; and he did not think, whatever might be said of other Departments, it could be said that in the scientific branch of the Department under consideration there was any over pay at all. He had listened with great interest to the remarks made on the subject of the training of teachers by hon. Gentlemen behind him. This was a matter of the very highest consequence, but if we in England were to train our teachers in a national science school, we must have that national science school to train them in. At the present time he was sorry to say that the amount of accommodation which was absolutely necessary was not to be found in South Kensington School. He held in his hands a Report giving a description of one large technical high school which had lately been built in Berlin, and, with the permission of the Committee, he would say a word or two by way of comparing our only science school, so far as size and accommodation was concerned, with this school to which he referred—one of the many schools of the kind in Prussia, and one of the very many similar schools in Germany. This large school was built at the national cost at Charlottenburg, near Berlin, and no less a sum than £400,000, he believed, was spent upon the building alone. In addition to this a very large sum was annually voted by the Government for the maintenance of the school. To give the Committee an idea of the relative extent of this building and of our own school at South Kensington—the only one we had in

this country, with the exception of a small school in Dublin—he would point out that the whole of our building could be put into the middle block of the German building to which he referred—that was to say, the size of our school was such that the building might be erected in the large hall and staircases in the middle of the German building. Indeed, one part of this German establishment alone—namely, the Commercial Laboratory—had as much accommodation as the whole of the South Kensington establishment. He had to call the attention of the right hon. Gentlemen the Vice-President of the Council and the First Lord of the Treasury a short time ago to the question of this accommodation at South Kensington, the matter being one which really ought to be attended to. It was not merely that the accommodation for the Normal School was insufficient, but the accommodation for the whole of the Department was lamentably insufficient to carry on the business of the Department. When they knew that the clerks had to work on the stairs and in the passages, when they heard that the arrangements for examinations were always insufficient to carry on the business of the Department, he thought the Committee would agree that it was really time that something should be done to increase the accommodation. He was very sorry to hear the Gentleman who had just spoken state as his opinion that increased accommodation was not required. Now, this question was not a new one, but had been under consideration, he might say, for years—

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Member that the question of accommodation in buildings is considered in Class I. The present Vote only deals with administration.

SIR HENRY ROSCOE said, he bowed to the Chairman's decision. With regard to the administration, he had only to point out again that it was most important, as his hon. Friend behind him (Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland) had said, that other subjects should be introduced into the curriculum of the Science and Art Department. They heard a great deal about the importance of technical instruction at the present time, but they had to remember that there was another branch of equal importance—namely, the question of commercial education, and that that question was of no less consequence than the scientific instruction of the people. In this matter they would, he thought, have to meet the requirements of the day. They would have to get some system by which commercial subjects would be brought within the scope of the examination system of the Department. Commercial subjects, especially drawing—both mechanical and freehand—and especially, also, languages, were of the very greatest importance. He trusted that this discussion would be of interest and importance to the country, in pointing out the great value to be attached to the Department of Science and Art. Not only was it of importance that scientific instruction should be given from a technical point of view, but also from a moral point of view. If, in so doing, he would not be out of Order, he would like, in conclusion, to read a few words from a letter he found in *The Times* of last week dealing with what the writer termed the Increase of Mendacity. The writer, in concluding the article, said—

"It can hardly be expected that any considerations derived from morality will suffice to stem the prevalence and the toleration of mendacity which I have described; but we may hope for the development of a better spirit when education in physical science is more generally diffused. The physicist comes naturally to hate what is false in the region of his own work, because every falsehood is an *ignis fatuus*, which, if he follows it, will lure him from the path of discovery, and will waste his time among the quicksands of error. A profound intellectual appreciation of the value of truth, and of the pernicious character of falsehood, although produced originally by the experience of the laboratory, will generally, in the long run, be extended to embrace the other affairs and interests of life. Whoever once becomes a worshipper at the shrine of the goddess will be certain to erect her image in every department of the understanding.

He (Sir Henry Roscoe) felt that these words were true, and that the Science and Art Department, for which they were asked to vote this sum, was doing a great deal to support this love of truth, as well as a knowledge of scientific facts throughout the country.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley) said, he did not intend to discuss the Vote generally. There were two points, however, he should like to refer to, though before doing so he must say that he had listened attentively to the remarks of the hon. Member opposite with regard to the expenses of administration. That was a very

important part of the business which he (Mr. Jesse Collings) did not think the hon. Member had made out a sufficient case for. What, after all, was the indictment against the administration? The hon. Gentleman had certainly given them the expenses of managing, but he had not alluded at all to the character of the work done. It was not a question of spending £120,000 in order to look after £200,000. The hon. Member entirely left out of sight that we, as a nation, had one of the greatest possessions in the world. We had an unrivalled collection of objects—priceless objects they might be called—which had to be looked after as the capital, so to speak, of the concern. The mere £200,000 formed but one part of the duty of administration. He was not saying that the administration was perfect, but he was objecting to the way in which the hon. Member had let his indictment go forth to the public. It was like a commercial man saying how much his concern had cost him, but, at the same time, not saying a word about the extensive character of that concern and the work the staff had to do. He himself, during a long connection with a provincial museum, had something to do with South Kensington, and he was bound to say that all the officials seemed extremely animated by zeal for the service in which they were employed, and, so far as he could gather, their remuneration was not at all extravagant for the duties they had to perform. He considered that this Vote was one of the most important in connection with the welfare of the country which came before the Committee, and he agreed with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Rotherham (Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland) that it would be a continually increasing Vote. Let them hope that it would be a continually increasing Vote. The country, he was sure, would not object even if the increase was somewhat rapid. He would only ask that the money should be well spent in the direction in which the Department professed that it would be spent. He quite agreed as to the necessity of doing more than was done at present. All the work of the Science and Art Department was practically in its infancy, but, at the same time, he thought that the Report which had been issued showed some increase in the work. Let them take, for instance, the matter of drawing to which reference had been made. There was, of course, not that increase which they would like, but if they compared 1887 with 1886 they found that in the latter year 870,491 persons were taught, as against 875,263 for the former year, an increase of nearly 5,000 in one year—not a sufficient increase, but still not a going back. Then when they come to scientific teaching in the elementary schools, where he thought it very important, and also in science classes, there were also increases, although still not of the character they would like them to be. It was better, however, to see the work go forward than backward. One of the questions to which he wished particularly to refer was that of circulating objects of art in the Provinces. In 1886 there were 26,164 objects of art circulated, and in 1887 that number had increased to 28,363. That was an increase of over 2,000 objects, which was an improvement. He hoped to get an assurance from the Vice President of the Council that he was mistaken in supposing that the grant for this purpose was cut down. Of course, great expense and trouble were incurred by the Department in circulating works of art among the Provinces. The South Kensington Department was not adverse, in the interests of art and science throughout the country, to take any amount of trouble in connection with this matter; but it could not do it if the grant in this particular item were cut down. He therefore trusted that if the Vice President thought of effecting any economy he would not do it in this direction. If he read the Estimates rightly, there seemed to be a reduction in the purchase of works of art for circulation among the local museums. Whether that would affect the circulation he did not know, but he hoped to hear from the right hon. Gentleman that it would not, and that no reduction was intended. It was utterly impossible that people could come from the country to South Kensington to examine works of art. They could only do so in flying visits at long intervals. They were all proud of the collection at South Kensington. There was nothing like it in the world. With all its defects it was remarkably well selected, and if it were appraised for the purpose of sale it would be found how large its value was. As he

said, it was impossible for persons in the Provinces to come to London to examine the National Collection, and it was, therefore, only by circulation, as far as possible, that these objects of art could be brought within the reach of the industrial community. He found that last year the objects lent to museums were 13,000, and to exhibitions 7,000. This was one of the points he had risen to ask the Vice President to consider, and to give an assurance that no reduction was intended, but that there would be an increase in this very important part of the work of the Science and Art Department. Another point was this—it was a great disappointment to find that no assistance had been given in the past year to local museums and art galleries in purchasing works of art. In March last year this grant was withheld. In 1882 about £1,500 was granted, and that sum was continued until March, 1887, when it disappeared altogether. This had been a great disappointment to those who were interested in local museums, because, up to that time, the Department used to assist the museums and art galleries to the extent of one-half of the purchases made. That was a direct incentive to local liberality, and drew forth many gifts from the locality when it was discovered what great advantage could be gained by the assistance given by the Science and Art Department. From 1882 to 1886 the whole cost of the objects purchased for local museums amounted to about £10,000, a-half of which sum was contributed by the Department. It was not a very large sum, and he saw no valid reason why it should be taken off. There was one other reason for the continuance of this assistance that he would impress upon the right hon. Gentleman. It must be borne in mind that the great collection at South Kensington was kept up by the taxation of the country, and, at the same time, large towns, such as Manchester, Bradford, Birmingham, and others, had not only to contribute to the general taxation for the purpose of keeping up South Kensington, but they had to bear the whole cost of their own local museums. Therefore it was only right that some small help should be given to the localities, some of which were not rich, and had a great deal to do, especially as this was an easy and proper way of giving some slight assistance. The Department began by giving assistance in the best way that it could be given, because, while they received assistance in money from South Kensington, they also took advantage of the skill and knowledge of the experts there in order to secure and purchase the various objects that were suitable for the locality. As a mere act of justice he thought the grant should be restored. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman that the withdrawal of the grant was a matter which would continue to be a subject of complaint in the Provinces unless satisfactory reasons could be assigned for withdrawing it. Nottingham, Sheffield, Wolverhampton, Glasgow, Manchester, Preston, Birmingham, and other places had all received great advantage from the assistance which had been given by the Department, and he thought it was extremely probable that many of the local institutions would not have been started if it had not been for the incentive given to them to spend their own money by the grants from the Science and Art Department. These two points—the circulation of objects of art and the reinstatement of the aid to provincial museums for the purchase of objects of art—were the two points which he wished specially to impress on the Vice President. There was, however, one other point—namely, the summer course of agricultural teaching at the South Kensington Museum. He did not know that that course of teaching was the best that could be adopted, but he was quite sure that that was the direction in which the country must look for a supply of teachers for technical or industrial education in the rural schools. It was remarkable that while great anxiety was expressed about the establishment of technical schools in the large manufacturing towns, and while constant references were made to such schools as that which had been commenced in Birmingham by the hon. Member for the Edgbaston Division (Mr. Dixon), scarcely any anxiety whatever was shown as to industrial teaching or the practical application of knowledge in reference to the largest industry of all—quite equal to a dozen other industries all put together—namely, agriculture. In the summer course of teaching 15 lectures were

given, and there were 31 students. He believed that the Department proposed to have another course of these lectures next year. That was very good as far as it went, because the teachers would go back to the centres from which they came, and would disseminate their knowledge provided that there were means and inducements given to them to do so. He was glad to find that the lectures were to be printed, as the complete course would form a valuable text-book. The elementary teaching of agriculture in the rural schools was the one thing wanted to revive the rural districts, and, of course, the primary want was the want of teachers. He hoped the Vice President would continue the work in this direction, however imperfect it might be. Something had already been done, seeing that 31 students had attended 15 lectures, and he presumed they would know something about what they had been taught. Probably the scientific knowledge they had acquired of agriculture was not enough; but it was a step in the right direction to instruct teachers, so that teachers might be found when the House of Commons resolved that their past neglect should be atoned for, and the elements of agriculture taught in precisely the same way as it was considered necessary to give technical instruction to the children of the artizans in towns whose lives were to be spent in particular industries. He was sorry for having detained the Committee so long, and he would conclude by impressing upon the Vice President the three points he had mentioned. First, not to cut down the grant for circulating objects; second, to restore the grant-in-aid for provincial purposes; and, third, to extend and improve the teaching of the teachers.

SIR RICHARD TEMPLE (Worcestershire, Evesham) wished, in answer to the hon. Member for Manchester (Sir Henry Roscoe), to say that the London School Board was waiting for the long-promised Technical Education Bill, in order to carry out throughout the Metropolitan area such a plan of instruction as should be satisfactory to the claims of scientific and technical training, and, at the same time, should not add to the burdens of the ratepayers. They hoped to accomplish this without any addition to the burden of the ratepayers, although some slight addition might have to be made to the Vote now under consideration.

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) said, he wished, in reference to this Vote, to call attention to a matter of considerable interest to the South of Ireland, which formed the subject-matter of a Question which he had addressed to the Secretary to the Treasury early in the evening—namely, the visits of Mr. Alan Cole to Ireland as lecturer on the Irish lace industry. The lectures of Mr. Cole commenced four years ago at the Cork School of Art, and the Members of the Committee could have but a faint conception of the amount of good done by them and the value of the work which Mr. Cole had performed. At the time Mr. Cole took the subject in hand the important industry of lace-making was in a very backward and languishing state. Five years ago it was in a state of absolute collapse, not owing altogether to any disinclination or even anxiety to carry on the work as it had been carried on in former years, but because those who carried on the lace trade had become quite tired of the old patterns upon which the lace of the different lace-making establishments in the South of Ireland were worked. The want of education, or of any lectures or information as to what was necessary in order to bring up the lace-making industry in Ireland to a level with that of its competitors elsewhere, was found to be a great evil. The Irish lace workers had to be content with the old patterns which they had been working for a great many years, and as there was no novelty in them the demand fell off. As a Member of the Committee of the School of Science and Art in Cork, he had taken great interest in the lace industry. The Committee took the matter in hand, and expended a sum of money in new patterns. But as they could not send these patterns all over the country they had to invent other means of distributing the advantages they had gained for themselves, and of educating the people in the most improved and newest designs. They therefore placed themselves in communication with the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington, and the Department kindly consented to send Mr. Alan Cole, who was specially qualified to give instruction in the matter, over to Ireland to give lectures, so that different schools might

be started in connection with the lace industry. They succeeded in starting schools of this kind, almost entirely at local expense; and the Head Master of the School of Science and Art in Cork went about to different places, following Mr. Cole's lectures and providing technical and artistic instruction to the students, co-operating in that way with the work of Mr. Cole. The result had been something marvellous, considering the short time the system was in operation, and such an impetus had been given to the making of Irish lace in the last five years as, but for Mr. Cole's efforts, it would probably not have received, if it had been left to local effort, in the next 20 years. But a very unfortunate event had now occurred, which he was afraid would throw back all the efforts they had been making. Within the last two years a lady had been appointed Inspector of Lace-making in Ireland, at a salary of £200 a-year. The Department at South Kensington seemed to consider that, in consequence of this appointment, Mr Cole would no longer be wanted in Ireland. The initiative in the matter was not taken by the Science and Art Department of South Kensington, but it came from an Irish source to which it was not necessary that he should further refer. The Vote for the salary of this lady appeared under the Sub-head A., No. 2 of the present Vote. It was only in consequence of the very strong representations that were made in the early part of the year that the Treasury were induced to allow the Department to send Mr. Cole over to Ireland for one visit this year, instead of the two which he had been accustomed to pay formerly. They had been given to understand that that visit was to be the last that was to be made by Mr. Cole. Now, he wished to point out to the Vice President of the Council that in his (Mr. Lane's) opinion, in that of those who had taken a great interest in the revival of the lace industry of Ireland, and especially in that of the Cork School of Science and Art, no greater mistake could have been made by the Treasury than to believe that the appointment of Mrs. Power Lalor as Inspector of Lace-making should be made the means of discontinuing or cancelling the visits of Mr. Cole as lecturer. The duties of this lady were quite distinct and separate from those of Mr. Cole, whose duties had hitherto been performed under the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington, and consisted simply of lectures with illustrations upon the designs for lace. The lectures had given most valuable assistance to the schools in Ireland in which lace-making was taught, and Mr. Cole had been engaged in the discharge of a duty altogether different from any that was now performed by the lady Inspector. Her duty was when the lace had been manufactured to inspect it, to see that it was correctly copied from pattern, and also to assist in finding a ready market and sale for it. Another part of her duty was to inspect the material provided in the places where the lace was manufactured. Under these circumstances, he respectfully submitted that the appointment of this lady and the item for her salary would be advantageously transferred from the Vote the Committee were now discussing, and included in Vote No. 13, Sub-head B., which would bring the matter under the Board of National Education in Ireland, and enable this lady Inspector to extend her duties to the general inspection of lace work in the National Schools of Ireland. As far as he had been able to ascertain—and he had made a careful inquiry into it—the number of schools in which lace-making was conducted in Ireland was very limited; and, with ordinary diligence, Mrs. Power Lalor would not be occupied more than half her time in the discharge of the duties which she was now required to perform. If she was to be paid a regular salary, with only this particular duty to perform, the Treasury ought to get the best value they possibly could for the money. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council whether, in regard to this appointment, he did not think it would be better for the administration of the Department, and also better, so far as the general work was concerned, to place Mrs. Power Lalor on the Vote for the Board of National Education in Ireland, and under the direction of that Board, instead of retaining her in connection with the Science and Art Department at South Kensington? It would be found from the Report of this lady that she herself regarded the duties she performed as being rather in connection with the commercial aspect of the ques-

tion than with Science and Art. An extract from her Report was given on page 35 of the Annual Report of the Department of Science and Art, in which she said that—

"The most profound ignorance existed in the lace centres. 'Wholesale' and 'retail' were words that conveyed no meaning, and until some knowledge on these subjects was obtained and acted upon, Irish lace could not obtain its place in the world's market."

The lady Inspector wound up her Report by saying—

"This has been the point that has had my special attention during my visits."

It was evident, then, that Mrs. Power Lalor's duties were not connected with the Science and Art Department, but with the commercial department of the lace-making industry; but, on the other hand, the duties performed by Mr. Alan Cole were purely technical and artistic. In this Vote there was a Vote of £500 for lectures to be delivered in connection with South Kensington. It was the particular subhead under which Mr. Alan Cole's lectures were included, and he wished to call the attention of the Vice President to the fact that, in answer to the Question put to him early in the evening, he had stated that the expenses of Mr. Cole's visits to Ireland, both in fees and expenses, were £412 odd. He thought the right hon. Gentleman must have been mistaken in the figures he had given, and had included the total amount for two years, 1886 and 1887.

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford) said, he had given the total cost.

MR. LANE: Of the two years 1886 and 1887?

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: Yes; 1888 as well.

MR. LANE said, that Mr. Cole's visits to Ireland cost something like £190 or £200 a-year. He considered that that was a very small sum for the great advantage Mr. Cole's visits had been to the lace industry in the South of Ire- Ireland. He expressed a hope that the Vice President of the Council would see that Mr. Cole's efforts in connection with the lace industry were not cut short or prevented by the Treasury, because a lady Inspector had been appointed. He believed he was correct in saying that it was the wish of the head of the Department at South Kensington that Mr. Cole's visits should not be interfered with. Therefore, when the Department was getting a Vote for lectures, he did not think the Treasury ought to interfere and say to the Department—"Such and such lectures must be discontinued, because an appointment has been made, owing to a suggestion from Ireland, of an Inspector of Lace." The Science and Art Schools in Cork had been at very great expense in carrying out the object of the Department, and numerous private subscriptions had been received. Through the munificent liberality of one of the leading citizens of Cork—Mr. Crawford—lately deceased, no less a sum than £20,000 had been placed at the disposal of the School of Science and Art in that town. When a private citizen, of his own munificence, gave a princely sum like that for the extension of education in Science and Art, it was paltry for the Treasury to step in, and stop such a trifling grant as £200 for advancing what was formerly, and what he hoped would shortly be again, one of the chief industries of the South of Ireland. He respectfully asked the Vice President to consider the propriety of transferring Mrs. Power Lalor's services from the Department of Science and Art to the National Board of Irish Education, under whose direction and control her services would certainly be more useful. She had hardly enough to do if her duties were confined to lace; and he would suggest, therefore, that she should be made Inspector of Needlework generally, as well as of Lace.

MR. F. S. POWELL (Wigan) said, he had very few observations to offer at that moment upon the subject of the Science and Art Vote. He wished, however, to congratulate the Committee on the tone of the last speaker's observations. He felt sure that the development of local industries in Ireland would do more than anything else to strengthen the sources of happiness and prosperity in the Sister Island. He was glad to find that the interest taken in the development of the lace industry had been of such a character as to promote the manufacture of lace. There was every reason to hope that in the future the manufacture of lace would be a source of wealth to the

Irish people. The industry was one especially deserving of support and encouragement, as it could be carried on largely in the homes of the people. He was convinced that the ability and energy of the Irish people were worth directing to the manufacture of lace, and he was satisfied that the result would be content and happiness, where nothing but misery and wretchedness now prevailed. At present many families in the South of Ireland experienced great difficulty in obtaining the means of existence; the introduction of the manufacture of lace to their firesides would, at any rate, provide them with the means of obtaining the necessaries of life. The hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) had made a reference to the circulation of works of art. He (Mr. F. S. Powell) had had the opportunity of seeing many works of art which had been exhibited in the provincial towns, and he was able to bear his testimony to the advantage which arose from the cultivation of objects of art. There was one condition that must be complied with, if this circulation was to render all the advantages it was desirable that it should render. The specimens themselves must be of the very highest character. If they did not give the various centres of industry an opportunity of seeing the works of the first masters, they would fail to elevate the public taste and give a high direction to the talent of the locality; on the contrary, they would incur the danger of lowering public taste, and misdirecting the energies of the people. The Committee knew well enough that in our manufacturing districts we were unrivalled in the abundance of our production; but if we were to retain our position and increase our reputation in the quality as well as in the quantity of the article produced, we must direct our attention to the beauty and artistic skill of the productions of our looms. Reference had been made in a recent debate upon the Education Vote to the expenditure upon education. He was sure that the House of Commons did not grudge the expenditure, because it was certain that, unless the expenditure was ample, specimens of art supplied to the country, instead of displaying good taste, would, on the contrary, have a prejudicial and mischievous effect. The efforts of South Kensington in placing in different localities the highest examples of art work and art schools had done much to improve the artistic character of our products, and this country was now, in many industries, well able to hold its own against foreign rivals. There had been one remarkable feature in the debate which he had been glad to notice—namely, that though there had been some criticism on the various items of this Vote, there had been no complaints, in any quarter, of the magnitude of the Vote. All the Members whom the people had sent to represent them in Parliament were of one mind—that there should be no diminution of the Vote. There was a desire for wise expenditure, but no wish to reduce the amount devoted to this important work. The hon. Member for North Islington (Mr. Bartley) had made some reference to the history of the Vote. He had pointed out that it owed its origin to the establishment of Schools of Design, which were introduced for the encouragement of our manufactures. He had no doubt as to the historical accuracy of the hon. Member's statement; but, if that were true, it was not the less true that the policy inaugurated so many years ago had been successful, and that by the training in practical art given in those schools a great improvement in our manufactures had been effected. This country now successfully competed with the rest of Europe in regard to manufactured articles as to which formerly we did not occupy a very high position. There had, of late, been a great improvement in the artistic merit of our manufactures; and in some, as glass and porcelain, we now occupied the very highest position among European competitors. This, he thought, was in a large measure due to what had been done by South Kensington. He had the honour to be connected with some of the schools for technical education in the North of England, and he was quite sure that the prosperity of those institutions was in a great measure owing to the Vote which the Committee were now asked to grant. Reference had been made to the number of persons employed and the sum expended. It certainly did appear to be large, but it must not be forgotten that the Vote was essentially a personal Vote. As far as

he understood it, the Vote was chiefly for examiners and teachers, and those who conducted the practical work of the Department. For instance, a certain sum of money was given in the shape of payment by results in the art schools throughout the country. Therefore, it was only right to consider that sum, not in regard to the amount of the grant, but the work which was done for it, and stimulated by it. He desired, for a moment, to direct attention to the local schools, the work of which had been greatly augmented in consequence of this Vote. The figures in the Report afforded ample proof of the large amount of work done. The number of persons examined had been no less than 67,620, the number of papers 127,875, the number of first classes 25,833, and the number of schools no less than 1,684. He was quite sure that these figures, without troubling the Committee with any further enumeration, afforded sufficient proof that the Department was most liberal in its operations; that the work done by individuals was very large; and that in no other branch of public work where a large sum of money was expended had results more permanent and enduring been achieved. His hon. Friend the Member for the Rotherham Division of the West Riding (Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland), who made an interesting speech in opening the debate, quoted some disparaging remarks of Professor Huxley; but it ought to be borne in mind that Professor Huxley, though a very high authority, was not only a critic, but a cynic. It was the habit of the learned professor rather to point out faults than to direct attention to things that deserved commendation and praise. No doubt the observations of Professor Huxley were of great value, but it was neither fair nor just to quote the remarks of a learned professor of that character of mind, and, at the same time, not to mention the very different description of the work given by other authorities.

MR. A. H. DYKE ACLAND said, it would not be fair to Professor Huxley if he were not to say that the passages he had quoted were contained in an address mainly in praise of the work done by the South Kensington Department.

MR. F. S. POWELL thought that the Committee would pardon him for having drawn attention to the matter, because they had now before them a more complete statement of the views of Professor Huxley than they had before. He held in his hand the Return of the Department of Science and Art, which showed that they were proceeding in the right course, and that, apart from minor and more technical questions, they were receiving their money's worth for the Vote they gave. Many very competent persons had spoken in terms of commendation and eulogy of that work. He was most anxious for and regarded it as essential that the Central Department in London should be maintained. He knew what had been done in some of the provincial towns, and he had had occasion to see the operations conducted at South Kensington. He thought that provincial effort had been greatly stimulated by what had taken place in London. The time had now come, however, when London ought to be placed more than on a level with the Provinces. If the South Kensington Department was to be at the head, it ought really to occupy that position; because, as compared with what was done in the Provinces, unless a great advance was made in South Kensington, the Provinces would occupy a first position, and the place which South Kensington nominally held would really belong to some of the great Provincial Colleges. He strongly felt the importance of the subject, and he was anxious that the debate should not be conducted by the economists alone, but that some words should be pronounced—earnest and emphatic words—on behalf of those for whose advantage the resources at the command of the House of Commons had hitherto been so wisely expended.

MR. C. T. DYKE ACLAND (Cornwall, Launceston) said, that he had been unable to find anywhere in the Report any allusion to the instruction in agriculture which they had been promised. In regard to Ireland, there was a Vote for an agricultural establishment there. His hon. Friend the Member for Somersetshire was Chairman of a Departmental Committee on the subject, and a sum of £5,000 had been promised for the encouragement of agriculture. He wished to know where they were to look for any indication of an intention to fulfil this promise? It was understood that the Bill for the creation of a Department of

Agriculture had been abandoned, and the Committee ought to be informed whether any particular encouragement was being given for instruction in dairy schools; whether there was to be any institution for training teachers, or any place devoted to experiments in illustration of agriculture; and, whether there were to be peripatetic lecturers sent over the country? Three or four different schemes had been laid before the Department, and he was anxious to hear what was going to be done as the result of the Vote of £5,000.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said, that hon. Members on the opposite side had pointed out the great advantage which England enjoyed in regard to South Kensington; but it was rather a vexed question as to what advantages Ireland derived from the Department. He wished to know whether there was any intention of placing Ireland on anything like a footing of equality with England? For 20 or 30 years there had been a magnificent Museum in Dublin, and he wished to know what amount of aid it was to receive from the State?

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman would be out of Order in referring to that.

COLONEL NOLAN asked if he might put a question in reference to the National Library.

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

COLONEL NOLAN thought he ought to be allowed to do so, because the Librarian of the National Museum had presented a Report, and his salary was provided in the Vote. Under the circumstances he thought it would not be irregular to draw attention to the Report.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that any reference to the particular accommodation provided would be irregular, because the buildings were provided for in Class I. The questions dealt with in the present Vote were questions of administration.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that as he could not allude to the Report of the Librarian of the National Museum, he should like to draw attention to the extreme smallness of the grant for Ireland. So far he had not been able to separate the proportions of the Vote given to the Three Kingdoms, because the grant appeared in the 24th Report as one for the promotion of Science and Art in the United Kingdom, but he saw that the grant for the purchase of apparatus was extremely small in Ireland as compared with England. The same remark applied to the grant for drawing, which in the case of Ireland only amounted to £200, as against £2,000 for the whole of the United Kingdom. To such an extent was this inequality of treatment the rule in Ireland, that the result was to keep that country in a very backward state. As the Irish people were not so rich as the English, if Her Majesty's Government drew up a rule that they would only give grants in proportion to local subscriptions, Ireland was bound to be kept in her present backward state. The people of Ireland contributed to the general taxation of the United Kingdom, and paid on tea, tobacco, and other articles, nearly the same amount per head as the people of England. Under these circumstances, he thought the rules which regulated the grant of State aid should be so drawn up that the benefits should be distributed in something like equal proportion. It was impossible that they could be fairly drawn up when he saw in the case of Ireland such an extremely bad result. There was another question he wished to put to the Vice President of the Council. He desired to know how the Visitors were appointed for the School of Science and Art in Dublin, and would he kindly state who they were? Their names were not given in the Report, but he believed they were the gentlemen who controlled and directed the working of the Institution. The list of the Visitors of the Hibernian Academy were given, but not for the School of Science and Art. Most of the institutions of this class in Dublin were managed by Boards of Directors or Visitors; and, as a general rule, he did not think the Vice President had sufficiently attended to the way in which the Boards were constituted. He thought it was desirable to appoint upon these Boards men who enjoyed the confidence of the people.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the hon. and gallant Member was again wandering from the subject dealt with by the Vote.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he had thought that he was in Order, seeing that the Vote dealt with the payment of these people, and he held in his hand a Report

which related to them. He thought he was entitled to refer to the matters included in the Report.

THE CHAIRMAN said, that a Vote in connection with National Art Education was not a Report upon a School of Science and Art in Dublin.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he was quoting the 24th Report of the Department of Science and Art, and it was the one which dealt specially with this Vote. For his own part, he should like to see a greater number of men in whom the country had confidence in placed upon these Boards. Hitherto, the constitution of the Governing Body of these institutions had been very much neglected. As a rule, he thought that the greater part of the Members for Dublin should be put on them. One of the Representatives of Dublin had a special acquaintance with such matters, and it was of great importance that the members of the Boards should be accessible to the people, and that any complaint might be readily brought to the ear of the House. He attributed the smallness of the sum contributed in connection with Science and Art to Dublin to the way in which the Board which controlled the Irish National Institutions were constituted, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would pay some attention to the matter in future. Although the rule now followed by the Treasury might be an excellent one for England, it was a very bad one indeed for Ireland. He was of opinion that steps should be taken to establish more science and art schools, and to give increased assistance to the day schools in drawing. The largest town of the six counties of Connaught received no benefit whatever from this grant, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not allow it to rest contented with the museum it now possessed. It was said that there was a magnificent collection of works of art at South Kensington. There could be no doubt about it; there was nothing like it in any other part of Europe; but that was not the only question they had to consider in connection with science and art. It was not sufficient to have a large collection in London; but there should be smaller collections, rather for the purpose of teaching than of show, in different parts of the United Kingdom.

MR. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbright) asked the Vice President to inform the Committee whether the Government proposed to continue the grant of £5,000 voted last year for the encouragement of agriculture? It would be a great advantage to those interested in agriculture, not only in England, but throughout Scotland. Although he believed there was no specific item for agriculture in the present Vote, this was the only opportunity that was available for calling attention to the subject. He entertained a hope that the Government would be able to give an assurance not only that the grant for the encouragement of agriculture would be continued, but that it would be increased in the coming year. There was an impression lately that the work of the skilled artizans of this country was inferior to that of the workmen of Continental nations. We, in this country, found ourselves handicapped by the skilled artizans of foreign countries, who were taught at great expense. Accordingly, a considerable amount of help had been extended to art and science by the State with the most beneficial results. He could not help thinking that if something more were known by the public generally of the Science and Art Department greater interest would be taken in this Vote. Very few persons seemed to be aware that we voted annually £400,000 or £500,000 to this Department. £445,000 was asked for on the present Vote; yet very little interest appeared to be taken by hon. Members either in its magnitude or its details. He could not help thinking that there must be a certain loss of money in keeping up two separate Departments to teach—the Education and Science and Art Departments—instead of their forming one united whole, and being included in one Vote. If there was one Minister who would explain the work going on in the two Departments at the same time, the Committee would see how the one dovetailed into and was the handmaid of the other, and not only would greater interest be excited in the country, but it would show our artizans where to look for the best teaching. He hoped the Government would give the Committee an assurance that the amount of the grant would not be diminished, but increased in the coming year. Although the £5,000

voted for agriculture had not been all distributed, he had no doubt that a stimulus had been given in the direction of making provisions for agricultural teaching in the rural schools, which was worth far more than the £5,000.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) said, he wished to call the attention of the Vice President to two items in Sub-head 3, one of which showed a diminution, while the other was conspicuous this year by its entire absence from the Vote. The item in which there was a diminution was that for the payment of prizes for art instruction. He saw that the sum asked for the year 1887-8 was £104,700, while that for the present year was £95,350, a diminution of £9,350, for art instruction. He confessed that he saw that kind of diminution with very great regret.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE asked where the item was to be found?

MR. MUNDELLA said, it would be found in Sub-head 3, at page 363 of the Estimates. The amount of the diminution was £9,350; and he thought it was in every way to be regretted that, while they were urging that drawing should be made obligatory in our schools, and that it would be of great advantage to the elementary schools to bring up the children and youth of the country in the higher grades of art teaching, there should be a serious diminution in the Estimates of this character. The amount expended on science and art teaching in this country was almost a minimum. The hon. Member for North Islington (Mr. Bartley) had complained of the amounts taken for payment by results as altogether out of proportion to the amounts paid for administration. He might as well take the payment for results at the British Museum, which was nil, and say that nothing was spent, because all this expenditure was covered under Sub-head 4. The Vote had nothing to do with the cost of distributing objects of art throughout the country, but applied only to the cost of the management of South Kensington. There was another item to which he must ask the attention of the Committee. He remembered very well when he was moving these Estimates in 1880 that hon. Members rose, one after another, from both sides of the House, to complain that, while large sums were spent on the great National Museums in London, nothing was done for the museums in the Provinces. The hon. Members for Manchester, Birmingham, and other large towns, rose up, one after another, demanding to have some help for the localities they represented as well as South Kensington. He felt that there was great justice in their claim, and he then promised to bring the matter before the Treasury, and see what could be done to assist the provincial museums. Nothing was more surprising than the development of the provincial museums. In some of the large towns they had almost been of mushroom growth. They were museums that were highly creditable, and well worth a visit. Nottingham had a splendid museum, Birmingham had an art collection and a museum of the first class, and Sheffield had a very fine art gallery and museum. The same might be said of Salford and other large towns. As they contributed to the taxes of the country, they had a claim upon the Central Department; but they got no help from it, except from the loan collection. That had done the greatest possible service in giving education in art. For instance, if the potteries required a loan, a collection of pottery would be sent down, or to an iron manufacturing district the Department would send specimens of art work, in old iron and metal, that were worthy of consideration by the artificers and art workers of any country. A great deal of good had been done in that way; but what was wanted was articles that would remain in the locality permanently. The Department took the matter into consideration, and he approached the Treasury, and got a sum put on the Votes—£2,500 a-year, he thought—but the Government of that day made it a condition that for every £1 they contributed to a provincial museum the locality should contribute the same sum. The working of that plan undoubtedly was admirable. Manchester had a collection of objects connected with textile manufactures which was the finest in Europe, and altogether unique. One-half of its cost was contributed by Manchester itself, and the other half by the Science and Art Department. It gave a great stimulus to gifts and donations in the locality. In Sheffield it was found necessary to

make a collection of reproductions of works in silver, and the whole of the best silver work to be found in St. Petersburgh had been reproduced in electroplate. £1,000 was contributed towards the reproduction which had rendered great service in Sheffield in teaching the excellent silversmiths' art of the last three centuries. For the last three years this item in the Vote had disappeared. He wanted to know why it was? There were constant complaints that while they were keeping up the Central Museum they had discontinued the help they formerly gave to the local museums. The localities were placed in this position. It was of importance in the teaching of art that they should have art objects and designs to study, but such towns as Sheffield, Bradford, Nottingham, and others were not able to defray the entire cost of obtaining them. If, however, the State made a contribution, they would readily provide the rest. The result of the withdrawal of the grant was that important objects of art had been lost. He knew that his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury would forgive him if he were a little severe upon the Treasury Bench, but he was satisfied that very few of the occupants of that Bench had the slightest appreciation of art or science. They thought they were an abomination, and that we should be better without them. It was, therefore, the fashion of the hon. Gentleman who represented the Treasury to talk lightly of this Vote. Their highest contributions to art consisted in magnificent decorations like the splendid statues on the Horse Guards' Barracks. That showed the style of art these Gentlemen appreciated. It was "stone masons'" sculpture. There was nothing so hideous in all Europe as the caricatures put up of our great warriors—Marlborough, Wellington, and others. In this respect the Home Office was not much better. He would ask hon. Members, as they passed along the streets, to cast an eye upon our public buildings and notice the style in which they were decorated. He wanted to know why the Conservative Government, who were all for the greatness and glory of the country, could not do a little for the promotion of science and art? Why had this Vote been dropped? Nor was that all. Other Votes had been cut down. The sum for the purchase of works of art had this year been reduced to £7,000. He presumed that we were such a poor country that we could not afford more. Whatever might be required, £7,000 was the utmost limit of the grant next year for the acquisition of works of art. Unless the Government were prepared to provide new objects they could not expect to extend their circulation system, and he maintained that they ought to spend at least £2,000 or £3,000 every year in objects for circulation, in order to encourage and extend the taste for the study of high art. If they decreased the Vote it was clear that they could not have so many objects to circulate. He was sorry to hear the hon. Member for North Islington speak ill of the public services which had been rendered by the late Sir Henry Cole.

MR. BARTLEY said, he had not spoken ill of Sir Henry Cole or of the Department. He entertained great respect for the Department, and only desired to make it more efficient, and if the right hon. Gentleman had condescended to hear his speech he would have seen that that was so.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he had heard a speech from the hon. Gentleman on the same subject last year, in which an opinion of the kind he had referred to was very strongly expressed. He presumed that he was not permitted by the Rules of the House to discuss upon this Vote the question of the housing of our works of art. He might, however, be allowed to say that there was no "pot-house" in London that had not a better entrance than the South Kensington Museum. It was perfectly disgraceful. What had been the outcome of all our expenditure? We were voting £7,000 for the acquisition of works of art this year, and, as it stood at present, the collection at South Kensington was unique, and had not an equal in Europe; yet we refused to provide a decent building for it. Persons came from all parts of Europe to see it. The French workmen came over here, and sat daily in the Museum making designs for textile manufactures and furniture. The entire collection had cost the nation very little. We had never spent more upon it, from first to last, than some £300,000. Yet the gifts made to the Department in one year, while he was connected with it, amounted to nearly £500,000 in value;

among them being the Jones collection, worth £300,000. They had at South Kensington the nucleus of the greatest Art Museum which any country ever possessed; and he asked why it was dealt with in so stingy a manner, and why the paltry sum of £2,000 had been cut off the Estimate? If the right hon. Gentleman would make an inquiry he would easily ascertain the way in which the money was spent, and the amount of good it did. Objects of art once placed in Manchester or Birmingham remained there for ever objects of art instruction to the people. Then, why had this sum disappeared? He sincerely hoped that the Vice President of the Council would try to melt the stony hearts of the guardians of the Treasury, and induce them to raise the Vote for the Department of Science and Art to £9,000, so that £2,000, at least, might go to the Provincial Museums. Why should they refuse this small Vote, which had been of such inestimable service for some years? There was such a thing as an unwise and a petty economy, and he thought the reduction of this small sum was an act of unwise and unsound parsimony.

Mr. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, he was obliged to the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President for having repeated his speech of last year. Attention was drawn last year to the reduction of the amount of the grant in aid of local museums from £2,000 in 1886 to £1,500 in 1887, and now it appeared that there was to be nothing this year. Notwithstanding the promise made by the right hon. Gentleman last year, no sum appeared in the Votes for this particular object. It was thought in the country that the great accumulation of art treasures in the Metropolis paid for out of money drawn from the taxpayers of the whole Kingdom, while so little was done for the encouragement of art in other parts of the country, was not only extremely unfair, but absolutely dishonest. Last year the Vice President said he would give the subject his attention during the Recess, and there was a general impression that an increased sum would be given this year. Last year he (Mr. Molloy) had made a strong appeal on behalf of art classes in the elementary schools, and a Bill was promised to be brought in which, in the shape of technical education, was to do a great deal for the mechanic and artizan population of the country, by giving greater facilities and advantages for instruction. Last year, also, the right hon. Gentleman had said that every opportunity would be given for the circulation of works of art throughout the country as widely as possible, and the right hon. Gentleman promised to consider the matter, together with the extension of art classes in the elementary schools, during the Recess. But what had all the Vice President's promises resulted in? Had works of art been more widely circulated or not? The number circulated had been extremely small, and no assistance had been given to the teaching of art to the young in the elementary schools, although that was one of the points specially raised in the discussion last year. He regretted that the Government had not redeemed their promise. For his own part, he failed to see what was the use of continuing these discussions, and getting these promises year after year, if nothing was to come of them. He was somewhat an old hand at this kind of work now, and the experience he had acquired merely taught him that the Minister in charge of the Estimates was simply anxious to hurry through them and get rid of the business, the promises he made being little better than pie-crusts —made only to be broken. Last year the right hon. Gentleman made a promise in a most emphatic manner, but what was the use of making a promise if it was not to be carried out? There were not a dozen Members in the House who would object to the increase of this Vote for the purposes which had been named by various hon. Members, especially by the right hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), who ought to be listened to by the Committee on such a matter, seeing the manner in which for some years the right hon. Gentleman had been identified with the Department, and the interest he had taken in the work of education. In his opinion, economy was being practised by the Government in a direction where extravagance would be allowable, while extravagance was indulged in where it could not plead the least justification for itself. He could quite understand economy being effected in salaries and in certain other matters, but in every instance in which economy had been carried out it was effected just where

it ought not to have been made. He would give the Committee an example which occurred at the commencement of the consideration of these Estimates. There were three Commissioners engaged in legal business, who received £1,500 a-year each for doing practically nothing. It was proved to the Committee, and tacitly admitted by the Treasury Bench, that the retention of these Commissioners was a superfluous luxury; but, nevertheless, the Government declined to carry out any economy, and although he would not call the matter a "job," he regarded it as most objectionable. In such palpable cases as that which he had mentioned the Government refused to reduce the expenditure, preferring to economise in another direction at the expense of the instruction of the youth and people of this country. There was no sort of excuse, he maintained, for cutting off from the present Vote the sum of £2,000 for a grant in aid of the purchase of works of art for provincial museums. The right hon. Gentleman who had just addressed the Committee had told them the immense amount of good this grant had done in the very direction for which the Department was created—namely, the encouragement of a love of science and art. Yet that was the direction the Government seized upon for cutting down the Estimates. If it could have been shown that the £2,000 and £1,500 voted in 1886 and 1887 were extravagant and had effected no good, he would be willing to support the Government in cutting off the grant. But, on the contrary, the present Government themselves had admitted and had strongly advocated the expenditure when the late Government were in power, although, now they were in Office themselves, they had no hesitation in getting rid of a grant which had been so beneficial to the country generally. Unfortunately the Committee had no power in the matter themselves; but he asked the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President if he would give a promise this year to remember the promise he had made last year, and see whether something further could not be done to give assistance to art classes in the elementary schools, and to aid in the purchase of works of art for the provincial museums, so that a sum of money, which was approved of by both sides of the House, should be replaced on the Vote, and be found there next year when this Estimate came up for discussion. If the right hon. Gentleman would not make such a promise, all they could do was to go on year after year fighting the question.

MR. ISAACS (Newington, Walworth) said, he concurred in the words of praise which the hon. and learned Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy) had used in reference to the protest which the right hon. Member for Sheffield had made against the cutting down of this Vote on the three items to which reference had been made—namely, the Central Museum, the local museums, and the grant to the Department of Science and Art. Probably no person in that House had seen more completely than himself the distinct advantage which was derived by the expenditure of the public money in this direction. Forty years ago it was possible to go upon a building in the course of erection, and find that the workmen engaged were not competent to understand a drawing, much less to make a technical contribution themselves. He had himself been engaged in carrying out works in the country where, so far from being able to get the workmen to understand a drawing, he had found it necessary to put the materials together himself, in order that the men might be able to comprehend what was wanted. He had frequently been in a carpenter's shop, with the view of setting out work, and had found the men so ignorant of the technical knowledge necessary for the due performance of the work, that until the arrival of the foreman he found it impossible to proceed with what he had in hand. When he compared the state of things 40 years ago with that which existed now, he said, unhesitatingly, that no better expenditure of the public money could have been made, than in providing instruction in art and science for the artizan classes. If that were so, why did the Government of this great country indulge in this paltry parsimony in connection with the South Kensington Science and Art Department? God knows they spent money enough in other ways, often foolishly, and sometimes even wickedly. Hundreds of thousands of pounds were spent, from which the people got no benefit at all, but injury more probably. Then why should the Government pursue paltry parsimony in

this case? He trusted that the Vice President of the Council would gather from the views which had been expressed by hon. Members in the course of the debate that on neither side of the House was there a desire for such an economy as was displayed in the diminution of this Vote, and that when the Estimates were framed next year they would be framed with the full intention of meeting the wishes of the House of Commons and of the country in this particular. He ventured to call the attention of the Department to the desirability of helping the new technical institutions, which had grown with such marvellous rapidity and strength in London, and were spreading all over the Metropolis, such as the People's Palace in the East End, and the Institution towards the endowment of which the Goldsmith's Company had liberally contributed a sum of £85,000. He trusted that the Government would aid such institutions, by making liberal grants of the public money, where students devoted themselves to the acquirement of art education, and a knowledge of science in the evening, instead of spending their time in a far less useful way. He thought that a special grant or a special sum might be allocated to these purposes, and he also suggested that there should be established in London an Institution similar to the *Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers* in Paris. He had seen most of the technical educational institutions on the Continent; but he had seen none of the same kind as the *Conservatoire* to which he referred, and he was certainly of opinion that it was an institution that might be usefully copied in this country. In the *Conservatoire* at Paris all the machinery was worked by steam power, and the appliances for carrying on the work could be seen in going order, so that the workmen who visited the Institution were not only able to take a sketch of the machinery, but actually to see it at work—a system of education the benefit of which it was impossible to overrate. He would make an earnest appeal to the Vice President of the Council, to see if some corner could not be found, not in South Kensington, for that was not the workmen's quarter, but in the heart of London, for the erection of a building similar to the Paris *Conservatoire*.

Mr. Isaacs

Sir WILLIAM PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.) said, that in looking over the Estimates he found that the increase in connection with the Department of Science and Art was made up almost entirely of extra pay for examiners who were paid by the day, and for piece work also. He doubted very much whether that was the best way in which additional money could be expended. But this increase was not followed by a proportionate increase in the grant given for "payment by results," and at least they had a right to look for such an increase; and he should like to have some explanation upon the matter. There appeared to be a decrease of £7,000 in the payment for results in the science schools, while there was an increase of £3,000 for examiners. He expressed a hope that if the Government were going to spend £3,000 on extra examination they would also increase the grants-in-aid. Where they ought to look for an increased grant — namely, in scholarships, local exhibitions, and prizes, there was a decrease, and he wanted to know why that was? If they were to extend the examinations, they had a right to anticipate somewhat happier results, although, as an actual result, he found there was a small decrease.

Mr. ROWNTREE (Scarborough) said, he would be glad if the Vice President of the Council would assure the Committee that the change made in the grant-in-aid for the art classes a year ago had not already had a disheartening effect in the way in which the schools carried on their work in the country. If hon. Members would look at the Memorandum which had been presented to the House some years ago, they would see that the grant-in-aid had been increasing at the rate of £3,000 per annum on an average, for five years, and now there was a positive decrease. Some of the existing schools must have been heavily struck this year. Indeed, he knew from experience that that was the case, and that it was a very serious matter to some of the schools of art to have their work checked in this manner. The grant to a school with which he was personally connected was less than one-half this year what it was in 1887, although there had been an improvement in the work sent up. He thought

the way in which the decrease had been effected was doubly prejudicial, because the knocking off had been in the elementary work of the very schools which required the most assistance. It was the desire of the Department to raise the standard of work; but the course taken had been to knock off the grant from the lower standards, and to give it exclusively to the work required for a teacher's certificate. The effect was that the masters of the schools of art got no grant whatever on the work of the elementary pupils, and consequently their interest was more and more centred in the higher students, many of whom were simply looking forward to art as a profession. He took it that that was not the object of Parliament. They wanted the industry of this country leavened by art and scientific knowledge, and it was to be regretted that by the change that had been made the interests of the teachers should be only to advance the higher students, and to neglect the elementary pupils and the young artizans who went to these schools of art. He hoped this policy on the part of the Government would be modified, and that they might receive an assurance that no hindrance would be placed in the way of our schools of art making further progress among the industrial classes of the country. Surely the Government grants were especially intended to assist in educating the artizans of every town in the country; but the present policy of the Department seemed to be directed against the furtherance of that object. He would be glad to hear that this would not continue to be the case.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, the discussion had extended over a very wide range, but he should be the last person to complain of any criticism bestowed upon the Science and Art Department. Reference had been made to the education given in the science and art classes, and technical training, and also to the general administration and expenditure of the Department. In the first place, he should like to tell the Committee what was the position of the science and art schools at the present time. The number of students under advanced instruction in the science schools in 1887 was 103,000, and this had increased up to date to 112,108. In the art schools the number of students for whom grants had been made in the present Vote was 41,262, of whom 23,670 were of the artizan class. As to art and science schools combined, the number was 807 in 1887, and 885 in 1888. He thought it was fair that they should ask themselves whether there had been a wise expenditure of money; and whether, as had been urged again and again, a fair return was obtained? This institution had been subjected to a good deal of criticism for many years, but he thought there was no more well-deserved criticism bestowed upon it than that of the Commission of 1884 on Technical Education, the Report of which said there was no organization like the Science and Art Department and the City Guilds existing in any other country, and the absence of that was lamented by many persons they had come in contact with. Allusion had been made to the importance of technical education and continuation schools; and he would read some figures to the Committee which would show the amount of work actually done at South Kensington, and which figures he thought the Committee would agree were of great importance. They would show the number of scholars who left the elementary schools in a year after passing Standards IV., V., and VI. Approximate estimates for the year ending the 31st of August, 1886, showed that 155,000 left having passed in Standard IV.; 146,000 in Standard V.; 69,000 in Standard VI.; and 22,000 in Standard VII., making a total of 392,000 leaving in a year after passing these Standards. The Government had been urged again and again that the education of these scholars should be carried further by means of continuation schools. The figures in his hand showed that in the following winter of 1886-7, after eliminating all who were not of the class in receipt of weekly wages, there were earning grants in evening schools, 30,584; in art schools, 60,108; in science schools, 95,000; making a total of 185,692 scholars who, according to the Return, were spending a certain number of hours per week in the evening schools or classes, while, with regard to the 95,000 in the science schools, two-thirds of these were under 18 or 19 years of age. He thought it right to give these figures to the Committee, because he considered

that the question of continuation schools must come prominently forward in future. The hon. Member for Rotherham (Mr. A. H. Dyke Acland) had made a most interesting speech, and had raised many points with reference to the future relationship between South Kensington and Whitehall in connection with technical instruction, which he thought his hon. Friend would not expect him to go into at any great length. But he might say that the two points raised were such as must be considered shortly by Her Majesty's Government in connection with the Report and recommendations of the Royal Commissioners on Education. So far as science and art teaching was concerned, he thought the figures which appeared in the Report of the Department amply showed, and the general Estimates also showed, that there had been a fair and constant progress. The hon. Gentleman also seemed to hold the opinion, which was largely shared by the Committee, that the Science and Art Department and the Education Department were totally distinct from each other. He could not admit that definition of the two Departments. It was true they were in different buildings and under separate sets of officers; but they were both under the absolute control of the Lord President of the Council, assisted by the Vice President, and it was, therefore, not an accurate description to say that they were absolutely distinct Departments. The hon. Member for Rotherham had referred to what he admitted to be a point of paramount importance—namely, the supply not only of teachers in art and science, but also of technical teachers. On that point he could assure hon. Members that he would do his utmost to supplement and improve the machinery in hand, so that a supply of these teachers might be forthcoming. With reference to the amount of £5,000 under Sub-head B, he might explain to the hon. Gentleman that this was a special grant given for the purpose of giving elementary teachers some knowledge of science teaching. The hon. Member for North Islington (Mr. Bartley) had been very critical with regard to the internal administration of the Science and Art Department; but, as he had always invited criticism, he trusted his hon. Friend would not think that he, for one moment, blamed him for his remarks on that subject. His hon. Friend, however, as had been pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), was not quite fair in his manner of dealing with this question, because he had taken the large sum of £130,000 expended at South Kensington and compared it with that paid on results, whereas that amount included a number of various items. With regard to the item of £12,650 for police to which his hon. Friend had referred, he pointed out that they had to look after the most valuable collection in the world, and it must be remembered that an enormous responsibility rested upon them in respect of the preservation of the contents of the buildings, which extended over a large area, from fire and other risks. Further, the Department had absolutely no control over this sum, and he could assure his hon. Friend that on the 28th of March the Chief Commissioner of Police had been asked whether it would not be possible to reduce the staff of police at South Kensington, and on the 28th of April a reply was received, that after careful consideration the Chief Constable could not recommend any reduction. His hon. Friend had gone over the whole cost of the staff; but, without following him into all the cases, he would remind him that, from the highest officer to the lowest, it was necessary to have the very best material at their command, and the Committee would be aware that they could not have that without paying for it as much as other people, and he believed they were not paying for the work done at more than the average rate. In the case of examinations alone, the Committee would see that they could not get first-class men to test the work done for payment by results unless they paid them fairly. He wished that hon. Members would visit for themselves these huge buildings and see the amount of work and the manner in which it was done. The collection and circulation of loans, and the arrangement and re-arrangement of the immense number of objects alone involved an enormous amount of labour. The museum was open every day, and on three evenings each week; and, therefore, all the work which had to be done from day to day required a corresponding expenditure, and without going into all the details the Committee

would understand that an exceedingly large amount of skilled labour was necessary. With regard to the management, he should like to tell the Committee that the museums, schools, and offices under the control of the Department occupied a space of more than 13 acres. It was a noticeable fact, showing the economical administration of the Department, that while, during the past five years, the grants made as payments for results had increased 30 per cent the total expenditure of the Department for labour had only increased 9 per cent. He would, however, impress it upon his hon. Friend that he felt a considerable responsibility rested upon the Lord President and himself with regard to this question, and that he by no means received in a hostile spirit the criticisms passed upon this expenditure. In his opinion all Departments required the wholesome stimulant of criticism inside the House and out of it, and the Committee might rely that he should devote his care to this matter, and introduce economy at every loophole possible. The hon. Member for East Cork (Mr. Lane) had referred to the possible loss of the services of Mr. Alan Cole. On this subject he might say that they had been so gratified with the success of his efforts that full consideration should be given to the point the hon. Gentleman had urged, and personally he sincerely hoped that they would be able to continue to give the valuable services of the gentleman referred to. He had been asked whether he considered valuable the teaching given with regard to agriculture. As one brought up from boyhood in agriculture, he would say frankly that his personal belief was that the teaching of the principles of agriculture was not as valuable as instruction of a more practical kind would be in our schools; and he would remind the hon. Gentleman who asked the question, that he had given a promise that he would endeavour to introduce into the Code some improvement with regard to the elementary teaching of agriculture by means of object lessons. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) had pointed out that Ireland was under great disadvantages in respect of the raising of local contributions to secure Grants in Aid, and asked for some special alteration of the rules in favour of Ireland. This proposal would place the English grants in a disadvantageous position, and he regretted therefore that he could not accede to the hon. and gallant Gentleman's request. In reply to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), he pointed out that the fact that the number of those examined had increased, while there was not a corresponding increase in the amount of payment for results, was the result of the raising of the Standard which was gradually taking place. In answer to the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Rowntree), it was perfectly true that an alteration had been made with regard to the examination papers in drawing. They had arranged that there should be fewer papers, and that these should be of a less elementary character, and then they hoped that the change made would be compensated by the advantages that would result. If, however, there should be any loss to the schools in consequence, the Department would consider, of course, what further change might be desirable. He thanked the Committee very sincerely for the earnestness that had characterized the discussion on the Vote. The criticism on the Science and Art Department would be of great service to him, and he trusted they would be able gradually to increase the efficiency of the Department in such a way as to make it worthy of the nation and of solid and lasting value to the working classes of the country.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, the Royal School of Mines in Jermyn Street received £19,000 a-year, and the Royal College of Science in Dublin £7,000, while not a penny was given for teaching science in Scotland. Their share of the prizes, however, was good, and represented one-fifth of the total amount of £106,000 earned in the three countries, whereas their actual proportion would have been one-seventh. Opposite the museum in Edinburgh, there was a Science School, established by subscription and endowments, without any aid from that House. He thought it was very unfair to provide for education in science and art in England and Ireland, and to refuse to give anything in aid to Scotland. Of course Ireland, as usual, in this matter was the

spoilt child. She had four times as much as England, and England had four times as much as Scotland. Scotch members had not been in the habit of asking for money, but henceforth—as in the case of the unjust Judge and the importunate widow—they would try to get a just share for themselves. Scotland had been able to develop institutions for the teaching of science, but it got no assistance from the State; and, therefore, he thought they had a good case in asking that there should be a Scotch College of Science as well as English and Irish Colleges. They did not want £19,000 a-year, which was given to Jermyn Street, nor the £7,000 given to Dublin, but if £5,000 a-year were paid for professorships at Heriot's School, they would consider that they received a fair share; and they were entitled to this, because they were made to pay for carrying on the business of the country.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK (London University) said, the Vice President had not answered the question of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Mundella) with reference to local associations. He would like to add his own appeal to that of his right hon. Friend, and express a hope that Her Majesty's Government would take the matter into their favourable consideration. He thought the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) had forgotten the assistance given to the Universities in Scotland; and he rather doubted whether the Universities would agree that it would tend to the improvement of education in Scotland if a new Government Science School were started. Perhaps his hon. Friend would consider the matter from that point of view.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, the total amount of money voted for the purchase of specimens, books, and apparatus for the College of Science in Dublin was only £6,340, while the rest of the money voted was for the payment of salaries. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that it was necessary to obtain the services of competent people to promote instruction in the various establishments, but that was no answer to the question elaborately stated by the hon. Member opposite in the earlier part of the evening. He had frequently pointed out, in that House, that the artistic structure in which they assembled was the work of a Cork man; so also were the pictures and sculpture outside the work of Cork men; and, consequently, when Irish Members endeavoured to get money devoted to artistic purposes in their country, he trusted the Committee would not think they were presuming too far. They had, in the city of Cork, owing to the munificence of a gentlemen who had recently gone to his rest, Mr. Crawford, a very handsome museum, prepared for specimens and the instruction of classes. A great number of the specimens in that museum had been lent from the South Kensington Museum; but in a city like Cork—if there was such an arrangement at hand as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield referred to—the spaces in the museum would be very soon filled up, because there were many gentlemen in Cork who would provide money to assist in the purchase of specimens which would promote art and technical instruction among the population. He hoped, therefore—profiting by the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman—that a sum would be placed on the Estimates next year for the advancement of science and art instruction in the large towns of the provinces. He hoped that due cognizance would be taken of the remonstrances which had been addressed to the Lords of the Council by the Board of Visitors of the Dublin Science and Art Museum. When all this building was going on in Dublin, these gentlemen said it was their right to supervise the structures and the amount of money spent, but they were told that "they would not be called upon in ordinary circumstances, when no special need arose." This was a distinct indignity to them, and he called attention to the matter in order, at any rate, that it might come under the consideration of the right hon. Gentleman. Again, there were only two local scholarships granted to Ireland, and these were in the North. He did not object to their being in the North of Ireland, but it was an extraordinary fact that at the present moment a gentleman from the Cork school studying at South Kensington had gained a scholarship, and since the school had been opened the pupils had carried away some of the highest prizes. That being so, he thought there ought to be an increase of the scholarships granted to Ireland. He sincerely hoped that as this great Department was every

year getting a larger Vote, Ireland would not be long in getting her fair share of it.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he must apologize for allowing the question of the right hon. Gentleman opposite to escape his memory. The right hon. Gentleman had alluded to the reduction in the Estimate with regard to drawing. The explanation of this was, that last year the Estimate had been placed at a higher figure than was necessary, and a slight difference had also been made by the Standard in drawing having, as he had pointed out, been raised. But he hoped that before long a larger sum would be asked for, as he heard the best accounts of the schools, which were teaching drawing in a much larger proportion than before. The right hon. Gentleman had expressed regret that the Vote for local museums had been dropped out of the Estimates, and he did so on the ground that local munificence should be met by public munificence. He also would like to see the Vote restored. But there was another thing which he thought more important, and that was the reduction of the purchase Vote, and he would like to see the full sum replaced on the Estimates, and he would do his utmost to move the stony heart of his hon. Friend on the left to do so. With regard to the remarks of the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark), he had always found, from personal observation, that in all matters of education Scotland had always been able to take care of itself. But with reference to Heriot's College, if the hon. Gentleman looked into the Calendar he would find that the College had earned a considerable grant in science and art at South Kensington, and he was, therefore, glad to say that the College had been recognized by the Department.

DR. CLARK said, his complaint was, that while thousands of pounds were given to science colleges in London and Dublin not a single farthing was given for professors or scholars in Scotland. He admitted that Scotland gained more than their fair share of prizes, but his point was that in Scotland they did not get a fair share of assistance.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, it was perfectly true that there was no science college in Scotland aided in the way the hon. Gentleman referred to. A deputation had waited on the Lord President some time ago with reference to this subject, and he believed that, so far as he was concerned, the conversation with the members of the deputation was satisfactory.

MR. MUNDELLA said, he fully admitted that the right hon. Gentleman had been anxious to give him a satisfactory answer, but he could not accept as satisfactory the answer he had received. There was no promise that the Vote he referred to should be on the Estimates next year, or that anything would be done next year with regard to Grants in Aid to local museums, such as had been done by former Governments. He must inform the right hon. Gentleman that if the Votes were not replaced on the Estimates next year he should take the sense of the House on the question. He did not know anything more shabby than the way in which these Votes had been dealt with during the last three years. The simple cause of this was that Education was not represented in the Cabinet. There was no one to take charge of it, and the effect was that, notwithstanding the enormous sums spent on some objects, in the matters he had referred to there was a continual plucking, paring, and starving which was a discredit to that House. He only made that statement in order that during the Recess the matter might be fully considered, for he was determined that it should be brought to a test by Vote in this House, if what he suggested was not done.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.): As the right hon. Gentleman has so directly made his appeal to me, I would ask permission to be allowed to say a word in reply. It is true, as he says, that the amount which is in the Estimate for the particular subject to which he refers, and which was employed, I understand, in assisting the localities or local museums in the purchase of specimens, was struck out of the Estimates. It is true, also, that the purchase grant was reduced at first from £10,000 to £7,000, but when the right hon. Gentleman charges the Treasury, as everyone does alternately, first with shabby niggardliness and then with wanton extravagance—

MR. MUNDELLA: I have not brought those charges against the Government.

MR. JACKSON: But we are charged on the one hand with niggardliness and on the other with extravagance, and I want to point out that when the right hon. Gentleman refers to niggardliness there are two figures to be borne in mind—figures which are probably in his recollection. In 1875-6 the Vote amounted to £300,772, while in 1888-9—that is, this year's Estimate—the total is £520,785.

MR. MUNDELLA: That is 13 years?

MR. JACKSON: Yes; in 13 years the Vote has increased from £300,000 to £520,000. What I want to point out is this—it is very well to blame the Treasury for this, that, and the other, but what the Treasury has to consider is the general condition of the whole subject; and it must be borne in mind that whilst the right hon. Gentleman believes that the Treasury has no soul or heart, I am afraid that the Treasury believes that South Kensington has not much regard for the pocket of the taxpayer. What, I say again, I want to point out is this—and I think it meets the right hon. Gentleman's desire—our duty is to try, as far as we can, to limit the total expenditure to the amount of money that it is reasonable to ask the taxpayer to provide. I am speaking now of the matter as a whole. It is for the Department to determine in what way the amount to be placed at their disposal shall be distributed, and I think I may appeal to what fell from my hon. Friend (Mr. Bartley), who has attacked some payments in this Vote to-night with great vigour, as to the possibility of so re-arranging the whole without adding to the total cost, and in that way to provide something in the direction the right hon. Gentleman desires. I agree with him that there was a time when it was exceedingly desirable to stimulate local effort. I rejoice as much as the right hon. Gentleman rejoices at the extension which has been given to this movement; but surely the day has passed, or almost passed, I hope, in our great centres of population, when the earliest and initial stages are to be taken in connection with this movement. I admit, however, that the right hon. Gentleman has dealt with this question in a reasonable spirit, and, so far as I am concerned, as representing the Treasury, I will carefully bear in mind what he has said. In spite of the threat he makes of the serious consequences which will happen to us if we neglect his advice, we will endeavour to meet his wishes.

MR. MUNDELLA: In reply to one remark of the hon. Gentleman, I should like to point out that the growth of the Vote is not a growth of expenditure in connection with museums. The growth is in connection with the educational part of the Vote. The hon. Gentleman is aware that the Vote for elementary education in this country has grown from £1,500,000 to £3,500,000, and we all say, "So much the better." We rejoice at that growth, as I am sure he does himself. What I want to point out is, that it is all nonsense to talk about re-distributing the money for the Departments, and appealing to the words of the hon. Member for North Islington (Mr. Bartley). The hon. Member for North Islington knows very well that it is impossible to re-distribute the money in this way without starving some other Department.

COLONEL NOLAN (Galway, N.) said, he was sorry that it should be necessary for him for a moment to distract the attention of the Committee from the matters referred to by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella). He quite agreed that this was not a subject in regard to which the Committee should be niggardly, and that, if possible, even greater expenditure should take place under this Vote. He wished to refer to certain Irish matters; and it was necessary that he should do so, as Ireland was treated very badly. It had been pointed out how little Ireland earned under this Vote at the competitive examinations—that Ireland only earned £200 out of £32,000 in the drawing classes. He admitted that Scotchmen were very hard to beat, but there were some matters in which Irishmen could beat Englishmen, and even Scotchmen. What, therefore, was the reason that Ireland only got £200 for drawing classes, while the whole sum given to Great Britain was £32,000. Why, clearly, there was something wrong with the administration. He did not blame the Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke), but he maintained that the Government had been leaning too much upon the

Irish Administration in Dublin, and that, as a matter of fact, the officials there did not care what took place so long as they got their salaries. As one of the gentlemen concerned in the administration of Ireland had said the other day, so long as there were four quarters in the year, and they could draw their salaries regularly at the end of each, they did not care. There was a Board of Visitors in Dublin of the Science and Art Department, but as they represented no one but themselves they had been uniformly snubbed by the Department in London. In their official Report the Board of Visitors declared that they had been all along anxious to carry out the duties prescribed by Acts of Parliament, but that ever since Lord Sandon had left Office the Department had been most unwilling to assist them in doing their duty. This Board of Visitors was made up of three or four Peers, several high officials, and one or two others—12 of them in all—representing nobody but themselves, their servants, and a few other people; and this was the only body Ireland had to depend upon in the matter of science and art education. What he would propose was that the Government should reinforce this Board of Visitors by members who would have appreciably the 5,000,000 of the Irish people behind them. If this were done the Department in London would have to listen to the Board of Visitors. He doubted whether the money at present paid was properly allocated, but if they had three or four men on the Board of Visitors, such as Members of Parliament, these gentlemen would be active in bringing attention to the claims of Ireland in regard to science and art education. They might have one Conservative and two Nationalist Members put upon the Board—an arrangement which would be giving the Government an unfair share of the representation, as the Conservatives were not one-third of the population of Ireland. The Government might put on the Board, for instance, the member for South Belfast (Mr. Johnston). He, no doubt, would be a good man for this duty, and would have a large force behind him. Certainly, if the hon. Member and a couple of Nationalist members were added to the Board of Visitors, that Board would become of some weight and importance in Ireland. He should be very glad to see the three or four Irish Peers at present upon the Board retained, but he thought they and their colleagues ought to be reinforced by having some popular members added to their number. The subject with which the Board dealt would in this way become popularized in Ireland, and it would be soon seen that Ireland was earning her share like Scotland in the competitive examinations. At the present moment the amount spent in Ireland was very little, and that little was absolutely wasted. If, however, the system he proposed were adopted, the money could be properly allocated. It was a curious thing, but it nevertheless was the fact, that a number of these scientific departments in Dublin were contained in the Act of Union, and the Government were afraid to interfere with them, and to re-allocate the duties. They looked upon it as dangerous for the Unionist Ministry to interfere with them. If, however, they would reconstitute this Board of Visitors, he was sure it would be to the great benefit of Ireland, and that it would ultimately lead to economy.

MR. CALDWELL (Glasgow, St. Rollox) said, he did not think the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had sufficiently appreciated the Scotch opinion in this matter. The complaint of the people of Scotland was that there was a school of science in England for teaching, and also a school of science in Ireland, but that there was no school of science in Scotland, the whole extent of such teaching in that country being borne by the Scotch people. In Scotland they had appropriated lately a considerable portion of the educational endowments which were left very much for the poor of the people of that country for the purpose of assisting science and art schools; but this, of course, was done entirely out of Scotch money. The whole expenditure connected with science and art schools in Scotland was paid by the people of Scotland; and the Scotch people, therefore, complained of England and Ireland dipping into the Imperial Purse for the purpose of affording that instruction for which in Scotland the people themselves had to pay. They maintained that that was unfair; when the three countries were paying into one common purse, assuredly one country was as much entitled to her share of the

expenditure of the money she contributed as another. There were two ways of remedying the grievance to which he was referring. They might remedy it by taking a fair proportion of the public money from the Imperial Purse and applying it to Scotland, or by requiring the people of England and Ireland to do as the people of Scotland, and support science and art education at their own expense. He was not sure that the latter would not be the more expedient course to adopt, because they found that, although Scotland had no school of science and art, and although England and Ireland possessed those schools, Scotland earned a larger grant for science and art in proportion to her population than did either of the other countries. It simply came to this, that the more they did for the people the less they would do for themselves. The Government, he maintained, should have the people very much to depend upon their own resources. When people had to pay for a thing they appreciated it much more than when they got it for nothing. He was willing to assent to that principle, and that was the reason he said to the Government, "Cut down this Vote for England and Ireland out of the Imperial Purse." The more the people of the localities were compelled to stimulate and subscribe for science and art education themselves, the better would be the results. A great deal of money was spent in Glasgow in science and art teaching, and the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council knew the value of the schools there. Well, those schools were very much hampered for want of money, and they could enlarge the sphere of their operations very considerably if they had a larger income. Moreover, they should take into consideration the question of loans from the authorities in London. They could not have the people of Scotland coming up to see our National art treasures in the Metropolis, and it seemed to him to be most convenient if they had a place in Scotland to which these art treasures could be periodically lent. The money for this purpose should be provided out of the Imperial Exchequer. Unless the Scotch Members had a pledge from the Government that they would consider favourably the claims of Scotland in regard to the matters to which he had referred, and treat that country on an equality with the rest of the United Kingdom, he should certainly move a reduction of the Vote so far as England and Ireland obtained anything in excess of their fair share of this Vote.

MR. BLANE (Armagh, S.) said, he must complain that in spite of the large expenditure of money in the South Kensington Museum, there was an extraordinary deficiency of objects of interest in the Electrical and Magnetical Department when compared with institutions of a similar nature in other countries. In this department there was not, so far as he could see, a single specimen of some of the modern developments in cells and batteries, notwithstanding that specimens in these could be obtained at very little cost. So far as he could see there was not even a specimen of the cell charged with sulphate of mercury. In spite of the many thousands of pounds put down in the Estimates for this museum, where a man was supposed to be able to get the best specimens of recent inventions, he found an entire absence of those things. There was an entire absence of certain descriptions of electric motors. The Americans in these matters were greatly ahead of us. Then, in regard to gas engines, although there was one of an improved type and of a very valuable description exhibited at the American Exhibition, and inspected there by thousands of visitors, there was not a single specimen of it at South Kensington, and the only exhibits at South Kensington in connection with electric motors was one dating from the year 1846 and another dating from the year 1851, and the only gas engine was one dating back some forty years ago. These things were very valuable no doubt as belonging to a bygone time, but he thought this Committee should insist that at the South Kensington Museum we should be more abreast of the times than we were. Surely this was not too much to expect? He had noticed, even without the use of a catalogue, that South Kensington was deficient in a great many branches of scientific advancement, and if he had had a catalogue no doubt he would have been struck with these deficiencies even more forcibly. Even the most superficial observer would come to the conclusion that there must be a large amount of money misapplied at

South Kensington. This state of things should be remedied; and though a large expenditure should not be incurred, there ought to be a better application of that which was voted. Some of the cells and batteries which were conspicuous by their absence in the museum could be obtained for as small an expenditure as 4*s*. He himself had priced some of them, and had found that they could be procured for from 4*s*. to 6*s*. 3*d*.

DR. CLARK said, he thought the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) had rather misunderstood his point, which was a practical one. He thought that Scotland was unfairly handicapped by this Vote for England and Ireland, because it was to enable Englishmen and Irishmen to compete with Scotchmen, who in the past had been getting the majority of the positions of mining experts and mechanical and chemical experts. The Scotch student who desired to become a mining or chemical expert had no chance with the man who graduated at the School of Mines, for at that school there were three or four Exhibitions tenable for three or four years. Although the Scotch people paid a portion of this money, not one penny went to Scotland for that purpose. £10,000 was spent on professors in England to teach these men, and there was another £3,000 for scholarships to pay those taught; but in Scotland neither for the professors nor for the taught was there a farthing given—that was to say, in connection with applied science. He thought, under the circumstances, the only way in which the Scotch Members could express their opinion was to take a Division on the Vote, and, therefore, he would move to reduce it by the sum of £5,000.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £190,303, be granted for the said Service."—(*Dr. Clark.*)—

COLONEL NOLAN said, he desired to know where they were? He wished, first, to have the question of the Board of Visitors of the Science and Art Department in Dublin settled before they went on to any other question. He would ask the hon. Member for Caithness (Dr. Clark) not to run across the important question he (Colonel Nolan) had started. He desired to know whether the Government would reinforce this Board of Visitors so as to make it a popular body. They could do this by putting upon it either Members of Parliament or the Mayors of such cities as Dublin and Belfast. That would perhaps be the simplest and best way of carrying out the object he had in view.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman appeared to imagine that the Board of Visitors in Dublin had some influence in regard to science and art teaching, but that was not the case.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he had not said that the Board of Visitors had any influence in this matter, but his view was that they ought to have.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, the hon. and gallant gentleman he thought had mentioned the question of drawing. These matters were under the management of the Commissioners of Elementary Education in Ireland. A sum was voted for elementary education, which was an entirely different matter, and therefore the Government could not be responsible for the comparison the hon. and gallant gentleman had made. It was not within his power to alter the arrangement for the appointment of the Board of Visitors, which was constituted by agreement with the Royal Dublin Society under the provisions of the Dublin Science and Art Museum Act, 1877.

DR. TANNER said, he should have thought that a Minister of the Crown like the right hon. Gentleman would have made himself acquainted with the Reports brought before him from time to time. At any rate he might have consulted some of his subordinates before rising to make some of the most extraordinary statements which he (Dr. Tanner) had ever heard made by a Minister sitting on the Treasury Bench. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the Board of Visitors had nothing to do with the Museum of Science and Art.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: No; I did not say so.

DR. TANNER said the Report of the Board of Visitors was considered by the Department in London.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: Just so.

DR. TANNER said, that if they reported they evidently had something to do. If, however, the Board was to have no power for good in the making of investigation and in reporting, the Government should enable them to act in a satisfactory manner. In taking up this case the Irish members were not taking up the cause of an Irish Nationalist body, as the Gentlemen on the Board of Visitors were mostly the Tories of Tories—they were as intensely Conservative as the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council himself. He (Dr. Tanner) should have thought that a right hon. Gentleman placed in the position of the Vice President of the Council, and especially after his acquaintance with Ireland—although that acquaintance was, no doubt, of a very superficial character—would have met these noblemen and gentlemen whose names had been mentioned in connection with the Board of Visitors. That the Department was in communication with them was evident from the Report which the Irish members had had the audacity to bring before the right hon. Gentleman's notice. Surely, instead of continuing the present state of friction which evidently existed between the Department and the Board of Visitors, and which had brought the representatives of the Board of Visitors to an end for a considerable time, as the Visitors considered themselves flouted and insulted by the Board of Education, anyone responsible for the expenditure of this money should endeavour to bring about a more satisfactory state of feeling between themselves and the Board of Visitors. There could be no doubt in the world that if the Board of Visitors had conferred upon it, instead of a name which literally meant nothing, a name meaning something, and duties of a substantial character, it would be for the benefit of the people of Ireland. The Government should give them powers of a definite kind, and make them a popular body, so that their reports would attract public attention. He thought that if they had four fresh members appointed to the Board, including the Lord Mayor of Dublin and the Mayor of Belfast, the object in view would be obtained. He thought the governing municipalities ought to have some voice in the management of this Science and Art Department, and that either the Lord Mayor of Dublin, or some one chosen by him, should be put upon the Board. The Board of Visitors themselves had put forward the statement that they had been better able to deal with a great many matters in connection with the Science and Art Department in consequence of their having been able to consult various interests, including those of the Corporation of Dublin. Well, if the Corporation of Dublin had a general interest in this matter why not allow some member of the Corporation to be appointed on the Board of Visitors. He thought it was a very practical suggestion that two or three Members of Parliament should be put upon the Board. If they allowed one member to be appointed by each province of Ireland, there could be no doubt that better attention would be paid to science and art education, which was of the greatest importance to the Irish community. Another matter to which he desired to draw attention was this: The right hon. Gentleman the Vice-President of the Council said that the museums were almost always open to the public. Well, he (Dr. Tanner) remembered the old English song which said:—

"Of all the days that's in the week
I dearly love but one day,
And that's the day that comes between
The Saturday and Monday."

The right hon. Gentleman had not the words of that song in his mind, for he had left out the Sunday. Of what use were these museums if they excluded the general public from them on the day which, of all others in the week, was the only one on which they could make use of these institutions? It appeared to him to be very extraordinary here in London that Members of Parliament, who did not get very many days to themselves, should not on a Sunday be allowed to see the various museums. Of course, he could not enter into the general question of the opening of museums on Sunday, as the subject was limited by the Vote, which was for the South Kensington Museum. Surely, when the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council laid so much stress upon the museums being always open, he was regarding the question from his own point of view—from the point of view of the classes, who could always command a day to go and see the various collections

of artistic interest in the Metropolis. In the interest of the instruction of the masses of the population, he thought that, instead of permitting the closure of these museums on Sunday, they required them to be thrown open to the people on that day. The people had only got that day at their command to enjoy the inspection of works of artistic merit; and to enable them to visit the museums on this day would, he was sure, tend to the elevation of their minds. He was very sorry to have to correct the right hon. Gentleman. He always did it with pain; but when the right hon. Gentleman said that South Kensington Museum was always open, he was bound to point out that the right hon. Gentleman could not be paying much attention to what he was saying. He hoped that when next the right hon. Gentleman brought forward the Education Estimates in Committee of Supply, the museums would be open on Sunday to the inspection of the public.

MR. LANE begged to give Notice to the hon. Gentleman who represented the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) that when they came to Vote 2 he should call his attention to the concluding sentences of paragraph 93 of the hon. Baronet's present Report in reference to building grants. He wished to add his views to that of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Galway (Colonel Nolan) in making an appeal to the Vice President of the Council in reference to this question of the Board of Visitors of the Science and Art Department in Dublin. He regretted that his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Cork (Dr. Tanner) had misunderstood the reply of the right hon. Gentleman in reference to the Board of Visitors a few moments ago. But that did not alter the principle of the question which the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Galway had put forward—namely, the principle of having some kind of popular representation on the Board. It was important to the Irish people that, though the Board of Visitors only had the Dublin Museum under their control, still that the Representatives of the people should have some voice in the management of what, in a short time, would become a great National and public institution in Ireland. He was not at all so unreasonable as to expect that the right hon. Gentleman should, at a moment's notice, with this question sprung upon him, say right off that he was prepared to add a certain number of representatives to the Board, which was so very unconstitutionally formed at the present moment; but he thought they might ask the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether it would not save the time of the Committee if he gave some kind of promise that he recognized the principle contended for by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Galway, and that, between now and the period at which the Vote would come on for consideration next year, the Vice President and the Board of Education would see if they could not meet the very reasonable and just complaint put forward by some of the Representatives of Ireland as to the composition of the Board of Visitors. The Board required re-constitution, if for no other reason, in order that when the Vote came on for discussion there should be someone in the House to urge the claims of the people of Ireland in future, and, if need be, to fight for the rights and claims of the Dublin Museum as against the very powerful claims of the London Museum. For that reason alone he thought that representation ought to be given to the Dublin Corporation on the Board of Visitors, and that some of the Visitors should be Members of the House. He simply asked the right hon. Gentleman to give them this assurance—not to make an absolute promise—but to assure the Committee that this principle for which he pleaded would be considered between this and next Session.

COLONEL NOLAN said, the right hon. Gentleman said that it was not within his power to appoint representatives on the Board of Visitors, but whilst the right hon. Gentleman made that statement, he had sitting by his side the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Lord of the Treasury. It would have been competent for him to refer the matter to them, and they would have been able to give a different answer. These appointments were in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, and, no doubt, his Lordship acted in accordance with the views of the leading Members of the Government. The Board of Visitors, it must be remembered, were the only people connected with the Science and

Art Department in Ireland. He did not wish to have them reinforced with three or four Members of Parliament taken from the various sections of the House.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, he could only assure the hon. and gallant Gentleman again, that this Board of Visitors was constituted by solemn agreement drawn up with the Royal Dublin Society.

DR. CLARK asked leave to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, he trusted that the electors of the United Kingdom, and particularly the electors of the Metropolis, would note what had been the course of the debate this evening on the Science and Art Department. At general elections, Conservative gentlemen were fond of declaring that they were opposed to every species of extravagance, that they would keep their eye on all the Estimates, and resist any Estimate which they regarded as excessive. He did not know whether the hon. Member for North Islington (Mr. Bartley) held such language at his election, but the hon. Gentleman put down an Amendment to reduce this Vote by £500. No doubt, the fact was commented upon in the local organs of the hon. Gentleman's constituency. The hon. Gentleman gave Notice that it was his intention to move the Amendment that night, and he had made a speech which had convinced him (Mr. Labouchere) that the Amendment was desirable. But when the hon. Member sat down he did not move the Amendment; he got all the credit for the Amendment, but, at the last moment, he ran away from his suggestion. This, surely, was an instance of how so-called Independent Conservative Members dealt with the Estimates, which ought to be brought to the notice of the constituencies. He (Mr. Labouchere) proposed, before sitting down, to do what the hon. Gentleman himself ought to have done — namely, to move the Amendment of which the hon. Gentleman gave Notice, which was, that the Vote should be reduced by the sum of £500. His right hon. Friend the Member for the Brightside Division of Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) was a gentleman at whose feet, on ordinary occasions, he was ready to sit, but he was bound to confess that when the right hon. Gentleman discoursed on art, his love of art obscured his financial acumen. On an occasion like the present, he never heard the right hon. Gentleman make a speech without asking that more money should be spent on the Science and Art Department.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand the hon. Member proposes to move an Amendment, Notice of which was given by the hon. Member for North Islington. [MR. LABOUCHERE: Yes.] That was an Amendment to reduce the Vote by £500, and an Amendment to reduce the Vote by that amount had just been withdrawn.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he understood the hon. Member for North Islington wished to reduce the Vote by £500. ["No, no!"] Then, he would move to reduce the Vote by £500. The object of the hon. Member (Mr. Bartley) in making his speech was to protest against the large number of attendants employed in the Science and Art Department. The hon. Gentleman the Member for South Manchester (Sir Henry Roscoe), in the very interesting speech which he had delivered, said that they were all worshippers at the shrine of the Goddess of Science. They might not all be worshippers, but it appeared to him (Mr. Labouchere) that there were a great deal too many priests at the shrine of the Goddess of Science—in this particular instance the Goddess was at South Kensington—who, instead of devoting themselves to their Goddess, looked very keenly after their own interests. The hon. Gentleman the Member for North Islington pointed out in the excellent speech he made that there were 1,100 *employés*, costing about £130,000, to administer £386,000. No one objected to much that was granted under the Vote. He had no doubt a great deal of it was exceedingly well expended, but it seemed to him that if they reduced the expenditure on administration, they could add to the amount which was usefully expended in the interests of art and science. That was the basis of the Amendment he should conclude by proposing. On looking through the accounts, he found that there were far too many minor Departments, and that at the head of each there

was a gentleman with a very high salary. He was perfectly certain they might reduce the number of *employés*, and reduce considerably the superior heads of Departments by uniting the Departments. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President (Sir William Hart Dyke) told them as a reason for having 1,100 *employés* that there were 13 acres of ground. He never heard such an argument before. Surely, they were not to settle the number of *employés* by the acreage that a Department occupied. That was literally what the right hon. Gentleman had to say in answer to the conclusive and excellent speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Islington. He (Mr. Labouchere) wanted it to be distinctly understood that he, and those who would vote with him, were not in favour of any reduction of useful expenditure under this Vote. They wanted that expenditure to be increased, and they thought the best way to obtain that increase was to have the Department more cheaply administered. He begged to move that the Vote be reduced by £500.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £194,803, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, he hoped he would not be out of Order in calling attention to a very practical Scotch grievance, a grievance, however, which he was afraid could not be remedied by any Vote of the Committee that night. In the elementary schools of Scotland, the children, owing to that proficiency which was very commonly attained in Scotland, could easily earn the grant of 17*s.* 6*d.* per head. Formerly, in addition to the grant, the children were entitled to obtain a grant from the Science and Art Department for drawing, but now, by the introduction of a new rule, the grant for drawing was merged in the 17*s.* 6*d.* The result was, that if schools were so proficient—and in Scotland they mainly were—as to earn by ordinary subjects the full amount of 17*s.* 6*d.* per head, they were debarred from earning anything for drawing. The consequence was that schools were inclined to give up the teaching of drawing. The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would agree with him it was most important that drawing should be taught in all schools, and that it would be a terrible misfortune if, by some rule adopted by the Department, the teaching of drawing was discouraged in Scotland. He understood that originally the rule was so made that the discouragement of drawing applied to England as well as to Scotland, but that the Education Department in England applied to have the rule rescinded so far as this country was concerned, with the result that it was so rescinded. In England, therefore, schools could earn a grant for drawing in addition to the 17*s.* 6*d.*, but in Scotland they could not. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President would tell him that his attention had been called to the matter, and that he would have it remedied as soon as possible.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE said, it was perfectly true that schools in England had the advantage that the drawing grant was absolutely outside the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit. He cordially agreed with the hon. Gentleman's view that they should do their utmost to assimilate the practice of the two countries, but, as the hon. Gentleman was no doubt aware, drawing in Scotch schools was altogether outside the scope of his Department. He promised the hon. Gentleman, however, that he would communicate with his noble Friend the Secretary of State for Scotland, and see what could be done.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL thanked the right hon. Gentleman for the promise he had made, for the grievance was one which was most keenly felt.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 41; Noes 106: Majority 65.—(Div. List, No. 296.)

Original Question again proposed.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he would like to receive a definite assurance from the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council that something would be done to remedy the sadly neglected state of affairs connected with the Department in Ireland. For two years application had been made by the Dean of the Faculty of Science for drawing materials, but they had never been supplied. Attention had also been drawn to the fact that a considerable amount of time was wasted in

the drawing classes by calling over the roll of names. This time might be spent to much better purpose by the teacher in really teaching his class. He had no wish to delay the taking of the Vote, and therefore he would not refer to the many other points which required the attention of the Department.

MR. LANE said, that the particular point to which he wished to refer was mentioned in paragraph 93 of the Report of the Department, and it had reference to the dispute which had arisen between the Department of South Kensington and the Treasury Department as to whether Grants in Aid should be given to two convent schools in County Cork to enable the authorities to build schools of art. The Department of South Kensington was favourable to the giving of Grants in Aid, but there was a technical objection on the part of the Treasury to comply with the recommendation of the South Kensington Department. That technical objection was a grave one, and one which he fully appreciated. He knew very well it would be argued against him that if the Treasury were to give way in this instance, a precedent would be established which might be very largely followed. The objection was that no Grant in Aid of building could be given to schools of art unless the schools were to be open to the artizan classes. It was perfectly clear to any person who understood the constitution of convent schools that it would be impossible for such schools to be open at such hours of the evening as artizans might ordinarily be expected to attend—say between 7 and 10 o'clock—but it was as well he should direct the attention of the Committee and of the Representatives of the Treasury to the fact that in the small towns from which the applications for Grants in Aid of schools of art had been made, there was no possibility of the ordinary artizan class desiring to attend the schools. The schools were mainly started with the aid of local effort and with the assistance given by the Central School of Art in Cork, which was established for the purpose of art teaching, chiefly as applied to the lace industry. The Cork School of Art authorities had sent down their head master to the convents, but now the nuns had obtained certificates in art teaching from the Department of South Kensington. In every way the nuns were qualified to receive a Grant in Aid, except in the one particular detail that they could not open their schools during certain hours in the evening. But the nuns would be quite prepared to teach whoever would attend the schools at any time, say between 4 o'clock and 6 o'clock in the afternoon, and he was assured that such times would suit all the artizans who would be anxious to study in either of the two schools in question. He did not wish the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) to think he was making a claim in regard to the two schools, because, owing to the refusal they had received already from the Treasury, the nuns had raised money from other quarters, and the schools were progressing. But he knew that the discouragement which the nuns had received, through the refusal of the Treasury to comply with the request of the Department of South Kensington, had prevented the sisterhood in other towns in Ireland undertaking the establishment of Art Schools. They had no room for art teaching in their ordinary schools, and their resources were not equal to the strain which the building of art schools would entail upon them. He therefore asked the Representatives of the Treasury to take the matter into further consideration, and endeavour to fall in with the expressed view of the authorities of South Kensington that Grants in Aid ought to be given to convent schools. There was one other point to which the Treasury took exception at first, and that was that as these institutions were principally for Catholics, students belonging to other religious persuasions might not care to attend the schools. He was authorized to state on behalf of those who administered the institutions that there would not be the slightest objection on the part of the authorities of the schools to receive students of any denomination whatever who presented themselves for teaching in the schools. He was glad the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) was present, because he imagined that when the final appeal came to be made, it would be the right hon. Gentleman who would have to decide the matter. He very respectfully asked the right hon. Gentleman to give the matter his favourable consideration when the Department brought it under his notice.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Lane) was good enough to bring the subject under his notice some time ago; but he did not do so altogether in the same light in which he had presented it that night. From what the hon. Gentleman said originally, he (Mr. Jackson) was under the impression that the difficulty was not so much as to the hours at which the schools should be open, but whether the word "artizan" might be interpreted to be limited to males, or to include females. Upon the former occasion the hon. Member pointed out that possibly the lace makers might be entirely females, and he thought it would be a great hardship if the word artizan were interpreted as excluding such lace makers from the benefits of the education simply because they were females. It seemed to him (Mr. Jackson) that that would be a hardship, and he promised the hon. Gentleman that, if that were the only difficulty, his endeavours would be in the direction of meeting his wishes. The hon. Gentleman had pointed out that night that by the Rules and Regulations—made not by the Treasury, but made, no doubt, with the sanction of the Treasury, by the Science and Art Department—there were certain conditions which must be complied with before a Grant in Aid could be given. One of those conditions was, that a school, in order to obtain a Grant in Aid, must provide a class for artizans' meetings, under the direction of a master, for two hours during certain evenings of the week for 40 weeks in the year. He imagined that this Regulation was framed with a view of securing to the whole of the public, and in such hours that the whole of the population could avail themselves of it, the use of the schools for which public money was given. He was afraid it would be impossible to give a Grant in Aid to the schools in question unless the condition laid down by the Science and Art Department were complied with. If a grant were so given, a precedent would be established which many people might not be slow to avail themselves of. He had carefully noted that the Science and Art Department said in their Report that the Rules of the Department as to such grants could not be complied with. The Treasury was very often accused of being governed by Rules and Regulations. The fact was, the experience of the Treasury showed very plainly that if Rules and Regulations—which were carefully considered before being adopted—were not adhered to, there was no stopping point.

MR. LANE said, it was not contemplated that the teaching in the schools in question should be confined to females. As to the demands which might be made in case an exception were made, he was able to say that claims would not be made from more than eight or 10 existing convents. Those convents were in small country towns, and the artizans who would be prepared to take advantage of the classes would be perfectly satisfied with a class which would commence, say, at 4 o'clock or 5 o'clock in the evening, and last for two hours. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury wound up his speech by saying that once rules were laid down for the management of Public Departments it was impossible to change them. That was a very indefensible position to take up; because rules, no matter what they were made for, must, at some time or other, be altered so as to meet the changing circumstances of time. He maintained that the breaking of the Rules in the direction he sought would not be taken as a precedent by any very large number of schools, while it would be a graceful act on the part of the Treasury. It was because he knew that several convents were inclined to make an application for a Grant in Aid that he begged the hon. Gentleman to prevail upon the Treasury to reconsider the matter with the Department of South Kensington, and see if they could not arrive at some kind of compromise which would enable them to extend the schools of art in the South of Ireland.

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £61,359, be granted to Her Majesty, to complete the sum necessary to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1889, for the Salaries and Expenses of the British Museum, including the amount required for the Natural History Museum."

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK (London University) said, that the Committee had usually expected the Senior Trustee to say a few

words on the subject of this Vote. In the first place, he must express the great regret of the Trustees at losing the valuable services of the late principal librarian, Mr. Bond. The publications of the Museum had been presented to various free libraries, a considerable number of duplicates had been distributed, and sets of electrotypes of coins and casts of gems had been sent to local exhibitions. He regretted that the Government had not felt themselves able to increase the grants for purchases to the old amount; but he hoped they would be in a position to do so next year. The Museum, in addition to purchase, had again received many valuable presents, which were duly acknowledged in the annual report. He might just mention those by the trustees of the late Mr. Christie, and especially a collection of prehistoric antiquities from Bruniquel, in the South of France, containing some very interesting archaic sculptures of the mammoth and the reindeer, and rendering our national collection of ancient cave remains the most complete in the world. Lord Chichester had presented a valuable series of the Pelham papers in continuation of those mentioned last year. The Natural History Museum had been for some years past particularly fortunate in the rich donations made to it. This year the Trustees had to thank Captain Ramsay for a collection of over 30,000 birds' skins, formed principally by his uncle, the late Lord Tweeddale, and which was particularly rich in the birds of the Phillippine and Andaman Islands and the Malayan Peninsula. Captain Ramsay had also deposited in the Museum the ornithological library, consisting of over 2,000 volumes, many of them very costly, collected by his uncle and himself. Lord Walsingham had presented to the Museum a most interesting collection of mounted larvæ of British and Indian lepidoptera, and also a large collection made by him in California and Oregon. Messrs. Godman and Salvin had presented a large series of American birds, and donations had also been received from Mr. Seebohm and other gentlemen. He mentioned them, both to express the gratitude of the Trustees, but also, he confessed, in the hope that others would follow so excellent an example.

Mr. HOWORTH (Salford, S.) said, that the British Museum stood in a very special position compared with the other museums of the country; at all events, in one respect—namely, that while the other museums had been continually subjected to criticism, both on account of their contents and their management, the British Museum, by the assent of everybody, had been free from any matters of this kind calling for comment. The Natural History Department was now the richest in the world; and he should like to supplement the rest of donations just announced by the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London by mentioning that within the last few weeks a public-spirited gentleman, Mr. Godman, had presented to the Museum the most complete and valuable collection of American birds that had ever been made by any private individual. He felt great regret that three or four years ago—when a wave of economy passed over the country—a reduction of £10,000 was made in the sum annually granted for purchases. Nothing was so regrettable as starving this great and noble Institution by the reduction of the grant by such an amount. People were hardly aware what it meant to deduct at once and at one bound £10,000 from the grant. It was impossible, in many respects, to make up in subsequent years for the evils effected during a period of false economy. The objects which were collected for the Museums were so rare that very often, when they were in the market, there was a rush for them, and when once our valuable objects were purchased by Foreign Museums they were lost to us for ever. Moreover, objects such as we required for the Museum increased in value every year, and in many cases articles which had been purchased by the Museum during the past 15 years were now worth as many pounds as they had been paid for in shillings. That was the case with a great part of the Mediæval portion of the collection which had been made with judicious care by Mr. Franks. He should like to add his voice to the appeal made by the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London for the restoration of the grant to its original amount. He would also ask the Government to do one other thing which all the officers of the Museum and of every other museum in the country were continually

urging, which was that the British Museum should be exempted from the Treasury Rule and the Treasury Minute, which required that unexpended balances should be returned to the Treasury at the end of the year. In the case of any other expenditure, it was right that they should have a clear balance at the end of the year; but so far as the British Museum was concerned—seeing that great collections of objects only came into the market sporadically—it seemed an irrational rule that they should not allow their curators to accumulate a fund until something worthy of the Museum turned up. By the present system they inevitably held out an inducement to the Museum authorities to spend the whole of their grant upon things that were not of supreme importance, for the reason that, if the amount given were not spent one year it would be reduced the next. It seemed to him a rational and good rule that these grants should accumulate when not spent, until a great opportunity arose, when they could be expended with due regard, not only to the value of the objects purchased, but also to economy. He hoped he might be pardoned for making these remarks; but he felt, having tested the opinions, especially of the more economical Members on the other side of the House, that he was expressing the feelings of all classes, and especially of the artizans of the North of England, when he said that the pinching and starving of the Museum was a most false economy. It was, in fact, no economy at all, but went to deprive the country of that which was a great source of its wealth and its most lasting capital—the capital which consisted in the materials for securing the best education of our people and the development of a school of original research among our scientific and literary men.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) said, that this was one of those happy subjects on which there was no Party division imaginable. He should differ from the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Howorth) on a great many important questions, but as to this question he was glad to echo heartily what the hon. Gentleman had brought before the Committee; and if not too presumptuous in doing so, he should like to add some figures which would go strongly to support the appeal which the hon. Member had made. Now, in the year 1886-7 the Grant to the British Museum, including the Natural History Museum at South Kensington, was £116,152. In the year 1887-8 it was reduced by £11,377; moreover, that reduction was made most largely in regard to sums required for purchases and acquisitions. In 1886-7 the amount spent on purchases and acquisitions was £21,025, and in that next year it was only £13,140. At the time the Natural History Museum had been removed, but it was not the fact, as some might imagine, that the amount held over was handed to that Museum. No doubt there had been an addition to the Vote this year of some £2,000, but what was that when compared with the enormous and priceless interests involved in this great institution? The hon. Member for Salford had said that our Natural History collection was not to be equalled in the world; and taking it all in all—the library, the collection of ancient sculpture, the antiquities, including the Egyptian remains and inscriptions from that country and Assyria and Babylon—he did not believe the world could show such an institution anywhere. We might be inferior in this country in regard to some of our educational institutions—and he had sometimes pleaded that in the House—but with regard to this great Museum and library, he believed we were unrivalled in the world. He submitted that we ought to take a national pride in such an Institution, and ought not to economize in regard to it. All must feel that no voluntary effort and no private combination could ever have established such an institution, and when he remembered the extravagant sums which were spent and voted here, almost without a word, on such luxuries as hon. colonelcies in the Army—£1,000 a-year being paid to each for doing nothing—he really felt indignant when he found that it was not possible to increase, rather than to diminish, the amount spent on this great Institution. There were no words possible other than those of praise and admiration to be bestowed upon the management of the Institution. He cordially concurred in the enconiums uttered by the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) upon the recently retired chief librarian. He hoped it would

not be considered in the least degree inconsistent with that tribute of admiration if he stated that in one respect at least he considered the policy of the authorities in regard to the library was mistaken. An error of judgment had been committed in rendering the library accessible to a large number of persons who could hardly be called students—who went there to study nothing more important than the last new novel, or to lounge away a few idle hours. Looking at the great and growing demand made upon the space of the Institution, he certainly thought that it should not be made a sort of free library for London, seeing that it was maintained by the State for scholars not of this country only, but of the world. He was sorry to see such a sum as £3,400 put down in the Estimate for police and watching. He was led to suppose that fears had been entertained in recent years lest this great and glorious Institution should be made an object of attack by dynamiters or other ruffians of that character; but it seemed to him scarcely possible that such a thing should be thought of—surely better times were coming. He hoped that this extravagant amount for the police would be reconsidered, and the money devoted to adding to the collections. He most cordially joined in the satisfaction expressed in voting this money, which he devoutly wished had been three or four times the present amount.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) asked, whether anything had been done towards opening the British Museum in the evening? There had been a good deal of discussion about this from time to time, and he thought that, owing to the improvement in the electric lighting, the question should have been considered, because he believed the opening of the Museum at night would be a great advantage to students and the yearly increasing number of thinking members of the poorer classes.

MR. MOLLOY (King's Co., Birr) said, this was the fourth or fifth year in which he had drawn attention to this subject, and moved the reduction of the Vote. When the late Government was in power, they were almost promised that the British Museum should be opened in the evening for the benefit of the working classes. Some delay had taken place, it was said, because it was necessary to get an estimate of the cost of the introduction of the electric light into the British Museum, and the Party then in power allowed the matter to rest. Last year he had again brought the subject under the notice of the Government, and he had now to point out that the delay which had taken place was hardly justified on any ground. The British Museum was kept up by the taxation of the country—that was to say, a large sum was voted annually, which came out of the general ta x payers' pocket, and he had made a calculation that the proportion of this amount paid by the working classes was £100,000 out of a total of £150,000. So far as the working classes of the country were concerned, however, the British Museum might just as well not be in existence at all, because they had no opportunity of visiting it; and although on Bank holidays they could do so, it was not to be expected that the masses of the people would be contented to restrict themselves to indoor museums, so that, practically, while they supported this Institution by the earnings of the working classes, they were at the same time told that they should not enjoy the advantages which it offered. This, he said, was class legislation to the very last degree; it was not dealing fairly with the people, and in these days, when they heard so much of Tory Democrats and friends of the people, it was time that the Government should begin to act upon their own principles, and the professions made on the platforms. The difficulty in this matter was the question of electric lighting. Now, if electric lighting had but just been introduced into the country he could understand the argument as to not having had experience of the system, but there was now hardly a club in London that was not thus lighted, and the system was also in use at the Museum in Jermyn Street, and in many public and private establishments throughout the country; and, moreover, there was not the slightest difficulty or danger in connection with it, and, therefore, no argument could be drawn from it with regard to its ill effect upon works of art. The second difficulty was the financial one, but he saw no difficulty of this kind in the matter. One would think that the money came out of the pockets of the Ministers themselves.

The Government were willing enough to make economies amongst the lower classes of officials, while they were always ready to allow extravagance in the upper Departments to continue, and, so far as the leisure and pleasure of the upper classes were concerned, they were willing to go to any amount of expenditure, for at the West End large institutions—which ought to be national and popular in their character, but which were confined exclusively to the use of the class among which they were placed—had been and were being built out of the public money. Now, there was this one Institution in the centre of the working population, and the excuse for not opening it in the evenings was that it would cost money. He admitted that it would do so, but that was no reason why the people should be deprived of the advantage and pleasure of going there. The Estimate made was that the introduction of electric lighting would cost £15,000, but it was now calculated that the installation would not cost anything like that amount; besides that, they had electric lighting in the Museum already. And then there was the cost of working, put down at £1,200 a-year. He asked hon. Members who represented Metropolitan Districts if they were going to allow their constituents to be deprived of that opportunity of entering the British Museum because it would cost about £1,200 a-year? He extremely regretted that a very strong supporter of this movement had passed away from among them—Colonel Duncan, a gentleman respected by every Member of that House for his genial kindness and good nature, and whose loss they all felt severely. Colonel Duncan was a strong advocate of opening the Museum in the evening, and he had told him, a very short time ago, that he had tried to induce the Government, by every argument he could use, to grant this right for the benefit of his constituents. But there were other Metropolitan Members in the House, and he asked if they were going to support the exclusion of the people who paid for these art treasures, or were they going to do them simple right and justice, and by their vote induce the Government to allow the Museum to be opened at night? There would, of course, be an addition to the staff, but he cared not what that or the expenditure might amount to, for it was no valid excuse as against the demand of the working classes of London or of the country generally. In France and Germany the people had the opportunity of visiting public museums at night, and the result was seen in that higher politeness and good behaviour which he regretted to say was not often found in this country. There had been an exhibition of pictures at the East End of London from time to time, and other works of art had been lent for the purpose, and in no single instance had any damage been done to them; on the contrary, it was well known that the best police to have in these institutions were the people themselves, and this the police themselves acknowledged, because they had stated that, so far as good conduct was concerned, they had nothing but praise for the behaviour of the people. As his hon. Friend had said, this was no Party question; this was a question affecting the well-being of the people, and surely hon. Members then present could all say something in favour of the proposal that night. It was not that the Government objected to the Museum being open at night; it was but a question of cost, and he was satisfied that, were they to largely increase the expenditure on this object, not the slightest objection would be taken to it by any Member of the House; on the contrary, he was convinced Members on both sides would agree that it was one of the best ways of spending money, and one of the highest duties of a Member of Parliament, thus to endeavour to elevate the minds of the people.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) said, he would ask the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) whether the Trustees of the British Museum had made any representations in the proper quarter with a view to obtain the great reform which had been advocated by the hon. and learned Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy)? As a Metropolitan Member he strongly supported the hon. and learned Gentleman's appeal. On many platforms in the Metropolis he had ventured strongly to oppose the opening of the Museum on Sundays, partly on principle, and partly because he believed it would lead to many evils to the working classes; at the same

time those who objected to the opening of Museums on Sundays were bound in honour, in his opinion, to find some other opportunity of which the working classes could avail themselves for visiting these great educational institutions. It was quite clear that the expense of opening the British Museum in the evening, now that the system of electric lighting had been so far perfected, would not be very heavy, and he quite agreed with the hon. and learned Member for King's County when he asked why they should not pay for this right of the working classes. He appealed to Her Majesty's Government to listen to this request of the hon. and learned Member.

SIR HENRY ROSCOE (Manchester, S.) said, he rose to ask the hon. Baronet whether the Trustees had considered the question of opening, at any rate, the Natural History Museum on Sunday afternoon; and, if so, what conclusion they had arrived, and, if favourable to the measure, what would be the extra cost? It was well known that there were a few Government Institutions, such as Kew Gardens and others, open to the public on Sundays, but if they stepped beyond the bounds of this Island they found that all museums on the Continent were open on Sundays. Again, he failed to see why the people should not only not have an opportunity of viewing the beautiful treasures of art and science by electric light, but why they should not also be able to see them on Sundays.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) said, with regard to the opening of Museums on Sundays, he thought that this was a matter which must be settled by the localities themselves. He was himself no Sabbatarian, but not being a Metropolitan Member he did not wish to express any opinion upon this question, though he had for many years strongly urged that the question of lighting the Museums at night should be dealt with. He made this appeal strongly with regard to the Natural History Museum at South Kensington. He thought the experience of recent years of exhibitions at Kensington had shown that there was an immense demand in London for opportunities of visiting places of this kind at night. The question was how were the working men to amuse themselves in the evening? He was himself a working man, and desired to amuse himself at that time, but he had no means of doing so except by coming down to that House, and there were times when he would very much rather go to instruct his mind with his children to the Natural History Collection at South Kensington. He maintained that the great expenditure on this Institution was absolutely lost, so far as the masses of the people were concerned, by their not being open at night. They had several times had from the Government promises of favourable consideration for this matter, and he now asked whether they had now considered it, and if they were willing to carry out the proposal?

SIR ALBERT ROLLIT (Islington, S.) said, that with regard to the opening of Museums on Sundays the working classes were greatly divided in opinion, as was shown in the discussion at the Trade Congress last year. But, especially as a Metropolitan Member, he could not conceive any objection being raised to the proposal of the hon. and learned Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy). He knew that there were very large numbers of the working classes who could not go to these Institutions in the day time. As these were debarred on Sundays, if they were not to be admitted in the evening, the result would be that they could not go at all; and if there was anything in what was said of the educational value of Museums the Committee ought to put pressure on the Government to give to the working classes the desired opportunities. It seemed to him that the expense would be limited, inasmuch as the electric light was already on the premises, and he pointed out that there were a number of days which could not be utilized for want of light which would be available if the electric light were more largely used. It seemed to him that if they were to make this concession in favour of the working classes they would only be doing an act of justice. When he referred to the frequent expressions of opinion, and the promises that the Government would consider this question, he could not but hope that they would have a satisfactory announcement from the Government on the subject. If not, he should decline to treat this question as a Party one, and should take an independent part in any

Division indicating the sense of the House, that it disapproved a large section of the people being excluded from the British Museum, and that every pressure should be applied to remove the disability.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he was not surprised to hear the opinions which had been expressed. Last year the Government had received a clear intimation that there was a strong desire on the part of hon. Members to have this question thoroughly considered, and the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy had said that he (Mr. Jackson) had promised, on behalf of the Government, that it should be fully and favourably considered. The subject accordingly had been most carefully and thoroughly considered; communications had been made to the Trustees of the British Museum, and inquiries also as to the cost of electric lighting. There were, of course, two questions to be dealt with—one that of cost, the other that of safety in opening the Museum in the evening. There was some misunderstanding apparently in the minds of hon. Members as to what the cost would be. He had stated last year the estimated cost, and since that time they had made further inquiry, and received other estimates from the authorities as to what the cost would be. Taking the British Museum proper, the estimate for plant was £12,618. His hon. Friend the Member for North Kensington (Sir Roper Lethbridge) had said, that there would not be very much additional cost, because already the electric light was on the premises. He would see on reflection that the small instalment of two lights outside and a few inside the Museum was of no practical value, and could not be of use for the object in view, which really meant more machinery, which, as he had said, was put down at £12,618. The estimated annual cost of maintenance and service would be £3,595 a-year for three days a-week, and £7,197 for six days. Those figures were very large, and required careful consideration before the Government could add such a sum to the annual Estimates. The estimated cost for the Natural History Museum was—for plant, £15,000; and the annual cost of maintenance and service on three days a-week was £3,737, and for six days a-week £6,974, together representing a total cost of nearly £28,000 for outlay on plant, with an annual expenditure of £14,000 a-year for opening the Museum at night on six days a-week. The Government regarded these items as very serious, but there was another consideration, perhaps, even more important than that of cost. The Government had consulted the Trustees of the British Museum, and endeavoured to elicit from them what was their opinion as to the desirability of opening at night and the safety of doing so. The answers they received practically came to this—that if the Government were to require the opening of the Museums they must accept responsibility for what, in their opinion, was not entirely free from risk. It appeared to the Government that the Trustees were the Body best able to judge on this matter, and in the face of this opinion the Government did not feel themselves justified in giving effect to what would appear to be a general wish, that the Museum should be open at night, if it could be done with safety and at a reasonable cost. With regard to the question of electric lighting, he did not think they would suffer anything by waiting another year. It was true that great progress had been made in electric lighting, and also, as the hon. and learned Member for King's County had pointed out, the system was in use in many places in London, but there had been recently a very decided advance in the direction of private electric lighting without the necessity of providing for separate installation; and, personally, he would prefer to wait for a short time, because he thought that it would be more economical if they could make use of some general installation rather than have to supply the engines and boilers with a staff of workmen which would be necessary to furnish the two branches of the Museum with separate installations. The hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) had spoken of the cost of the police, and he would observe that the Trustees were not responsible for the men in charge of the Museum. The Trustees had taken up the position that the Government were responsible for the enormous value of the treasures contained in these buildings, and the Government did not feel that their opinion on this subject should be set up in opposition to that of the head of the police,

who knew better what was necessary for protection against fire and other dangers. He agreed with the hon. Member for Leicester that the charge for police was very high, and he believed if he (Mr. Jackson) had pressed the matter it might have been reduced, on the distinct condition that he would be responsible for the safety of the collections, which responsibility he was not prepared to accept. Whilst the Government had most carefully considered this question, whilst they were entirely in sympathy with the view which had been expressed, that the greatest liberty should be afforded to the largest number of people desirous of making use of these Institutions, neither on the question of cost or upon the question of safety did they feel themselves justified in coming to any other conclusion than to postpone for a time the settlement of this matter.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) said, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) had told the Committee, as a Representative of the Government, that it was not prepared to carry out the electric lighting of the British Museum in the evening on the ground of cost, and also on the ground of safety. Again and again it had been said in that House by almost every Member who took an economical view of the question that they were in no sort of way opposed to the proposal. The hon. Gentleman had frightened the Committee with his observations on the question of cost, but he (Mr. Labouchere) did not see anything particularly terrible in the figures he had given. He had no objection to vote for the expenditure of £12,000, and for the subsequent expenditure of £7,000 a-year for these Museums. After all, they belonged to the nation, and they knew that the greater part of the inhabitants were obliged to work for a livelihood during the day. If there was a feeling—he did not share it—that the Museums should not be opened on Sundays, then the least they could do was to give working men an opportunity of going there in the evening of week days. At the present moment they were told they were preventing the great majority of the taxpayers of the nation from visiting the Museums, because they had no right to expend for their benefit £6,000 or £7,000 a-year. The hon. Gentleman said it would be a mistake to do it this year, and why? Because they might get electric lighting done better in a subsequent year, as there had been a great improvement, and we ought not to expend this money before we could get the work done by some general installation. He believed that a much better result would be got if they did the work themselves, as had been shown to be the case in connection with private residences where the light was used. He believed that the cost of electric lighting was one-third of ordinary lighting, and probably, with their own engines, it would be found to be less than that. This, however, was a matter of minor detail, and it could not fairly be raised as a reason for not doing what was wanted at once. The hon. Gentleman then went on to say that they must consider the question of its safety. The Government had applied to the Trustees, and asked if they could guarantee the safety of the Museum, but he would point out that the Trustees had special duties to perform, such as the purchase of objects of art, and it was for the Government to decide whether or not there was any danger to be apprehended. The Trustees, said the hon. Gentleman, threw the responsibility upon the Government. Of course they did; the Trustees had absolutely nothing to do with it. The Trustees had simply said that the matter in no way referred to them, and that the Government must accept the responsibility of their own action, and that if pressure were put upon them they would consent. The Trustees ought not to be asked about the matter at all; it was not their business, but the business of the Government, who looked after the police and were responsible to the House for seeing there was no danger of fire, and it was the business of the Government to accept that responsibility. He presumed the danger would be from overcrowding more than from fire; but there were Museums in other countries which were open in the evening as well as many in our great towns, but the people, as was well known, conducted themselves when they went there perfectly well. They were told that if the people went at night the rowdies would destroy everything. He did not believe the rowdy class would go into the British Museum in order to make a row there and destroy property,

and hon. Members might be sure that until the public-houses were shut up, and other places, this terrible being would not go to the British Museum. He was himself in favour of opening the Museums on Sundays as well as upon the evenings of week days, but he was perfectly aware the there were differences of opinion in that House on the question of opening them on Sunday. The hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Albert Rollit) had said that the working men themselves were divided on the subject. He agreed that this was so, but a motion was carried amongst the trades unionists in favour of Sunday opening by two to one. However, he admitted the difference of opinion on the matter, and until they could agree to some unity of action he doubted whether the proposal could be carried in that House. There were, however, many hon. Members who would vote for opening the Museum in the evening, and therefore he begged to move the reduction of the Vote by a sum of £300, and those who voted in favour of the Amendment would be understood to declare themselves to be in favour of an expenditure being incurred for the opening of the Museum in the evening.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £61,059, be granted for the said Service."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

MR. TOMLINSON (Preston) said, it appeared to him that the question of safety in connection with electric lighting depended on whether they could trust to it as well as they could to other means of illumination. The experience of hon. Members in that House had been on one occasion that the electric light was liable to go out, and it was a fact that at most institutions where the electric light was used there was, besides, supplementary means of illumination. It had been conceded that gas and other modes of lighting would be dangerous in Museums, but he asked if the Trustees had considered whether science had advanced so far as to make it possible to trust to electricity alone?

MR. JACKSON said, the question of safety was not limited to that of protection against fire. There was safety against theft, and safety in respect to the protection of treasures, and when he employed the term he did so in its largest sense, regarding the question from the police point of view as related to the protection of these invaluable treasures. It was in that sense that he considered the opening of the Museum at night to involve an element of danger and increase the difficulty of protection for reasons of various kinds which did not exist in the day time.

MR. MOLLOY said, there was not a single point in the argument of the hon. Gentleman that would not justify the Government in making a demand for the closing of every public institution in the country. Year after year this Motion came forward, and year after year there was the same defence; first it was a question of cost, then it was a question of electricity, then it was a question of police, and now the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson) had furnished a new defence for the action of the Government. He granted that there was an element of danger; but was it forgotten that there was danger in the House of Commons from gas, electricity, and other causes? There was danger in the case of the Museum in Jermyn Street, both in regard to electric lighting and the protection of objects of great scientific value. Surely the points to bear in mind in considering the question were the interests and the rights of the people in a discussion in the House of Commons. There was no man in that House who understood the question of electric lighting who would not tell the Government that for places like the British Museum it was not only of advantage to have electric lighting, but that it was necessary to have their own instalment and control of it as they liked. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) had last year promised that during the Recess this question should have the best consideration. He was glad to see the right hon. Gentleman back in his place, because he knew that he, at least, above all men in that House, would do all in his power to benefit the working classes. He said that advisedly, and last year the right hon. Gentleman's words were—"I will undertake that the question shall be considered during the Recess, and, if possible to be done, it will be done." There had not been a single valid argument put forth in the course of the discussion for not opening the Museum in the evening; on the other hand, there

was no difference of opinion among the Committee. With regard to the Trustees, he remembered that four or five years ago, when he raised this question in the House of Commons, the hon. Baronet the Member for London University (Sir John Lubbock), who was one of the Trustees of the British Museum, said that, so far as he was concerned, he had no objection to the proposal, and the hon. Gentleman now confirmed his recollection. They had been told, however, a few minutes ago, that one of the great difficulties was the opposition of the Trustees, but it appeared that it was now minimized to this—namely, that the Government wished to throw upon the Trustees the responsibility of opening the Museum in the evening, and the Trustees properly replied that it was the business of the Government to take the responsibility, that they were there as Trustees only, and that if the Government decided to take the course they were willing to carry it out. Now, that was not opposition on the part of the Trustees of the British Museum, who might really be quoted as friends and advocates in this matter. When hon. Members were willing to pay £12,000 for an instalment for the purpose of opening the British Museum at night, and for giving to the working people of the Metropolis that which was their right, to take their pleasure and instruction in institutions to the cost of which they subscribed two-thirds, they were then met with this paltry excuse, that it would cost £6,000 a-year. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, in the interests of education, which all Members had at heart, and from a stronger point of view, in the name of the working men of the Metropolis, who paid two-thirds of the cost of the buildings—he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to announce to-night that he would, on behalf of the Government, consent to the proposal he had made. Of course, he knew that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury was just as strong an advocate as he himself for the opening of the Museum at night, and he knew that in that House he was bound by his official position to defend things as they were, and without any disrespect to him the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury might very well rise and say, in response to the almost unanimous expression of opinion on both sides of the House, that he would grant the demand which had now been before Parliament for five years.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he had listened with great attention to the observations of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for King's County (Mr. Molloy), who had always evinced considerable interest in the opening of Museums for the instruction of the people. It must not be supposed that the Government had any desire to prevent the inhabitants of the Metropolis having the advantage of visiting the British Museum in the evening, if that could be accomplished with perfect safety. If the Government had the assurance of the Trustees, those who were responsible for the great collections, that measures could be taken to secure the safety of the collections, the Government would raise no objection; but he had a letter before him which threw doubt upon the view of the Trustees in that matter. He did not wish to enter on any controversy with the Trustees, or with hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, in respect to this question. All the Government desired to do was to discharge their duty as custodians together with the Trustees, as they thought, of the great National collection of inestimable and priceless value. They dared not, and ought not, to expose the collection to any risk whatever. But they must take the Trustees into council, and receive some assurance from them as to their feeling as to what was right and best to be done under the circumstances. He assured the Committee that the question of cost involved in the matter was no obstacle at all; if they could be satisfied that the Trustees themselves were confident that the arrangement which was proposed would be one which could be carried out with advantage and with safety, it should be carried out so far as the Government were concerned. That was an answer which he hoped would be satisfactory to the Committee. Hitherto the Government had not been satisfied that the conditions laid down were capable of attainment. He had no doubt whatever that in further con-

ferences with the Trustees they might receive more complete and more satisfactory assurances. If they did, he assured hon. Gentlemen it would only remain with the Committee to vote the funds necessary to enable the change to be made.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, he did not understand his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) to say that the Trustees raised any difficulty as to the opening; but the question of safety was to be regarded from two points of view. There was the question of electric lighting itself, and there was the question of danger from other causes. The Trustees felt that, although possibly they might be able to advise as to the lighting of the Museum, on the question of safety the Government and the House had the same means of information as the Trustees, and that the Trustees would be taking upon themselves a great responsibility if they attempted to give the impression that they were better able to form a judgment on a question of that sort than the Government and the House. He might say that one reason which had prevented the Trustees from pressing the matter forward at that moment had been that they did not quite agree with his hon. and learned Friend the Member for the Birr Division of King's County (Mr. Molloy), that a separate installation would be better than to make use of a general installation in that part of the Metropolis. The Trustees had always been under the impression that there would be some advantage in waiting until there was a general system of electric lighting in that part of London of which they might avail themselves. He thought there was more reason to hope for such a general installation than there was some time ago, and the feeling of the Trustees was that if there was a probability of a general system of electric lighting being carried out it would be more economical and safe to wait until they could avail themselves of it. The second consideration which had influenced them in the matter was the question how far the evening opening was likely to be made use of. Hon. Members who had spoken in the debate appeared to assume that there would be a very large number of persons who would avail themselves of the right of access to the British Museum at night, and if there was any prospect of that the Trustees, as a body, would be only too glad to facilitate their doing so. He did not know whether the Government had before them the Returns as to the attendance at South Kensington Museum, which was at present open at night. At South Kensington there had been no danger, but he was afraid that the numbers who went there had not been so large as had been anticipated. However, on that question, again, the Metropolitan Members were better able to judge than the Trustees of the British Museum, and if those Members thought it was likely that the access would be availed of to a large extent, the Trustees would be most glad to co-operate with the Government and the House of Commons, because it was their one object always to make the inestimable treasures of the Museum as available to their countrymen generally as they possibly could be. He did not know whether he should be in Order in replying to one or two other questions which had been asked; but if the Chairman did not stop him he should proceed to do so. His hon. Friend the Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) spoke about the library. The Trustees of the Museum had had the point to which the hon. Member directed the attention of the Committee before them, but it was not a very easy matter, as he was sure his hon. Friend would feel, that the use of novels in the British Museum should be limited. The Trustees had always been anxious to make the Museum as widely available to all classes of the community in London and in the country as possible, and under these circumstances it was difficult to check the reading of novels; but, at the same time, he would mention the point raised by the hon. Gentleman to the Trustees, and if they could do anything to carry out the suggestion, he was sure they would be glad to do so. With reference to the question of police, no doubt the amount of £3,400 was rather large, but the present arrangement in that respect was really economical. They had been employing police more largely of late, and in that way had been able to reduce the other staff, which was more expensive. The number of passages in the Museum was very great, and the objects exhibited were of such inestimable value that he was sure that the Committee would feel that it was de-

sirable they should be very carefully protected. He did not think that the danger to be feared was from the rowdy element; there was not much fear of a large number of roughs visiting the Museum; the real danger was that persons who knew the value of some of the articles displayed should run away with them, and dispose of them to their own advantage. His hon. Friend the Member for South Manchester (Sir Henry Roscoe) asked a question about the opening of the Museum on Sundays. That was a matter upon which there was some difference of opinion in the House; but, so far as the Trustees were concerned, they were of opinion that it would be a great advantage to the people of the Metropolis if the British Museum were open upon Sunday afternoons. The Museum at Kew, which was only a few miles off, was open on Sundays, and why there should be any conscientious objection to the Museum being open in London on Sundays while the Museum at Kew was open on that day it was not easy to see. His hon. Friend asked him what the cost of opening the Museum on Sundays would be? The Trustees had ascertained that the cost of opening the Museum at Bloomsbury would be about £1,000 a-year, and that of opening the Natural History Museum at Kensington about £500 a-year. He thought he had now answered all the questions asked him, and he had only to add that, so far as the Trustees were concerned, they were entirely in the hands of the House in reference to the question of evening opening. When the Government thought that, on the whole, it was advisable to open the Museum at night, and the House voted the money for that purpose, the Trustees would do everything in their power to carry the scheme out as satisfactorily and as promptly as possible. He might, perhaps, be permitted to add one word with reference to the cost. The sums which had been mentioned had been on the hypothesis that the whole Museum was to be opened every evening. The Trustees thought that, if anything were done, it would be desirable to open the Natural History portion first and try that as an experiment; and he thought also that, even as regarded the Natural History Museum, it would not be necessary to open the whole of it every evening. Perhaps some economy might be effected if certain parts were opened one evening and certain other parts another evening. If there were any other questions which hon. Members desired to put to him he would gladly do his best to answer them.

MR. LAWSON (St. Pancras, W.) said, as a Metropolitan Representative and not as a Party man, he might be forgiven if he said a word in support of the reduction of this Vote, with a view to a real nationalizing of the British Museum. As a London Member he should like to say how satisfactory he and his Colleagues thought the statement made by the hon. Baronet the Member for London University (Sir John Lubbock). The hon. Baronet had demolished the arguments both of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury and the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. W. H. SMITH begged the hon. Gentleman's pardon. He entirely agreed with the remarks of the hon. Baronet.

MR. LAWSON said, that in that case there was small reason for pressing the Motion to a Division, because the hon. Baronet had said that if the House and the Committee were in favour of opening the British Museum in the evening so were the Trustees. If the Government were in favour of the Museum being opened in the evening the matter was settled once for all. He understood the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury to say, however, that they waited for the opinion of the Trustees. They had heard the opinion of the Trustees. The hon. Baronet dealt with the argument of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, that liability to outrage was the principal reason for not opening the Museum in the evenings. The hon. Baronet replied that there was nothing to fear on that score. The Committee could accept the hon. Baronet's assurance, after the experience gained at the South Kensington Museum; and he (Mr. Lawson) must point out that, if there was to be adequate lighting by electric means, he could not see how there could be greater danger of outrage in the evening than there was during the day. What outrage was expected? Was it expected there would be the theft of some article of great value, or wanton destruction of one kind or another? He could not see that danger

Sir John Lubbock

was to be expected at the one time more than at the other. It was, of course, a commonplace to say that the Museum was valuable as a means of scientific education by object lessons. A great effort was being made for the extension of University teaching in the Metropolis, both in its scientific and literary sides. The opening of the British Museum would be a valuable help indeed to students who were engaged in studying in the science classes. As to the fact that there had not been a very adequate attendance at South Kensington, not so large as the hon. Baronet had hoped for, it must be obvious to the Committee that the South Kensington Museum was out of the way of the working classes, and that the British Museum at Bloomsbury was far more accessible from the North and East of London.

MR. NORRIS (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse) said, he thought that this was a question upon which the Government might very gracefully retire. The Government had expressed their opinion in regard to the opening of the Museum, and they had also stated the course which they were prepared to pursue. They were aware, from what the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London had said, of the opinion of the Trustees, and he thought that there could be no doubt whatever that the feeling of the Committee was in the direction of opening the Museum in the evening. He could not but think that the working classes would take advantage of the opportunity of attending the British Museum in the evenings of the week. Of course, it was a very different matter for them to attend the South Kensington Museum. The British Museum was situated in the centre of London, and therefore was very accessible to the working classes living in all quarters of the Metropolis. The cost, too, of opening the Museum would certainly be infinitesimal in the total expenditure of the country, and therefore he thought this was an occasion when all political sentiment might be put aside and they might legislate for the benefit of the people. He believed the working classes could be trusted, and that the treasures collected at Bloomsbury would be perfectly safe in their hands. Frequently there were very dense fogs in London, and when they prevailed in the day time the Museum was open. Personally he could not see that any greater danger would ensue from the Museum being opened in the evening than from its being open in a London fog, or until darkness set in in the winter months. As he had said, this was an occasion when the Government might at once consent to fall in with the opinion generally expressed in the Committee. At any rate, he hoped that a trial would be given to the suggestion, for he felt that the carrying out of it was calculated to promote the best interests of the people.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he thought that the Committee was under some misapprehension as to the attitude of the Government. Having heard the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London express a view in favour of opening the Museum at night, or, at all events, of that portion of the Museum which was called the Natural History Museum, the Government would certainly afford every facility for the attainment of that end. They had not hitherto received the assurance of the Trustees in favour of the project, but he wished to remind the House that, after having made this declaration, the adoption of the Motion to reduce the funds available for the British Museum would be a misfortune, while it would not effect the object aimed at by its supporters.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he would like to have the matter perfectly clear. The Government had first, through their spokesman, the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, said that the Trustees were not prepared, he thought—[MR. JACKSON: I did.]—to accept the responsibility of opening the Museum at night. That, of course, involved the idea that the Government wished to throw the responsibility upon the Trustees. [MR. W. H. SMITH: No, no!] The right hon. Gentleman said "No, no!" Did he understand that the right hon. Gentleman considered that the statement made by the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock), who was a Trustee of the British Museum, gave them full authority and power to open the Museum at nights? [MR. W. H. SMITH: Yes.] Then in that case he thought it would be possible to withdraw the Motion, because, without going to a Division, he had gained the

Government over. Let him, however, point out to the right hon. Gentleman that it was hardly fair to use the argument that, if they were to agree to a reduction of £500, they would reduce the amount necessary to carry on the Museum. That was a mere technical objection, because everyone knew that often, when an increase was desired, a reduction was moved. That was a roundabout way of doing the thing; but it was according to Constitutional usages of which he was a supporter. If they had carried the reduction, it would not have followed that any blame was attached to the authorities of the Museum. The attitude of the right hon. Gentleman had not, however, rendered a Division necessary. Even if the Vote had been reduced by £500, no doubt, as had been done before, the Committee would have agreed with the original Vote on Report. He asked leave to withdraw his Motion.

MR. ILLINGWORTH (Bradford, W.) said, that before the Motion was withdrawn, it would, perhaps, be as well that they should consider the equity of the case. There was no doubt whatever that London would receive the main advantage from this projected change, and while anyone would agree that the original installation might fairly come out of Imperial funds, it would be but a reasonable thing, as a matter of equity between the Metropolis and the country, if one-half of the cost were to come out of the London rates. They had had a discussion on the identical principle in regard to the London Parks. The Metropolitan Members advocated this change an the ground that it would be a great boon to the working classes of the Metropolis. Now, every other town had to provide its own Museum. It was argued that the British Museum was a National Museum, but certainly the Metropolis received the principal advantage from its existence. He therefore suggested to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that when he came to carry out the details it would be worth his while to see that at least one-half of the cost of maintaining the Museum was defrayed out of the London rates.

MR. JACKSON said, that perhaps he might be allowed to make an explanation. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) appeared, he was going to say, to throw doubt—[MR. LABOUCHERE: Not intentionally.] What he (Mr. Jackson) had endeavoured to convey was that, while the Trustees were willing under pressure to agree to the opening of the Museum at night, they would not accept the responsibility, but threw the responsibility of doing so upon the Government. Perhaps it would be as well he should read one passage from the correspondence with the Trustees. They said that they were prepared to do this—that was to open the Museum at night—

> "On the responsibility and at the call of the Government. They cannot themselves urge the adoption of the measure at the present time, and they would again recommend that, if evening opening is adopted, it should, in the first instance, be restricted to the Natural History Museum."

That, he thought, conveyed the views he endeavoured to explain.

MR. PICTON said, he protested against the doctrine uttered by his hon. Friend the Member for West Bradford (Mr. Illingworth) that the British Museum was, in any special sense, the property of London. His hon. Friend had said that Londoners reaped the principal advantage of the Museum, and that they ought, therefore, to pay at least one-half the cost, just as the hon. Gentleman contended that the cost of maintaining the London Parks should be defrayed out of the local rates. But the London Parks were matters of local recreation, while the Museum was a matter of National information. A man could not carry the Parks away from London, but a man who went to the British Museum, and studied there, carried the knowledge he obtained wherever he went. The British Museum existed for the information of the whole nation; they might as well say that the citizens of Oxford ought to pay part of the cost of keeping up the University of Oxford. The British Museum was as National in its character as was the University of Oxford.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Original Question again proposed.

MR. HOWORTH asked that some answer might be given to the suggestion he put earlier in the debate—namely, that any balance of the grant remaining unexpended at the end of a year might be allowed to accumulate instead of

being returned to the Treasury. Such a rule existed in the case of the Scotch Museum.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) said, that the point had been more or less under the consideration of the Government, because they saw some force in it. The Government would carefully consider the suggestion, which was one applicable not only to this particular Vote, but to several others.

MR. LABOUCHERE was glad to hear that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would favourably consider the suggestion made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Salford (Mr. Howorth), which appeared to be a most reasonable one. It was a bad system that they should allow the British Museum a fixed sum per annum, and that if the Trustees did not expend it in the year they should not be allowed to carry it over to the subsequent year. It was possible under such a system that the Trustees would buy things which were not of very great value rather than hand back any balance to the Treasury. In a particular year they might have occasion to buy something of great value, but be unable to do so, because they had not sufficient funds at their disposal. He certainly thought there would be very little opposition on the Liberal Benches to the suggestion made.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he thought that the work accomplished that evening would be incomplete unless they were to go a little further. An instalment had certainly been gained for the people against the privileged, but anyone who listened, as he did, with interest, to the remarks which fell from the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) could not fail to be impressed with the force of his argument in favour of the Sunday opening of Museums. It appeared to him (Dr. Tanner) to be an incomprehensible thing that the British Museum—the National Museum—should be closed upon the very day upon which many people could only visit it. He quite agreed that it was most important that the British Museum should be thrown open in the evenings for the benefit of the people of the City of London, but it must be borne in mind that many people visited the Metropolis from all parts of the Kingdom and stayed over the Sunday. People who had not a club, like so many hon. Members of the House, found very great difficulty in knowing how to spend a Sunday in London.

MR. WEBSTER rose in his place, and claimed to move "That the Question be now put;" but the Chairman withheld his assent, and declined then to put that Question.

Debate *resumed.*

DR. TANNER asked if such people might not reasonably be permitted to visit on the Sunday such an Institution as the British Museum? He was very sorry to be interrupted by the hon. and learned Member for East St. Pancras (Mr. Webster), who, living in London, had frequent opportunities of visiting the Museum. Other people did not live in London, and had not frequent opportunities of inspecting the Museum upon week days. It was, however, very likely that such people would take the advantage, if it were afforded them, of visiting the Museum on the Sunday. He wished to afford hon. Members an opportunity of expressing their opinion upon the question whether the Museum should be open on Sundays or not. Therefore, he begged to move the reduction of the Vote by the sum of £250.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the reduced sum of £61,109 be granted for the said Service."—(*Dr. Tanner.*)

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 24; Noes 137: Majority 113.—(Div. List, No. 297.)

Original Question put, and *agreed to.*

(3.) £4,429, to complete the sum for the National Gallery.

MR. W. H. JAMES (Gateshead) said, he wished the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) would inform the Committee how long the policy of starvation was to be pursued in regard to the National Gallery. In the earlier part of the Session he addressed a Question to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) upon the Correspondence which had passed between the Trustees of the National Gallery and the Government in regard to the grant of £10,000 which had been suspended

since the purchase of the Blenheim pictures. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied to him at that time that it was undesirable that the Correspondence should be laid before the country, on the ground that it was expedient in these matters that there should something in the nature of continuity of policy. The right hon. Gentleman led the House to suppose that at the time of the purchase of these works of art something in the nature of an agreement was entered into between the Government and the Trustees, that the annual grant should be suspended until such time as the sum given for these priceless works of art had been covered. He (Mr. W. H. James) had referred to the documents laid before Parliament on this subject, but he was unable to glean from them anything in the nature of an agreement. But he was prepared to go further, and to maintain that, whether there was an agreement or not, the House should determine whether an institution like the National Gallery ought to be deprived of the very small pittance which had annually been been granted to it. He should be most anxious to hear from the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury on what grounds he supposed there was anything in the nature of an agreement between the Trustees and the Government. But, assuming that there was such an agreement entered into, he (Mr. W. H. James) thought that the opinion of the country was favourable to the resumption at an early date of the grant. The non-existence of the grant, he contended, had been the means of depriving the nation of the acquisition during the last two or three years of several very important works of art. For instance, in June of this year a picture by Vandyke was purchased at Christie's for £2,500, and it had since found its way to Berlin. Last year a very valuable picture by Vandyke was sold, and he believed it had since been sent to America. Two years ago there was also for sale a very interesting portrait, by Romney, of Lady Hamilton reading Lord Nelson's despatches containing an account of the battle of the Nile, and that also, he believed, had found its way to a foreign country. During the present year six pictures by Reynolds were disposed of, and there was a general impression that the buyer had agreed with the Trustees of the National Gallery that one or more of these works of art should be possessed by them, and that the payment should be deferred to such time as the grant might be renewed; in other words that there was an agreement mortgaging the grant, and that appeared to be a most unsatisfactory arrangement for the Trustees to have to make. He again asked the Government why, considering the enormous sums which were required for other purposes, the National Gallery should be deprived of this small pittance? In those days we spent £500,000 upon an iron-clad, and it was well known that in a few years after its construction the question was raised as to whether it was seaworthy or battleworthy. When we spent recklessly these enormous sums on the defences of the country, was it worth while that the Government should treat such an Institution as the National Gallery with such a niggardly hand? He hoped his appeal to the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury would not be in vain, but that before very long the annual grant would be renewed.

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) said, he thought he could answer the hon. Gentleman's appeal in a manner which would be satisfactory to the hon. Gentleman. He would not go into the whole question whether there was an agreement to suspend the annual grant until such time as the amount spent upon the Blenheim pictures was covered. He thought, however, that practically there was such an agreement. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] Well, he thought there was. [Mr. W. H. JAMES: When?] Perhaps the best answer he could give to the hon. Member was that the Government had decided to make some modification next year, and he hoped he might be able to put on the Estimates for next year a sum which the hon. Member would agree was fair and reasonable.

DR. FARQUHARSON (Aberdeenshire, W.) said, he was very glad to hear the statement of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury, because it had struck him that the treatment accorded to the Trustees of the National Gallery had been, to say the least of it, shabby. There was one point to which he desired particularly to draw attention. Undoubtedly, the National Gallery was the finest collection of its kind in

the world, but the Trustees were placed in a very awkward position. If they got any more additions to the Gallery, either by purchase or gift, it would be impossible for them to hang them, unless they were to sky them, or destroy the admirable classification which had been introduced. He would not press the point now, but content himself by asking the Government to consider the Report of the Trustees upon this head, and see whether they could not acquire a piece of ground adjoining the Gallery, which might, in the future, be of very great service as a site upon which to enlarge the Gallery.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he had no desire to delay the taking of the Vote; indeed, he only rose to ask whether anything had been done in regard to lighting the National Gallery by electricity, a subject which he brought under the attention of the House last year?

MR. JACKSON said, that the Trustees were of opinion that the time had not yet come for the adoption of a system of electric lighting.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) said, he thought that the Committee might fairly demand some distinct assurance from the Secretary to the Treasury that ample and suitable provision would be made for the reception of such pictures as might be from time to time acquired by the nation.

Vote *agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported upon *Monday* next.

Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

LAND CHARGES REGISTRATION AND SEARCHES BILL [*Lords*].

(*Mr. Haldane.*)

[BILL 356.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. HALDANE (Haddington) said, the object of the Bill was to reverse a decision of the Court of Appeal which declared that a Receivership Order should create a blot in title and affect a purchaser even without notice. In consequence parties had been brought into grievous loss without any fault of their own. The Bill had the assent of the Government, subject to Amendments suggested by the Board of Trade, and which he was quite ready to accept.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Haldane.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 7, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 8 (Receiving orders in bankruptcy).

On Motion of Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, the following Amendments made:—Page 3, line 27, leave out "a receiving order may," and insert "every receiving order made under 'The Bankruptcy Act, 1883,' shall, on publication in *The London Gazette*"; lines 28 and 29, leave out "on the application either of the official receiver or of the trustee in bankruptcy, or," and insert "and shall be vacated"; lines 31 and 32, leave out "and may be vacated pursuant to an order of that court."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 *agreed to.*

Clause 10 *struck out.*

Clauses 11 to 17, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 18 (Searches).

On Motion of The ATTORNEY GENERAL, the following Amendment made:—Line 16, after "Act," insert "on payment of the prescribed fee."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 19 and 20 *agreed to.*

Bill *reported.*

MR. HALDANE said, he hoped that the general consent of the House would allow the Bill to proceed through the remaining stages.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight) said, he had some doubt whether it would not be expedient, on consideration, to restore Clause 10, which had been omitted in Committee. He thought all the Amendments really necessary were those in the name of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). It would be better to defer the Report stage.

Bill, as amended, to be considered upon *Tuesday* next.

PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (RETURNING OFFICERS' EXPENSES) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Esslemont, Sir George Trevelyan, Mr. Hunter, Mr. M'Ewan.*)

[BILL 47.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Objection being taken,

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) said, he thought it desirable the House should know the intentions of the Government in regard to this Bill. On a former occasion it was objected to by the Lord Advocate, but the Bill was introduced very early in the Session.

MR. SPEAKER: Objection having been taken, the hon. Member cannot debate the Bill now.

MR. ESSLEMONT said, with the permission of the Speaker, he wished to make a little explanation of the circumstances.

MR. SPEAKER again reminded the hon. Member that objection had been raised.

MR. ESSLEMONT said, he wished to have the Speaker's ruling under the exceptional circumstances in which the Bill was——

MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member wishes to ask a question I do not think objection will be made to that, but against debate, of course, the objection holds good.

MR. ESSLEMONT said, if the House would extend its indulgence to him he had not the slightest intention of debating the Bill. He merely wished to ask the House to listen to a narration of the circumstances in which the Bill was placed — ["Order, order!"] — in order that he might put a question to the Government in regard to it. The circumstances were very exceptional. The Bill had been delayed from time to time in hope that the Government would offer an opportunity for bringing it forward. ["Order, order!"] That opportunity had not been afforded, and he now asked whether it was the intention of the Government to give an opportunity for the discussion? If the Government would give no such opportunity he must withdraw the Bill.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he was very sorry it was not in his power to offer the facilities for the Bill the hon. Gentleman desired. It was obvious that when the Government had been obliged to abandon many of their own measures they could not find time for the Bill of the hon. Member, however important it might be.

MR. ESSLEMONT said, that being so, he would withdraw the Bill.

Order *discharged.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

BANKRUPTCY LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir Albert Rollit, Bill to amend the Law relating to Bankruptcy, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir Albert Rollit, Colonel Hill, Mr. Woodall, Mr. Forrest Fulton, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Charles Wilson, and Mr. Gully.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 384.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Twelve o'clock till Monday next.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, 19*th November*, 1888.

Their Lordships met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Four o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock

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HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, 19*th November*, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee Resolutions* [November 16] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILL—*Motion for Leave*—Land Purchase (Ireland), *debate adjourned.*

PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL — *Ordered* — Local Government (Ireland) (Kilrush and Cappoquin).*

QUESTIONS.

RAILWAY RATES AND CHARGES ACT, 1888—THE LAY COMMISSIONERS.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he is now able to communicate the names of the two lay Commissioners to be appointed under "The Railway Rates and Charges Act, 1888?"

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): I am able to inform the House that in accordance with the provisions of the Act of this year I have submitted the names of Sir Frederick Peel and Mr. Price as lay Commissioners, and Her Majesty has been pleased to approve of them.

MERCHANT SHIPPING—SIGNALLING AT SEA.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he can state when the Departmental Committee, appointed last year by the Board of Trade to inquire into the whole question of signalling at sea, will make their Report; whether Her Majesty's Government received last summer an invitation from the Government of the United States to join in an International Conference to consider this question of signalling at sea, and the possible amendment of the International Regulations of Navigation; and, whether that invitation had been accepted; and, if so, when the proposed Conference will be held?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, that the Departmental Committee was still engaged in considering the question of signalling at sea; and as it was necessary to communicate with the Governments of countries interested some time must yet elapse before the Committee could report. Her Majesty's Government had received an invitation to the International Conference, which, he understood, was to take place in April next. Correspondence had passed between Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government as to the subjects to be dealt with by the Conference; and the question whether the invitation should be accepted was still under consideration.

NAVY—COALING ARRANGEMENTS IN THE HOME PORTS.

ADMIRAL MAYNE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the experiments mentioned by him as being carried out last year at Portland, to ascertain how far the recommendations of the Coaling Committee of 1885 can be practically applied, had resulted in any decision on the part of the Admiralty to take any steps to improve the present notoriously faulty arrangements for coaling Her Majesty's ships in the Home ports?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): A commencement was made this year in giving effect to the recommendations of the Committee, and a further advance will be made in the forthcoming financial year.

NAVY—PAY AND POSITION OF SIGNALMEN.

ADMIRAL MAYNE (Pembroke and Haverfordwest) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he will lay upon the Table the Report of the Committee on the pay and position of the signalmen in Her Majesty's Navy?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The recommendations of the Committee appointed to consider the question of improving the pay and position of the signal staff of the Navy have been approved and are being acted upon. I do not think it advisable to lay the Report of the Committee on the Table of the House.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS—REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the attention of the Public Prosecutor is being directed to the Report of the Royal Commission on the Metropolitan Board of Works, with a view to taking criminal proceedings against certain parties mentioned in that Report?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The Report of the Royal Commission was, in the month of August last, submitted through the Treasury Solicitor to the Law Officers of the Crown, with a view to taking criminal proceedings against the person who was most seriously affected by the Report, and who was not protected by any indemnity. The Law Officers, however, have advised that, in the existing state of the law, there is not sufficient evidence to justify a prosecution.

POST OFFICE—ALLEGED OPENING OF LETTERS.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he will consent to the appointment of a Select Committee of this House to inquire into the specific charge against Postmaster Brame, of opening a letter in transit through the Ryde Post Office, such letter being addressed to one J. Rabson, Mount Street, Ryde; whether he has received two statements in writing from Robert Fry and Edgar Hunt, containing specific and detailed allegations that Postmaster Brame had given an order through the chief clerk, Mr. Bright, that all letters addressed to John Rabson were to be detained; whether a Post Office clerk, Brady, on or about October 26, wrote out a notice of such order and posted it in the sorting room at Ryde Post Office; whether, on October 26, a letter addressed to John Rabson was actually opened by Postmaster Brame, read by him, and re-sealed; whether, on this letter being handed for delivery to letter carrier James Young Newnham, another letter carrier, Edward Fairhall, drew Newnham's attention to the fact that the letter had been opened; whether, thereupon, letter carrier Newnham refused to take the letter until he received special instructions from Head Clerk Bright; and, whether the Postmaster General will lay the Correspondence upon the Table?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): I have received statements in writing from Robert Fry and Edgar Hunt containing specific and detailed allegations that Mr. Brame, the Postmaster of Ryde, had given an order that all letters addressed to John Rabson, clerk in the Ryde Post Office, were to be detained, and that on the 26th of October Mr. Brame actually opened, read, and re-sealed a letter addressed to Rabson. I have caused a searching investigation to be made on the subject, and the facts elicited are as follows:—At the request of a police constable in the Post Office service, who had arrested Rabson on a charge of felony, the chief clerk, Mr. Bright, put up a notice in the sorting office, which was written out by the clerk Brady, that all letters for Rabson were to be detained. The intention was that they should be handed to the constable for conveyance to Rabson, who was then in prison. On the 26th of October, the day after Rabson had been committed for trial, the first and only letter for him since his arrest arrived. It was addressed to him, "care of the Post Office," and not, as the hon. Member appears to have been informed, to "Mount Street, Ryde." This letter was immediately taken into the Postmaster's room, where the police constable happened to be, and was shortly afterwards returned to the sorting office, with an intimation that, as Rabson had been released on bail, the letter should be delivered at his residence. It was at once given to the proper postman, Newnham, and its delivery was, therefore, in no way delayed. Edward Fairhall, another postman, states that he drew Newnham's attention to certain marks on the envelope, which seemed to him to suggest that it might have been opened. Newnham, while denying in Fairhall's presence that the latter intervened in the matter, says that he noticed that the envelope was slightly torn, and asked Mr. Bright for instructions as to what he should say to the addressee. But no one is able to say that the envelope did not present precisely the same appearance when it had been first sent into the Postmaster's room; and there is, therefore, no evidence to refute the emphatic declarations of the Postmaster and the police constable, who are both of long service and good character, that the letter was not any way violated while in their possession, or with their knowledge. A postman, who is stated by Mr. Hunt in his letter to me to have said in the presence of others that he had actually seen the Postmaster open the letter, read it, and re-seal it, has declared in the most solemn manner, and is prepared to verify his statement on oath, that he neither saw anything of the kind nor told Mr. Hunt that he had seen it. Mr. Hunt has been informed of this postman's evidence, and he has declined to avail himself of an offer that it should be repeated in his presence, or to produce the other persons before whom he alleged that this specific allegation had been made. The hon. Member will understand that I make no charge against either Mr. Fry or Mr. Hunt of having wilfully made any false charge. But I am disposed

to believe that an exaggerated view of the case grew up in Mr. Hunt's mind from the undoubted order given to detain Rabson's letters, together with the suspicious appearance of the envelope. I do not think the Postmaster acted as prudently as might have been desired in the matter; but I do not hesitate to accept his positive assurance that he did not open the letter in question. I do not believe that any further information can be elicited by a Parliamentary inquiry.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SITTING IN WEST WICKLOW.

MR. BYRNE (Wicklow, W.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When the Land Commissioners will hold their next sitting in West Wicklow; whether it is true that the tenants on an estate in Donard, County Wicklow, have had ejectments served on them for one year's rent three days after it was due; whether the County Court Judge, in the case of Terence Higgins, accepted half a year's rent in settlement; and, whether, on a rent of £18 5*s*., valuation £13, the tenant was mulcted in £2 costs.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. Madden) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Commissioners report that it is intended to have a sitting of a Sub-Commission at Baltinglass next January for the western portion of the County Wicklow. I understand that there were only two cases of ejectment entered at last Sessions from the Donard estate, and that in one of these only was there but one year's rent due. This was the case of Terence Higgins, which is mentioned in the Question; but it is not the fact that it was settled by the County Court Judge in the manner alleged. He made a "nil" order in the case. As regards the last paragraph, assuming that it relates to the case of Higgins, whose rent, however, was £18 9*s*., not £18 5*s*., there were no costs awarded by the Court.

AFRICA (EAST COAST)—BRITISH SUBJECTS IN THE GERMAN PROTECTORATE.

MR. BARTLEY (Islington, N.) (for MR. J. M. MACLEAN) (Oldham) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the statement made in the Indian newspapers is correct, that more than 1,000 of Her Majesty's British Indian subjects, engaged in trade on the East African mainland within the limits of the new German Protectorate, have had their business ruined, and been driven from their homes, and forced to take refuge in the Island of Zanzibar, through the disturbances caused by the misconduct of the German Company's agents; and, whether the Foreign Office intends to claim compensation for their losses from the German Company, and, failing the Company, from the German Government?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Many British Indians, the precise number of whom is not known, have taken refuge at Zanzibar in consequence of the hostile attitude of the Natives, who have risen against the authority of the Sultan, and in fear of the reprisals which might follow. These persons are, no doubt, deserving of the utmost sympathy; but the circumstances of the case do not appear to Her Majesty's Government, in point of International Law, to warrant diplomatic action in the sense indicated in the latter part of my hon. Friend's Question.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (SCOTLAND) — BOARD SCHOOLS IN STIRLINGSHIRE.

MR. J. C. BOLTON (Stirling) asked the Lord Advocate, with reference to the Memorial presented to the Secretary for Scotland, signed by 53 head masters of board schools of Stirlingshire, and schools included in the district of Her Majesty's Inspector for the county, in which it is alleged by the Memorialists that "the educational position of Stirlingshire has been seriously lowered since the appointment of the present Inspector," If it is intended to take measures to ascertain whether their complaints respecting the Inspector are well founded?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): My Lords cannot admit that, if it is true that "the educational position of Stirlingshire has been seriously lowered since the appointment of the present Inspector," this is due to that appointment. They are at all times ready to examine any evidence regard-

ing the standard of any particular Inspector, and they are in frequent communication with the Chief Inspector of each division for this purpose. They are also ready to investigate any complaint with reference to a specific case if supported by the School Board, or other school managers. But it is contrary to their practice to deal with criticisms of a general character upon an Inspector made by the teachers of the schools he may be instructed to visit. They feel that they could not depart from this practice without serious injury to the Public Service.

MERCHANT SHIPPING—COLLISIONS AT SEA.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, having regard to the great and increasing frequency of collisions at sea, he has satisfied himself that these are, for the most part, due to inevitable natural causes and the crowded state of the seas, or whether there is any reason to suppose that they are to any considerable extent attributable to any defect or deficiency in the Rule of the Road at Sea, or in the Maritime Regulations; and, in the latter case, whether he will consider the advisability of consulting the responsible authorities of other countries with a view to improving these Rules by general agreement?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said, the first part of the Question was matter of opinion rather than fact. He did not himself think there was reason to suppose that collisions at sea were to any considerable extent attributable to any defect or deficiency in the Rule of the Road at Sea. That was one of the subjects, amongst others, to be considered by the International Conference next year.

MR. CHANNING (Northampton, E.) asked whether the captains of the great liners running to America had been consulted on this matter by the Departmental Committee; and whether their opinions corresponded with those of the Assistant Secretary of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked for Notice of the Question?

ARMY—NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION—REMOVAL FROM WIMBLEDON.

MR. COGHILL (Newcastle-under-Lyme) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, having regard to the great importance to the Volunteers of a central and convenient site being selected as the new Wimbledon, and to the difficulty the Council of the National Rifle Association feel in making a final choice of a site, he will give the Members of this House an opportunity of expressing the views of their constituents on the question; and, whether he will consider the wishes of the large majority of the Volunteers, who regard the Cannock Chase site as the most suitable and most readily accessible from all parts of the Kingdom?

SIR TINDAL ROBERTSON (Brighton) said, he should like to put the same Question, with Brighton substituted for Cannock Chase.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) inquired whether the Secretary of State would consider the advantage, both to the Volunteers and to the Regular Army, of a range at Aldershot?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): I am not surprised at the interest which hon. Members take in this question. The first portion of the Question of the hon. Member (Mr. Coghill) involves an assumption I cannot admit. The hon. Member seems to suggest that this House should undertake functions which properly belong to the Council of the National Rifle Association. I have no reason to doubt that that Council will arrive at a conclusion which will be satisfactory to the Association and to the general body of the Volunteers; but I am not called upon to express any opinion in favour either of Cannock Chase or of Brighton, or of any other site at present under the consideration of the Council. As regards the Question of my hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield, any suggestions of the Council of the Association for closer association with the Army, by holding the annual meeting at Aldershot, shall have full consideration. There is much to be said in favour of the general principle.

MR. COGHILL asked whether, notwithstanding its importance, the right

hon. Gentleman intended to take no action in the matter?

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he had at present before him communications from the Council of the Rifle Association. The responsibility of the choice of a site rested with the Council. The proposals laid before him were under consideration.

PRISONS (IRELAND)—IMPRISONMENT OF — GRIFFIN IN CORK MALE PRISON.

MR. HOOPER (Cork, S.E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the month of October, a lad named Griffin, from the Ballinspittle Petty Sessions District of County Cork, was confined in Cork male prison; what was his offence, and what was his age; whether he was confined to hospital for any period; whether he had for companions in the same hospital room two adult prisoners; whether one of these had been removed from the ordinary cells some days previously because of his indecent language; whether it was found impossible to compel him to desist from his obscenity until he was strapped up in a punishment cell in what are called handmuffs; and, whether he will issue directions to prevent the association of men of such a character with young lads in the future?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The General Prisons Board report that the reply to the first paragraph of the Question is in the affirmative. The offence was holding forcible possession. The lad's age is 15. It is the case that he was removed by order of the medical officer to an association ward in the hospital, where there were two adult patients; but it is not the case that either of these adults had been removed there from his ordinary cell because of indecent language, nor was either punished for or guilty of any obscenity while in the ward.

MR. HOOPER: Does the hon. and learned Gentleman mean to say that one of these men was not punished anywhere in the prison for using indecent language?

MR. MADDEN: My information is that such was not the fact.

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—RIOT AT CLASHMORE—CASE OF HUGH MATHESON, COTTAR.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether the Government intend to give any compensation to Mr. Hugh Matheson, who was unjustly imprisoned in connection with the Clashmore riots?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): The Question of the hon. Gentleman assumes that Hugh Matheson was wrongly convicted. That matter, however, is at present under the consideration of the Secretary for Scotland on an application for a free pardon and compensation. The decision on this application has been delayed at the request of persons in Scotland, who desired to present further information on behalf of Hugh Matheson.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—TRANSLATIONS INTO THE WELSH LANGUAGE.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN (Denbighshire, E.) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, in view of the grave inconvenience experienced by a large number of persons in the Principality of Wales interested in the provisions of the Local Government Act, who are unable to read or understand what is to them a foreign language, he will now take steps to have that Act translated into Welsh?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): I cannot undertake to issue an edition of the Local Government Act in Welsh. I should doubt whether there was a considerable number of persons in Wales who desire to make themselves acquainted with the details of the Act, and who understand no English; but if there be any substantial demand for a Welsh translation of the Statute, I think there is good reason to expect that a translation will be supplied by private enterprise.

MERCHANT SHIPPING—SAVING LIFE AT SEA ACT—COMMITTEE.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he has nominated a Committee under the Saving Life at Sea Act of this Session to advise upon the Rules to be made under it; and, in such case, of whom the Committee consists, and particularly how the safety of the seamen and passengers on merchant ships is represented thereon?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.) in reply, said, that a Committee had been appointed, and had held its first sitting.

VENEZUELA—SUSPENSION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, Camlachie) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Law Officers of the Crown have reported that, notwithstanding the suspension of diplomatic relations between Great Britian and the United States of Venezuela, the latter Republic was a friendly Power for all purposes under the Foreign Enlistment Act; and, whether he has any objection to lay the case submitted, and the opinion given, upon the Table of the House?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): Her Majesty's Government are advised that Venezuela is a "friendly Power" within the meaning of the Foreign Enlistment Act. It is not usual to quote the opinions of the Law Officers.

CRIMINAL LAW—SENTENCES.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to a practical grievance of long standing, arising out of the law by which the duration of a sentence is measured from the day of a convicted person's reception into prison, so that prisoners who, after sentence, pass a night in the custody of the police suffer one day's additional imprisonment; and, whether there is any objection to committing Courts being required to give the date at which the sentence is to commence, as Military and Naval Courts now do?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The day from which a sentence is reckoned varies according as the sentence is pronounced at the Assizes, at Quarter Sessions and at Petty Sessions. This variation, however, is the result of the existing law, and legislation would be necessary to compel uniformity. The hon. Member is, no doubt, aware that a Bill was introduced with this object in 1885; but that the difficulties surrounding the subject led to the Bill being dropped.

SEA FISHERIES REGULATION BILL.

MR. ROWNTREE (Scarborough) asked the President of the Board of Trade, If the Government will use its influence to pass the Sea Fisheries Regulation Bill into law this Session, it having already passed through the various stages in the House of Commons?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.) in reply, said, that he had every hope of passing the Bill this year.

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887—CHARGE OF INTIMIDATION BY AN EMERGENCY MAN AT BLARNEY.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to a case tried before a Court constituted under the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act, sitting at Blarney, on Monday last, when a charge of intimidation was preferred by an Emergency man named Alexander Fitzpatrick against a foreman operative in Mahony's Mills, Blarney; whether it is a fact that, after five witnesses had been heard for the defence, and 11 more proferred, the case was summarily dismissed; how many outrages perpetrated by Emergency men have been heard during the past 12 months at the Blarney Petty Sessions; and, whether a prosecution for perjury will be immediately instituted against Fitzpatrick? The hon. Gentleman, in putting the question, said: In the much lamented absence of the Chief Secretary, I beg to ask the Solcitor General for Ireland No. 24.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): I am informed that it is the case—a man named Michael Spillane was prosecuted at the suit of Alexander Fitzpatrick, a caretaker of an evicted farm, for having threatened and intimidated him. The magistrates, having heard five witnesses for the defence, and there being no corroborative evidence for the prosecution, decided to dismiss the case. No outrages of the nature referred to in the 3rd paragraph have been heard at the Blarney Petty Sessions during the past 12 months. The Authorities see no ground to adopt the course suggested in the last paragraph.

DR. TANNER asked for a more definite answer to the third part of his Question. How many outrages—out-

rages pure and simple—had been committed?

MR. MADDEN replied that, so far as he was informed, no outrages of this sort had occurred during the last 12 months.

DR. TANNER said, he would repeat that portion of the Question.

THE PETROLEUM TRAFFIC—EXPLOSION IN CALAIS HARBOUR.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) (for Lord HENRY BRUCE) (Wilts, Chippenham) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been directed to the alarming explosion on board a petroleum vessel in Calais Harbour last month endangering life and property; and, if he can give an assurance to the House that the Regulations for such traffic in the Port of London and throughout the United Kingdom are such as to minimize a similar risk occurring therein?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) (who replied) said: The Home Office Authorities are now engaged in collecting information relative to this accident. As regards the prevention of similar accidents in this country, statutory powers already exist enabling Harbour Authorities to insist on valuable precautions; but it is desirable that these powers should be strengthened by further legislation. I have accordingly prepared a Bill for this purpose, which it is my desire and intention to introduce at as early a period as possible.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—PURCHASES.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he can state what number of holdings have been purchased under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885, of the annual value of from £50 to £100, and how many above the annual value of £100; and, in respect of how many holdings have the applications for purchase been refused, on the ground that they were of such a nature as not to afford sufficient security for loans by the State, or that the rate of purchase agreed upon was excessive?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Purchase Commissioners report that the number of holdings purchased under the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885, of the annual value of from £50 to £100 was 568, and the number above the annual value of £100 was 260, making together 828. Applications in respect of 1,198 holdings have been refused, on the ground that the security for the loans applied for was not deemed sufficient; 529 of these cases were, however, subsequently sanctioned for reduced amounts.

THE MAGISTRACY (ENGLAND AND WALES)—SENTENCE ON A VOLUNTEER AT EXETER.

MR. SEALE-HAYNE (Devon, Ashburton) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the report in *The Devon Evening Express*, of the 10th instant, of the proceedings of the Exeter Bench of Magistrates, who sentenced Henry Gothard, a member of the 1st Volunteer Battalion Devon Regiment, to one month's imprisonment with hard labour, without the option of a fine, for firing a rifle, on November 5, from an upper window of his residence into a court below; whether he had received a Memorial signed by over 2,500 inhabitants of Exeter, praying for the remission of a portion of the sentence; and, whether he will advise Her Majesty to comply with the prayer of this Memorial?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Yes, Sir; my attention has been called to the case, and I have received the Memorial in question. I have been in communication with the Justices, and am informed by them that Gothard, on the 15th, gave notice of appeal, and he has accordingly been released upon the usual recognizances. Under these circumstances it would not be proper for me to express any opinion upon the case.

CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT—HOURS OF OUT-DOOR OFFICERS.

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) asked Mr. Chancellor of the

Exchequer, Whether the fixed hours during which officers of the out-door department of the Customs have heretofore been required to remain on landing and shipping duty without extra remuneration—namely, 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. for eight months, and 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. for four months of the year—were recently extended at Liverpool, Hull, and Grimsby; and, whether these alterations are to be regarded as experimental; and, if so, whether he can give any assurance that this experiment will not be confirmed and extended to other ports until it has been clearly established that such alterations do not involve any extension of the afore-mentioned hours of labour without additional remuneration?

THE SECRETARY TO THE TREASURY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) (who replied) said: In answer to the Question of my hon. and gallant Friend, I beg to explain that it is not intended that any officer of the out-door Department of the Customs should be required to work on the average a larger number of hours than hitherto. The case really stands as follows:—Hitherto they have, as a rule, been required to give attendance from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. in summer, and from 9 to 4 in winter; but it has been found that a great portion of the work required to be done in the busier ports has to be done between 6 and 8 in the morning and between 4 and 6 in the afternoon. The present hours of attendance, which were fixed many years ago, are no longer applicable to the general course of trade and to the requirements of the shipping community. The difficulty has hitherto been met by extra remuneration being given to the Custom House officers by the merchant, for working between 6 and 8 and between 4 and 6; but it is believed that by a different distribution of the hours of work the system of overtime, which is liable to many abuses, may and ought to be, to a great extent, remedied. It is believed that the aggregate work is no more than can be performed by the existing staff of officers working on the average eight hours a day. If the officers consider themselves aggrieved, their grievance will be not that they are asked to work more hours a day for the same remuneration (for that is not the case), but that they lose the chance which they have hitherto had of earning overtime money within the extended hours. I understand that in some cases this overtime amounts to a considerable addition to the salary; but it is surely impossible to contend that the shipping and trading public should be called upon to pay for overtime when, by a more intelligent arrangement and distribution of work, such overtime would not be necessary.

DOMINION OF CANADA—COMMERCIAL UNION WITH THE UNITED STATES.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been directed to the movement in America to establish commercial union with Canada, and to the debate last April in the Dominion Parliament in favour rather of commercial union with the Mother Country; and, if it is in contemplation to seek more definitely the feelings of the Colonies upon the effect an Imperial commercial understanding might have on their development if the Foreign Treaties now prohibiting it were modified?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Her Majesty's Government are, of course, aware of the circumstances stated in the first part of the Question; but they do not consider that any useful ends would be attained, under present circumstances, by the adoption of the course suggested by my hon. Friend.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS—REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION—PARAGRAPH 94.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the attention of the Government has been directed to paragraph 94 of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Metropolitan Board of Works; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will undertake to propose to Parliament next Session the legislation recommended in the said paragraph?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The attention of Her Majesty's Government has been drawn to paragraph 94 of the Report of the Commission on the Metropolitan Board of Works, and they sympathize with the object sought to be attained. The subject is being carefully examined; and I hope it will be possible for the Government to propose to Parliament to deal with it next Session.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS—ANNULMENT OF LEASES.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is now able to state whether the Government will take such action as may be necessary to annul all the leases granted by the Metropolitan Board of Works which, according to the Evidence taken before the Royal Commission, have been obtained by bribing the officials, or giving colourable employment to members of the Board?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, that it was not in the power, nor did he hold it to be the function, of Her Majesty's Government to take the steps suggested by the hon. Member. If there were any legal ground for annulling the leases granted, it rested with the Local Authorities to take action in the matter.

AUSTRALIA—QUEENSLAND--APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR—SIR HENRY A. BLAKE.

MR. PRITCHARD MORGAN (Merthyr Tydvil) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, in view of the strained relations between the Government of Queensland and the British Government, will he appoint a special day for the purpose of giving the House an opportunity of expressing its opinion on this important subject?

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) also inquired what reply had been sent to the telegram of the Prime Minister of Queensland?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The Government do not consider it desirable to appoint a day for the discussion of the relations between this country and Queensland, as such discussion, in their view, would be premature and injurious to the public interests. The Acting Governor has been informed by telegraph that the subject is receiving the serious consideration of the Government; and I am confident a solution of the difficulty will be arrived at by the exercise of moderation and good sense on the part of the authorities at home and in the Colony.

SCOTCH BUSINESS — BURGH POLICE AND HEALTH (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. ESLLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he has been informed that the question as to the expediency of proceeding this Session with the Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill was fully considered by the ex-Lord Advocate and a Committee of this House in view of a Local Government Bill next Session of Parliament, and that by plurality of opinions expressed it was decided to proceed on the distinct understanding that the Government desired to pass the Bill in the present Session; and, whether, in view of the great loss of time and serious impediment to the progress of a Local Government Bill for Scotland which the postponement to next Session of so large and complicated a measure will involve, the Government will reconsider their decision to abandon the Bill?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) in reply, said, that the Bill to which the hon. Member alluded having been withdrawn on the 15th instant, it was too late now to ask Her Majesty's Government to reconsider their decision on the matter.

AUSTRALIA—QUEENSLAND--APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR—SIR HENRY A. BLAKE.

MR. HOZIER (Lanarkshire, S.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he had seen a letter in *The Times* of to-day on the subject of Sir Henry Blake's appointment to the Governorship of Queensland, in which it was stated that on a recent occasion "The whole business" of the colony

> "Was kept in suspense. The cable with England was set to work, and day after day the Queensland Parliament met, expecting to hear from England. 'The Secretary of State and the Under Secretary are out of town,' wired the Agent General;"

And whether there was any foundation for the suggestion?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): This statement is utterly incorrect. The first heard of the matter was a telegram from Sir Anthony Musgrave of September 4, which mentioned that de-

spatches on the subject had been sent the week before. The Secretary of State replied by telegram on the 5th that he awaited the despatches. The same day the Agent General sent to the Colonial Office copies of telegrams from his Government. The letter was received on the 6th of September. On the 7th of September the Secretary of State telegraphed to Sir Anthony Musgrave as follows:—

"I should have preferred to wait arrival of despatches; but under the circumstances, and assuming that no extra Colonial interests are involved in case, my opinion is that you should act on advice of your Ministers."

METROPOLITAN POLICE—RESIGNATION OF SIR CHARLES WARREN.

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention had been drawn to the concluding paragraph of Sir Charles Warren's letter in *The Times*, in which he said—

"I can only express my astonishment at the statements attributed to Mr. Matthews last night; and I venture to assert that an entirely different impression would be conveyed to the public mind about my action if the correspondence were to be made known;"

and, whether the right hon. Gentleman was prepared to take up the challenge thus publicly thrown down, and lay the correspondence upon the Table of the House?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have seen the letter in question. I have already read to the House the correspondence in which Sir Charles Warren declined to accept the instructions of the Secretary of State. That is the correspondence to which I referred in the statement I made on the subject to the House.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman's attention was called to the following statement in Sir Charles Warren's letter:—

"In many cases, while accepting directions given me which were to all appearance contrary to the Statute, I have entered a protest, and while protesting I have taken legal advice."

Would the right hon. Gentleman give the House some information on this point, so that the House might know who was responsible for certain recent events?

MR. MATTHEWS said, if the hon. Member put a Question on the Paper he would answer it.

MOTION.

—o—

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): In rising to make the Motion which stands in the name of my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. A. J. Balfour) for leave to bring in a Bill further to facilitate the purchase of land in Ireland, I ask from the House that kind indulgence to which I am not altogether a stranger. I feel sure that the whole House will join with me in regretting the indisposition which causes the absence of the right hon. Gentleman from this House, though that absence may, I trust, only be for a short time, and will bear with me while I, however inadequately, and at short notice, attempt to discharge the task which he would have discharged if he had been able to be in his place to-day. I am somewhat relieved from anxiety when I reflect that the task before me is to propose the continuance by this House of a measure which has succeeded beyond all others in achieving what has hitherto been regarded, by the representatives of all Parties, as of paramount importance in Ireland—namely, the multiplication in that country of the number of occupiers who own the land they till. In order to appreciate the success of that measure, it will be necessary for me to ask the House to follow me while I briefly refer to the history of the legislation on this subject. I think the first attempt—certainly the first substantial attempt—to deal with this question by general legislation was by means of what are known as the Bright Clauses of the Land Act of 1870. I will not detain the House by going into the details of these clauses, but their scheme was to provide from Imperial funds two-thirds of the purchase-money to tenants desirous of purchasing their holdings, the re-payment being calculated at 5 per cent and extending over 35 years. For certain

reasons, into which I shall not enter, these clauses had no very extended success. The total number of tenants purchasing under this Act was 824, and the money advanced was £518,716.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): What was the number of peasant proprietors created?

MR. MADDEN: I suppose that the number of peasant proprietors will correspond, originally at least, with the number of applications granted. Then followed the Act of 1881, the provisions of which were still more liberal to the intending purchaser, as regards the Imperial Exchequer, than the Act of 1870. Under this Act three-fourths of the purchase money was advanced, and the annuity was calculated upon the same basis as before; but under this Act I find there were only 731 purchases, and the money advanced amounted to £240,554. These were the two Acts of general application which were in existence before the Act of 1885. There were also, however, some valuable provisions as to the purchase of glebe lands by a special class of tenants under the Church Act of 1869. The tenants of the Church lands were offered a right of pre-emption of their holdings before those holdings were offered in the market to the general public. I find that much greater success attended the operation of that Act than either of the two others to which I have referred. I find that 6,000 tenants became purchasers under that Act, and the gross amount of purchase money—not the amount of the advance, which will be nearly three-quarters of the gross amount—was £1,674,000. With those Acts appended to the Statute Book the question was again brought before this House in the month of May, 1884, by the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan) when he introduced his Land Purchase Bill. Now, not to go into the details of that measure, the Bill proposed to advance a sum of £20,000,000 from the Imperial Exchequer, in annual sums not exceeding £5,000,000, there being provisions for local guarantees of repayment, and other matters to which I need not refer, because they are absolutely irrelevant to my present purpose. But the fact remains that the Government of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) were prepared in 1884 to advance £20,000,000 from the Imperial Exchequer to enable the occupiers of land in Ireland to become the owners of that land. Now, in introducing that measure to the House the right hon. Baronet said—

> "The Government believe, and earnestly believe, that the social and political state of Ireland and its agricultural condition are such that there never was a country in the world in which it is more important that many of those who till the land should own it. They recognize that former legislative attempts to bring this about have not met with the success that could be wished. . . . My belief is that in the course of time, if not immediately, the tenants will begin to see what a great boon is offered to them; and then no advice in the world, coming from whatever quarter it may, will prevent them from taking the chance that is given them."—(3 *Hansard* [288], 1511-26.)

The Bill was not proceeded with in that Session of Parliament. Then, in the year 1885, the Land Purchase Act, which is now the existing law of Ireland, and with which the name of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland is so honourably associated, became law. The main differences between that Act and its predecessors and the Bill which was presented to the House by the right hon. Baronet the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow are these. The whole of the purchase-money is advanced by the State, and the terms of repayment are provided by an annuity calculated on the basis of four per cent upon the purchase-money for a period of 49 years. In that respect the provisions are more liberal than the terms of the former Act, since the annuity in that case was 5 per cent for 35 years. Under the Act of 1885 the State obtain the protection of a cash guarantee by the landlords' deposit of one-fifth or more, that guarantee being the protection between the Treasury and any possible loss which, rightly or wrongly, was substituted for the local guarantee finding place in the proposition laid before the country in 1884. Now, I have heard it stated that the Act of 1885 was received with a chorus of approbation; but I wish to correct one slight error in that statement. There was one portion of that measure that was not so received—namely, the limitation of the amount to £5,000,000. I find that the Liberal Attorney-General—Mr. Walker, the Law Officer of the Government who had introduced the Bill of 1884, and was in the House of Com-

mons in 1885—speaking from the Front Opposition Bench, said that he did not think £5,000,000 at all sufficient, but described it as a ridiculous sum for such a purpose, and referred in terms of commendation in this particular to the Bill of 1884, which offered the sum of £20,000,000 from the Imperial Exchequer. But I find that objections to the Bill on this clause were not confined to the right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench. The hon. Member who now represents West Belfast (Mr. Sexton) had an Amendment on the Paper increasing the amount guaranteed under the Bill to £20,000,000. How did the measure develop itself? It was accepted by the Representatives of all Parties in the House, and I will ask the House whether hon. Members, who were willing to spend £20,000,000 on what was then an untried experiment, can now refuse a much smaller grant to what is a proved success? In all respects, except as to the amount of the grant, the Bill met with unqualified approval. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) said—

"I have always held, sinde making my entry into public life, that it is eminently desirable that the Irish Land Question should be settled permanently upon the basis of occupying ownership. My mind has not at all been altered by the passage of the Land Act of 1881."—(3 *Hansard* [300], 1105.)

I find, too, in looking over the debates in the House of Lords that Earl Spencer also approved the measure. He said on the 21st of July, 1885—

"If Ireland is prosperous, and law and order are maintained in that country, if intimidation is kept down, and if men of various classes may follow their lawful occupations without interference from voluntary and unlawful associations, then, I think, this Bill will have some chance of success, and certainly no one wishes it more success than I do."—(*Ibid* [299], 1351.)

Now, I come to the all-important question, Has this Act belied the expectations of those who were in favour of it when it was presented to the House? Let us test it from every point of view. What is the avowed object of all legislation of this kind? It is to increase, upon fair and just terms, the number of occupiers who are owners of the land they till. I have stated the small number—not including those under the Church Act—of peasant proprietors whom either the Act of 1870 or the Act of 1881 succeeded in bringing into existence. I turn to the proceedings under Lord Ashbourne's Act of 1885, and I find that, bringing my calculations up to the 31st of October in the present year, there were 14,338 signed agreements for purchase. Now, of these transactions 8,632 have actually been closed, leaving of pending transactions 5,706. I do not mean that those closed transactions exhaust the £5,000,000; but the total amount of applications made would exceed the £5,000,000 by something like, in round figures, £1,000,000 sterling. The total amount of advances applied for under the Act is, as I have stated, £5,986,000—substantially, £6,000,000, according to the latest figures, and perhaps now it is over £6,000,000. So much for the extent of the operation of the measure, and for its success in creating a large number of peasant proprietors. Now, how have the applications been distributed? I will take them by provinces. I find that in Ulster there were 7,711 applications; in Munster, 2,730; in Leinster, 2,336; and in Connaught, 1,561. As regards Connaught, I observe a very remarkable and encouraging fact from the examination of the papers. I find that the disproportion between the applications from the province of Connaught and those from the other three provinces is disappearing. In 1886, I find that there were only 185 applications from Connaught, but others have since been received, bringing the total up to 1,561. Another question, a very important matter, in regard to the distribution of this money, in addition to that of local distribution, is the question of distribution having regard to the nature and character of the farms bought. The figures in relation to that point, based upon rental, are as follows, brought up to October 31 of the present year:—Under £10 rent, 3,599 holdings purchased; between £10 and £30, 3,234; between £30 and £50, 884; and over £50, 915.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): The figures which the right hon. Gentleman gave me with respect to the last item are not 915, but 868.

MR. MADDEN: Well, Sir, the figures which I have stated are those which have been supplied to me. The difference is not very great; but I rather fancy that the figures which I have read

are substantially accurate for the period mentioned. These figures show how large a proportion of the advances have been given to the class which, I think, every Member of the House would like to see become owners of the land they till—namely, the occupiers of the small holdings; and the comparatively small number of applications by tenants over £50 shows that this Act has not led, to any very large extent, to any but those who might fairly be called peasant proprietors becoming the owners of the land they till. So much for the application of the Act—the extent to which it has been applied, the number of peasant proprietors, the class to which they belong, and the manner in which they are scattered over the whole of Ireland. I now come to another point—has the operation proved reasonably safe to the British taxpayer? As to that point, the figures which I shall lay before the House are, I think, eminently satisfactory. The total amount accrued due from the passing of the Act to the 1st of May of the present year is, omitting the odd figures, £90,000. On the 1st of November of this year, of the whole £90,000 there was only uncollected £1,767. And I am told that, between the 1st of November and the 9th that sum had been reduced to £1,300, and is now £1,100, and there is every reason to believe that that also will disappear as completely as any balance of the kind can ever be expected to do. In fact, the entire of that sum, with the exception of £170, represents the instalment which became due upon the 1st of May of the present year. Therefore the matter stands thus:—Of the whole amount of £1,767, now reduced to £1,100, due on the 1st of May, only £170 became due before the 1st of May of the present year. I do not think that more satisfactory figures could be given having regard to the large amount at stake, the immense number of transactions, and the variety of the persons concerned. Now, with regard to the general prospect of the collection of the annuities from the tenants purchasing as peasant proprietors, there are some figures in the last Report of the Commissioners which I wish to put before the House. I mentioned the large number of tenants who had taken advantage of the provisions of the Church Act to purchase their farms. The terms of purchase which must be considered with regard to the collection of arrears were more unfavourable to the purchasers because, though buying at a price which it was open to them to refuse or accept, it was yet not the same voluntary transaction between landlord and tenant as a purchase under the present Act. The tenant was offered a right of pre-emption before his holding was offered to the public. It was a question for each tenant to consider whether he would take the terms of pre-emption, or allow his holding to be sold over his head. Those terms in ordinary circumstances would be considered high. The tenants under the Church Act paid, on an average, 22 2-3 years' purchase of what would now be regarded as a rack-rent. That was at a time when the value of land was high in Ireland—in the years after 1869. If we take the experiment then found, and inquire now what is the amount of arrears due from the tenants purchasing under such circumstances, I think we need not despair, but, on the contrary, we may take a rosy view of the prospects of collection from purchasers under the present conditions. The entire sum due to the Land Commissioners, who collect the money, is £54,315, of which £47,912 is due by purchasers other than tenants, such as the purchasers of perpetuity rents, &c., while only £6,403 is due by tenant purchasers. That is a circumstance of the most hopeful augury with respect to any scheme of land purchase in Ireland. I have reminded the House, and it is important that we should bear it in mind, that the State is to advance the whole of the purchase-money. It may occur to some hon. Members that that is a somewhat risky transaction. Of course, if you proposed such an arrangement in regard to a purchase of land let to tenants—a purchase of the reversion on their tenancies—it would be a risky transaction, because you would be advancing what might be taken to be the whole amount of the value of the property, leaving no margin whatever for the protection of the lands. But what are the circumstances now? You have this remarkable advantage—which you could have in no other transaction—you obtain as a security not only the interest of the landlord, but the interest of the tenant, and anyone acquainted with Ireland knows that, in a large num-

ber of cases, the interest of the tenant exceeds the interest of the landlord. [*Loud Home Rule cheers.*] Exactly. Hon. Members who are acquainted with Irish affairs will not contradict me when I say that the saleable value of the interest in the land, which the law has given to the tenants, is, in many cases, greater than the interest which the landlord, rightly or wrongly, still possesses. That is a fact which it is material to bear in mind with respect to the security offered by the tenant. In some instances from 10 to 25 years' purchase, or even in exceptional cases up to 40 years' purchase, has been given for the tenant's interest. I have here a list of cases in which the price paid for the tenant-right in the open market was greater than the price paid for the fee simple. For instance, in the case of a holding of 40 acres, valuation £22 10*s.*, rent £24, while the price paid for the fee simple was £425, the price paid for the tenant-right was £470. That is only one of many instances. Therefore you have as a security for the State advances not only the thing which you buy, but something which you do not buy, something which the tenant already has, and which the State gets as a security. So much for the operation of the Act of 1885. There is testimony from many quarters as to the benefits which may be expected to result from extending the principle of the Act. It is within the knowledge of the House that a Commission was appointed to inquire into the working of the Act, which reported in 1887. The Commission was known as Lord Cowper's Commission; it examined over 300 witnesses of all classes and from all parts of the country. There was a general consensus of opinion in favour of purchase, and though there was some difference as to whether it should be voluntary or compulsory, I find no difference of opinion, certainly no substantial disagreement about the beneficial working of the Act of 1885. The Report of the majority of the Commission is in these terms—

"We are strongly in favour of the continuance of the experimental policy embodied in the great Act of 1885 as a means of largely increasing the number of land proprietors in Ireland."

I examined the Report of the dissentient Commissioner, and although he differs on some points from the other Commissioner, he does not differ from them on that point. In addition, testimony has been borne to the working of the Act by a number of persons representing all classes and all shades of opinion. I shall not trouble the House by reading many extracts, but there are one or two expressions of opinion to which I would call attention. In *The Times* of the 14th of August, 1887, these words of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) are given—

"In the Act of 1885 we come very near the right principle."

In *The Times* of April 11, 1887, I find that Sir Gavan Duffy says—

"The Ashbourne Act is working fairly well. It is promoting a change on which there is a general consensus of opinion—the peaceful transfer of the soil to the cultivator. Why not leave well enough alone?"

Mr. Bright, so recently as the present year, writes as follows:—

"I cannot think it possible for the Government to suspend the operation of the Ashbourne Act. To continue it is the only good thing they could do. To give it up would be a fatal mistake."

And I find in *The Times* of February 9, 1887, the following observation by the right hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley):—

"I cannot imagine any terms that could be more favourable to the tenant than the terms of Lord Ashbourne's Act."

Well, Sir, I have heard the Bill spoken of as a landlord's Bill, and it did not seem to me to be altogether irrelevant that the right hon. Gentleman, who is not generally considered an advocate of the rights of landlords, considers the terms of this Bill as the most favourable to the tenant that he could conceive. In a letter from Mr. Tuke, who has carefully studied the Irish Question, which was published in *The Times* of October 24 of the present year, he said—

"He thought that a further extension of the principle of Lord Ashbourne's Act would be of the greatest service in certain districts."

The value of that testimony is that it is founded on experience of the beneficial influence of this Act upon those who are enabled by its provisions to become owners of the soil they cultivate. Among the various criticisms of this Bill which have been made it has been called a treaty of peace between the State and

the purchaser. That expression was used in a speech directed against the extension of the Act. But it will not be so regarded by the majority of Members of this House. Sir, it is the hope of the Government to widen the borders within which that peace reigns. Another objection which has been raised to the operation of this Bill is that it places the State in a position which it ought not to occupy, and it has been pointed out by some as the possible result of a possible course of events, by others as a matter of threat that there may be a strike against payment of annuities by tenant purchasers in the future. There are some considerations of great importance which occur to me in that connection. First of all let us consider the position of the purchasers under this Bill. They occupy no uniform position. One man may have paid five or six instalments and have acquired a substantial interest by payment of money out of his own pocket in his holding. Is he likely to join—is there any probability in his taking line with a man who may have bought his holding only yesterday and loses nothing if he gives it up? Another consideration is that this Act is voluntary and gradual in its operation. ["No, no!"] The hon. Member says "No." He will have an opportunity of proving that this Bill does not operate by way of voluntary contract if he can. I challenge any hon. Member to make good the statement, which I presume from the interruption it is intended to suggest, that it is other than a voluntary system of purchase. That is one of the secrets of its great success. No purchase entered into voluntarily between landlord and tenant can afford a moral ground for repudiation. When you regard its voluntary and gradual operation, and the fact that it is bringing into that operation persons with different interests, I think you will see the very great safeguard against the evil suggested—a suggestion which is entitled to the utmost respect and consideration—that the State occupies such a position in regard to the land that a strike against payment of annuities might be made use of as a weapon against the State. As a matter of fact the Land Commissioners, as the guardians of the public purse, are interposed between the State and the purchaser. It is the duty of the Land Commissioners —and they have so far discharged it with perfect satisfaction—to see that the State is saved from undue risk. That duty is not performed in a perfunctory manner. The Commissioners have carefully scanned the applications made by intending purchasers, and have refused upwards of 1,100 of those applications on the ground of insufficient security. That was a substantial and a real safeguard. If the State is safe, and if this Bill has succeeded beyond all its predecessors, and if the transaction can be carried out without substantial danger to the State, I ask on what grounds will the House refuse what is asked of it? Let the House consider that there is no rival scheme of purchase before it. The question is simply one of dropping this successful scheme of purchase on the one hand, with no alternative on the other. ["No, no!"] I am, of course, well aware of the Notice which stands in the name of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. The Motion of the right hon. Gentleman in terms refers to an alternative, but in truth and in fact it suggests no alternative to the proposition of the Government. I do not intend to discuss the Motion, nor would I be in Order in so doing. I leave it to the right hon. Gentleman to explain how legislation with regard to arrears or evictions can be offered as an alternative to a system of land purchase. The questions of arrears and of evictions have indeed some bearing on the question of land purchase. But it is not that which the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman suggests. In the case of each purchase, those questions are settled by voluntary agreement between landlord and tenant, arrears are wiped out, and eviction becomes impossible. But, as to the bearing of those topics on the Motion which I have the honour of moving, there may or may not be a necessity for legislation on the subject of arrears. There may or there may not be suffering connected with eviction, which it would be within the province of law to prevent. Think what you will, legislate as you please, on those subjects. But while you discuss, or even while you legislate, why should you suspend the operation of an Act which is solving, and solving successfully, another branch of the Irish Question—the transfer on fair terms to the occupying tenants of the ownership of the soil which they till. The right hon. Gentleman proposes

no rival scheme of purchase. The true alternatives before the House are, on the one hand, the abandonment of the scheme of land purchase in Ireland, and, on the other, the extension of the Act to a degree which would have appeared to hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite moderate and even niggardly in 1884 and 1885. Even if the working of Lord Ashbourne's Act had been comparatively a failure, would you have flung it aside unless some better solution of the question was proposed? Sir, I claim for the Act of 1885 that it has achieved a great and signal success. I claim for it success in an endeavour which has enlisted the most earnest efforts of statesmen of all Parties for well nigh a score of years. I claim for it success where all other efforts have failed, and I confidently appeal to the House to adopt the Motion which I have the honour to bring before it.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill further to facilitate the Purchase of Land in Ireland by increasing the amount applicable for that purpose by the Land Commission."—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): Sir, I cordially join in the regret expressed by the hon. and learned Gentleman at the beginning of his speech with reference to the cause which, I hope only for a short time, prevents our having the advantage of the presence of the Chief Secretary for Ireland. But I am bound to say, on the other hand, that the manner in which the hon. and learned Gentleman has treated this question from his own point of view—that is to say, the point of view of a supporter of the plan now proposed—leaves, in my opinion, nothing to desire and nothing to regret. Sir, I wish to say one preliminary word with regard to the form in which this question is brought before us—I mean that we are now in apparent contrariety to what in other times has been the practice of the House, and what has been thought to be a practice of the House founded upon most important considerations. We are now discussing not a Motion for a Committee with a view of bringing in a Resolution for a grant of money, nor a Resolution of that kind in Committee, but a Motion for the introduction of a Bill, which Bill, if it be passed, will allow the expenditure of £5,000,000 of public money, which at present is not devoted to the purpose now intended. Sir, I am as far as possible from questioning your decision upon a matter which I have no doubt has been carefully considered; and likewise I must frankly own that on the present occasion, at any rate, there is a positive practical convenience in the shape in which this question is presented; because it enables us at once to consider whether it is desirable to proceed upon the lines marked out by the hon. and learned Gentleman, or to proceed upon other lines such as are described in the Amendment. But so important is the question, and so desirable—I might almost say so necessary—is it that the House should be aware what are the cases in which, and the conditions under which, measures for the advance of public money can be dealt with without a preliminary Committee, that I venture to express the hope that some record may be made of this transaction which will tend to mark out both the authority on which we are now proceeding—as to which I do not entertain any misgiving—and likewise as to the manner in which, upon general considerations, in the granting of money, the ancient Privileges and ancient Orders of the House are to be maintained. In hoping that there may be such a record, I would also point out, what I have always regarded with regret, that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) and the Government are now using, for the purposes of a question greatly controverted in this House, that time which they have obtained from the House on the plea and distinct expectation—I think I may say the engagement—that controverted subjects were not to be discussed. When the right hon. Gentleman made his Motion on that subject, the Motion received from me a support which I believe was thought by some Gentlemen on this side of the House, and possibly on the other side, to be too warm. But the right hon. Gentleman is aware that I had not at the time the smallest expectation that any controverted matter was to be laid before us during what then appeared to be the limited and exhausted residue of the Session. I am quite aware that on another subject relating to a Commission now sitting, the pledge that was given was entirely disregarded

and broken; but breaking the pledge once does not set the breaker of it free to break it on a future occasion; the pledge has a reviving force, and I say that in obtaining the time of the House the right hon. Gentleman's pledge was that controverted matters were not to be submitted to the House. This controverted matter is, however, submitted to the House, and not only so, but submitted with the threat of the most stringent of all methods of proceeding—that is, that the Bill is to come before us *de die in diem* until it is disposed of. Both with regard to the mode in which the power of pressing this Bill was obtained, and with regard to the manner in which it is to be pressed, I do not intend to detain the House, but I think it right to enter my protest against a mode of proceeding which, in other days, is, I believe, totally without example. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman may say that this ought not to be a controverted matter. That is the very question that we are going to discuss. But how does it come to be a controverted question? I have endeavoured to point out by the form of the Amendment that the plan we propose is not necessarily or properly a Motion to stop the action of Lord Ashbourne's Act. If it had been the pleasure of Her Majesty's Government to submit to the House this plea—that the action of Lord Ashbourne's Act ought not to be stopped at this period of the Session, but that the subject ought to be reserved for discussion in the coming Session of Parliament, and if, in consequence, the Government had thought proper to ask for a limited sum of money which would be sufficient to carry on the present course of transactions until February or March, undoubtedly many gentlemen on this side—and I rather incline to that view myself—would have cheerfully accepted such a method of proceeding and have placed the Government, as far as we were concerned, freely and even, under the circumstances, readily in a position to go forward with their transactions and to submit the matter at an early date in 1889 to the deliberate consideration of Parliament. Therefore the hon. and learned Gentleman is entirely wrong in saying that we submit to the House no alternative. The proposition that we submit to the House at the present moment is this—that the subject of arrears, with all that it contains, is the one really urgent subject which is primarily entitled to the attention of Parliament. But I do not desire on this occasion to stop the policy of Lord Ashbourne's Act. Whatever I may think of its dangers, I do not think that this is the moment when it can be properly discussed. I do not object to the Bill now before the House because it proposes to keep alive that Act for the moment until it can be fully considered; but I object to it because it involves us in a fresh approbation of this policy, and evidently aims at these things. In the first place, it is manifest that the intention of its proposers is to withdraw the subject of Irish land purchase from the view of Parliament for two or three more years. I say that that is not a right course to take, and that from your own point of view you ought to have proposed that money should be taken sufficient to allow transactions to go on, and then that the Government should avail themselves of the first opportunity during the coming Session to consider the matter at large and see whether this be a sound policy and one that ought to be extended or not. I say that the first object of this plan is to withdraw the subject from the view of Parliament for two or three years. But it does a great deal more than that. I wish to say, by way of parenthesis, that it is not to be supposed, and it hardly can be supposed, that Gentlemen on this side are insensible to the value and importance of the question of land purchase in Ireland. I am not one of those who desire to see the landlords of Ireland removed as a body and as a class from Ireland. I think that there is much to be admired in the conduct of those landlords. I want them to be not less Irish but more Irish than they are now, and I wish to see them residing on their properties from which so many of them are absent. But no one can say that the disposition of Gentlemen on this side of the House has been either to withhold from the landlords of Ireland fair opportunities of parting with their estates, or to undervalue the question of a peasant proprietary. The hon. and learned Gentleman has referred to Acts which he well knows were proposed and carried on our responsibility for the purpose of creating a peasant proprietary; and he has availed himself of those Acts as if

they were precedents for the proposal now before us. It is necessary to point out that he does not seem to be at all conscious that the principle of those Acts was totally different from the principle of the proposal now based upon Lord Ashbourne's Act. I shall not consider at this moment merely the question of £5,000,000. That sum of £5,000,000 is intended to be a precedent for other £5,000,000. It is intended to draw the House on by slow degrees into a defile from which there is no escape; to obtain presently approval by the House, first on one occasion and then on another, without seeing what we are about, to a system under which the land of Ireland is to pass to a very large extent into the hands of the State, and the State is to be the immediate landlord of the occupier, with no guarantee covering it. Could anything be more different from that than the proposals made from this side of the House? When my right hon. Friend the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan) laid before the House the widest of those proposals—and undoubtedly it is not on a question between £5,000,000 or £10,000,000 or £20,000,000 that we at any time are disposed to join issue, provided that the plan be safe and the policy well-founded—when my right hon. Friend made that proposal he laid down in very distinct terms this proposition—that it is impossible to ask the taxpayers of the United Kingdom to show confidence in the farmers of Ireland—that is to say, so as to make them purchasers by an advance of the whole sum—unless the taxpayers of Ireland evince that confidence themselves; and the liability of the tenants who have borrowed the whole sum from the State will have to be strengthened by a local guarantee, which was to be found in the county cess. Now the House will observe that it is not merely a question of pecuniary security—it is the avoidance of political danger. When the county cess was our security it was not a mere question whether £1,700 or £1,100 remains unpaid; and when the hon. and learned Gentleman took notice of that reduction in the amount unpaid, he did not tell us how much more has become due since the £1,767 began to be reduced. But as to dealing with these minor sums, I admit that it is not a great pecuniary question, but when we have the guarantee of the county cess on the failure of the occupier to redeem his engagement, we do not go to the occupier and fix on him the responsibility to the State, but we are enabled to fall back on the county cess for whatever amount we are entitled to. In the same way with the Church Act, in cases of purchase under that Act there was no guarantee and there was no need of a guarantee. And why? Because the terms of purchase offered were not terms that were likely to draw into the field any but men of a prudent and solvent character, and because they were to prove that solvency and the previous exercise of that prudence by depositing at once, if I remember right, about one-third, or, at any rate, a large portion of the purchase money. It was the same with the principle of what were called the Bright Clauses. They were so framed as not to say to the tenants, with the most dangerous approach to Socialism, "We are going to make you proprietors of your holding, and at the same time to reduce your rent." They were framed in terms the compliance with which would of itself show that the men who so complied were the picked men of their class, who would be an example to the community, and whose action, in itself highly beneficial, would have laid that foundation of a peasant proprietary on the principles of industry and of virtue. There is no precedent to be drawn from such a case for the proposal before us, which must be considered upon grounds entirely independent. I am strongly of opinion that we ought to make every effort—every reasonable effort—for the purpose of promoting the extension of peasant proprietorship in Ireland; but this I contend—that until the tenant has been placed in a position of security—until the means by which the landlord may exercise on him an intimidating pressure have been removed by sound legislation, it is utterly wrong that our plan for creating a peasant proprietary in Ireland should depend, and depend exclusively, on the initiative of the landlord. Now recollect that under this Bill, if I understand it aright, no peasant, however great may be his intelligence, his industry, his forethought, whatever be his savings, will have power to move except upon the initiative of the land-

lord. But on the other hand, every peasant, whatever be his position, may be put in motion upon the initiative of the landlord. I object entirely, Sir, in the present state of the law, which I will presently proceed to explain, to any plan which gives the exclusive initiation of land purchase to the landlord, whom I consider as the second, not as the first person to be regarded in all those questions, and entirely excludes the peasant from that initiative. This I must say—that if the Imperial guarantee is ever to be given for the purchase of land in Ireland, the security must be of the first order and must convey a moral certainty of recovery. It is a small question, I admit, with the sums we are now dealing with; but then, do the Gentlemen opposite confine themselves to the limited circle within which they now move? Do they think it is any material benefit to the State that in those particular cases where it happens to suit the convenience of a landlord to get rid of his property, small handfuls of peasant proprietors should be created to the extent of £5,000,000 or even £10,000,000? No, Sir; it is the large extension of that proprietary from which alone you can expect an important social action; and, therefore, I am obliged to consider the whole policy of the plan and the whole policy of the Government. I think, however, they will hardly themselves disavow it as aiming at that creation on a large scale. I must ask myself, therefore, what is the position of the State to be when multitudes of those transactions have taken place, when the demands for £5,000,000 have been repeated again and again, and possibly when they have given way, as far as the figure is concerned, to the proposal of much larger sums. It is in that extension and development of the plan that we must really examine and test the question of its soundness, and even the economical question cannot be disposed of in any terms short of these. I must own, in passing—I do not dwell on the point—that it has never been shown to me that the pecuniary terms of Lord Ashbourne's Act and the rate of interest paid to the Exchequer, combined with the costs of administration and of collection of money, are such as can, for any lengthened period of time, or, indeed, at all, recoup the Exchequer, even without any allowance for its risks. There is a more serious matter at issue than that, and as it requires a minuteness of examination that I cannot now give to it, I will pass on from that subject. I am obliged to assume, then, that we are to pass on to a large expenditure, and that it is idle to view these repeated proposals of £5,000,000 at a time as if they contemplated a small operation. If we give the second demand of £5,000,000, what are we to say to the third, and if the third, what to the fourth? We must regard the question in those dimensions to which the operation of the Act is intended to grow. How, then, does it stand? The Exchequer is to be the landlord, and security is to be found in 20 per cent of the money; but this is the first transaction of the kind that I ever heard of in which the security is to be found by the person who advances the money. It is usual that when security is found for carrying through a transaction it comes from a collateral source, and, without making a demand on the lender of the money, strengthens his position. Here it is simply this, the State is to lend 80 per cent of the money for the purpose of enabling the landlord and the tenant to settle their transaction together, and is further to advance 20 per cent of its own money as a security. But then we are to stand as the landlords of the Irish tenant-farmers, with no intermediate fund, no intermediate guarantee, no intermediate source to which to repair for the purpose of doing justice to the English taxpayer. Perhaps we shall have to take the emergency men into our employment, to go with our crowbars, backed by our rifles, for the purpose of enforcing those claims in the name of the State. Then, Sir, the hon. and learned Gentleman appeared to think that there was something quite marvellous in the fact that only £1,770 or £1,750 at a given date were due and unpaid. But the hon. and learned Gentleman ought to recollect that at least, according to my experience and belief, there has hardly ever been a country in which engagements of this kind and of all sorts have been met as they have been met in Ireland. I do not speak of times of exceptional excitement. I do not speak of times of positive inability to pay; but this I will say, that, viewing the value of the land he has held, and the amount of rent he

has had to pay, and the margin remaining for his own subsistence, my belief is that the Irishman, on the whole, has been the best rentpayer in the world. If hon. Gentlemen opposite desire it, I can give them an illustration taken from an estate in the County of Limerick. Before the recent disturbances, and before the recent reliefs, the estate was worth £15,000 a-year. There were 1,500 tenants upon it, and therefore the tenants averaged £10 apiece. The agent of that estate wrote to a relative of mine:—"I have just had my November rent-day, and the rents have been paid, as usual, without a single exception." I do not see, therefore, a case for triumph in the fact stated by the hon. and learned Gentleman, especially when we consider that the £1,770 represents three things. In the first place it represents capital value, then interest on the money of the State, and then a reduction of rent to the tenant. How, then, does this question stand? I believe that if there is danger in this measure it is not at all because the Irishman is less to be trusted than other people in regard to the discharge of his pecuniary engagements. Quite otherwise; but would you pass a measure of this kind on a large scale for Englishmen or for Scotchmen? Would you deem it wise to put the State into the position of a landlord with no remedy but eviction in the case of Englishmen or of Scotchmen? Nobody answers "Yes." I might proceed to ask is there any Gentleman who, happening to be blessed with a larger portion of this world's goods than most of his fellow creatures, and who is habitually on the look out for investments, who would like to enter permanently and on a large scale into a transaction of this kind? I should like to hear the answers from the Treasury bench to each of those questions. Now, Sir, non-payment of rent may arise from either of two causes. It may arise from want of means; it may arise from want of will. How does the case stand with regard to want of means? We have seen within the last three or four years, especially in Ireland, a collapse of agricultural value so large and sudden as to produce, almost entirely without notice, a real and absolute inability in many cases to pay rent and very largely to pay the existing rent. That may happen again. What is to be the position of the State if it does happen again? Can you tell us whether it is your intention for your £1,700 or your £1,100 or any other number of hundreds you like—which must grow to thousands with the extension of your plans, and may grow much higher still—is it your intention to fall back on eviction as the remedy? But what do the Government think themselves as to the other cause of non-payment of rent? The other cause of non-payment of rent is want of will. Is there any apprehension on that account? Have the Government full confidence in the pecuniary integrity of the Irish people? Well, Sir, we have got before us the recent words of the head of the Government. The head of the Government has, at a recent banquet, in the presence of a sympathizing statesman, referred to the position of the Irish people with reference to the management of their own affairs, and what he tells us is this. He says there is in that country a minority of 2,000,000 of people, and there, in my opinion, he draws upon his imagination in a manner hardly allowable to a statesman. But let that pass for a moment. After all, those 2,000,000, on his showing, are a minority; but there is also a majority of 3,000,000 of people, and when the majority obtain power, when they become constitutionally entitled to manage by due course of law their own affairs, what does the head of the Government say they will do? He says they will put down the 2,000,000 and the 3,000,000 will sit upon them and rifle their pockets. It is from these 3,000,000 that the peasant proprietors are drawn. You have got Ulster in a state which you can constantly make the subject of eulogy, and which at the same time you do not conceive to call for the most part for any great measure of change. But these 3,000,000 are the people of Connaught, the people of Munster especially, and no doubt of portions of Leinster and Ulster too. And it is these people whom you are going to make unsecured debtors to the Exchequer, and of whom you at the same time declared through the head of the Government, in the presence of a sympathizing statesman, that if they obtain the power of making laws in regard to local affairs, they will use that power for the purpose of rifling the pockets of their fellow countrymen. If they have no respect for their fellow-

countrymen, how much respect would they have for the English Government? I decline to take the shortsighted view to which the Government and the hon. and learned Gentleman, acting in the exercise of his duty, wish to confine me. I will not ask myself what is the position of the whole matter. It lies in a nutshell. I must ascertain the position which will prevail when it has attained its natural growth. I admit the possibility that the Irish occupier may again find himself unable through circumstances to meet his engagements. I admit the possibility that he may again become the subject of political excitement to the risks of which you ought not gratuitously to expose yourselves, but I show that according to the opinion of the head of your own Government these people, to whom you are going to lend money without security of any kind at a time, I am bound and grieved to say, when in my opinion from year to year you are making all the agents and representatives of the law more and more mistrusted in Ireland—when you are going to make them the debtors, the uncovered debtors of the State; although you believe that they cannot be trusted to respect the property of their neighbours, you think they may be trusted to respect the property of the Finance Minister of this country. Therefore, do not let it be said by anybody that I am speaking against plans of land purchase in Ireland. [*Ministerial Laughter.*] I think we have suffered pretty well for our efforts to promote land purchase in Ireland. And I think that a good many of those who are inclined to laugh profited a good deal by those endeavours at the elections. Now, Sir, my contention in regard to the Ashbourne Bill is this, that we are entitled to fair and full discussion of the question whether that is to be adopted as the true basis of land purchase in Ireland, and that it is an abuse of the Forms of the House, and of the legitimate principles and methods of policy to administer to us these homœopathic doses of a grant for a purpose which cannot be homœopathically dealt with; and that we have a right to look forward to the matter when it is extended to its own proper magnitude, and to review its merits in that state. Let that subject, I say, be considered with fair time, and under ordinary circumstances, and do not let us deal with it *de die in diem* in time obtained from us for totally other purposes. It requires a pledge of policy, we being perfectly ready to meet you if your object only were to prevent an inconvenient interruption of the course of transactions, and to hold over the matter for deliberate consideration when deliberate consideration is possible. Sir, in that sense I am for adjourning to the Session of Parliament that is coming any general consideration of the land question, and against this precipitate attempt to inveigle us, or perhaps I may say to induce us to a piecemeal adoption of what ought not to be adopted piecemeal, but in the gross and with our eyes open. As against that I say that the urgent want of Ireland is a dealing with the question of arrears. It is the peasant who is now suffering from your want of dealing with that question. Why should we deal with the question of arrears? I need hardly answer that question for this side of the House, because on this side of the House, since the year 1885, we have struggled in vain to procure the recognition of arrears of unjust rents as fit matters to be dealt with. But, Sir, you acknowledge this necessity in the case of Scotland. Is there to be an equality of laws between Ireland and Scotland or not? Acknowledging it in the case of Scotland, why do you not acknowledge it in the case of Ireland? Was it unimportant in the case of Scotland? Why, Sir, our measure for Scotland would have been utterly crippled and ineffectual without the recognition of the arrears. What is the proof of that? The proof is—and I believe I shall state the figures correctly, and if not I may be corrected—that while the rents of the Highland Crofters were reduced at the rate of about 30 per cent, the arrears were reduced by very nearly double that amount. Why is that justice to be withheld from the people of Ireland? Is it less necessary in Ireland? No, Sir, it is a great deal more necessary in Ireland on account of one of the vicious social habits that has prevailed in Ireland—I mean the habit, not of remitting arrears, but of running them up almost without limits, a practice, as far as I know, wholly unknown on this side of the water. Yet in the Highlands, where the arrears

were comparatively natural and necessary arrears, we allowed them to be dealt with, and they have been dealt with in a manner twice as stringent as rents; but in Ireland you refuse to deal with them at all. That is a most grave subject, upon which I must for a short time detain the House. I wish to say one word about a statement of my own which has been attacked in language the character of which I will not describe, which has been attacked upon the basis of an imputation to me of saying what I never said. It has been stated that I spoke of a man who had been evicted for arrears in Ireland, whereas he had not been evicted for arrears. But I never said that he had. What I said about Ireland and arrears on that occasion was—and this, as being strictly relevant, I am bound to notice, although without any implications or reflections—what I said was this, that in my belief a very large proportion of the evictions in Ireland were due not always in form, but in substantial relation of cause and effect, to the arrears of rent; and I believe this to be true. I wish very much that her Majesty's Government would do what I take it they can have no difficulty in doing, that is, give us a list of tenants who have been evicted since the passing of the Act of 1887, and would state what was the amount of rent due from each of those tenants. I hope the Government will agree to that. It will be of great value, and will tend to throw light upon this question how far the refusal of the majority of this House to deal with the question of arrears has been the cause of these evictions which, as my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington) has said, and has said, in my opinion, to his honour, have been and still are wringing the hearts of the people. Well, Sir, this has more in it, I think, than appears upon the surface. I have shown that in refusing to deal with arrears you have established a gross inequality between Ireland and Scotland, and I have shown that you do that when the reasons for dealing with arrears in Ireland are special, and even higher than those which led you to adopt that course in Scotland. Now, Sir, what are the uses of arrears? I doubt very much whether there are many Members in this House who are unaware of the great use arrears can be put to by those who understand how to manage them judiciously. In the first place, as I have said, you can evict upon arrears, or you can evict upon the rent last due men who have been so crippled by their arrears that on that account they have been unable to meet their current rent. In the second place, you can, by means of these arrears, prevent your tenants from obtaining judicial rents. If they are in arrear you come down upon them with an eviction notice, and that eviction notice bars their obtaining a judicial rent. Is not that a great utility of arrears? Does not that throw light on the reasons why the Government and the majority of this House have thought fit to keep alive this question of arrears? It was not merely to give the landlord the benefit of the sum represented by the arrears which he generally knows he mostly can never recover; it was to make him the master of the Land Act and of the fortunes of his tenants; and the first mode in which he can do that is by preventing his tenants, through eviction notices following on the existence of arrears, from obtaining judicial rents, and therefore compelling them to remain without the relief which Parliament has intended for them, and which the Act of 1887 purported to give, and has, I trust, in many cases given. But supposing a tenant has gone before the Land Court, and has obtained a judicial rent, is he then secure? No. If there are still arrears of the old rent hanging over him what may happen and what has happened in this. The landlord appeals from the Land Court to the higher Court, and while the appeal is pending he serves an eviction notice, and when the appeal comes on his agent stands up in Court and says, "The case cannot go forward as the man is under an eviction notice. The man is therefore no longer a tenant, but only a caretaker, and is not in a position to obtain a judicial rent." These considerations show, I think, why it was that with much tenacity the Government refused to deal with arrears. The arrears are an instrument for baffling and nullifying the Land Act, and of reducing to servitude the tenants. I think it will be interesting, and perhaps it will be a novelty, for some gentleman to be told what I will proceed to prove—

namely, that the arrears may form, and do form, a most valuable instrument, not only for checking reductions of rent, not only of covering augmentations of rent, but actually of unsettling and destroying judicial rents after they are fixed. Now, Sir, I come to make a statement which is also a broad one, and I shall support it by a particular case. I have no personal knowledge of the matter. I do not live in Ireland. If I sat on the Benches opposite I should, no doubt, live in Ireland, but I have taken every effort in my power to ascertain the truth of this case, and I have been aided by an able and assiduous friend—a Member of this House, who will be ready and able, I have not the least doubt, to support what he had done—and I will give the particulars and names in the case and the dates, so as to show that in every point and particular it sustains the statements I have made, and these statements are very broad statements. One particular only will I hold back, and that is the name of the landlord. I never wish unnecessarily to bring any persons before the world in an invidious position, but those who think it material can ascertain, by making use of the geographical indications which I shall give, who is the landlord. No person would do that unlesss he had some really practical object. To the world at large it is quite unnecessary to deal with the name of the landlord; not to mention that in my opinion, not only the better landlords of Ireland, but even the worse landlords are in many cases to be looked upon as victims of an abominable system and cruel conditions, rather than as having themselves originated what is evil or unfair. And this is the declaration of a woman named Mary Connetan, the wife of an occupier of a small holding in the town of Faragay, in the County of Monaghan. The landlord lives in the County of Monaghan, so I will take it for granted that the place is in Monaghan. The old rent of the farm was £3 12*s.* Perhaps I ought to give some particulars of the estate. The estate is one which produces £20,000 a-year, and there are 2,000 tenants. Nearly 200 obtained judicial rents. Many more would have sought to obtain judicial rents but could not apply for judicial rents because they had upon their shoulders the unmitigated burden of the arrears of the past. In this particular instance—I will resume my reading—the old rent of the farm was £3 12*s.* It was reduced in the Land Court in January last to £1 18*s.* Here I will put in, by way of parenthesis, that the 200 tenants paid in the aggregate £2,382; this was reduced in the Land Court to £1,548, which, I believe, is exactly 35 per cent. In this instance the reduction was greater, being within 2*s.* of a reduction of 50 per cent. It was one of the cases appealed by the landlord. Observe—I hope the House will follow me—I pointed out that these appeals were the means of intercepting the system of judicial rents. In July, when the appeal was called in Court, the landlord's solicitors stopped the case by saying that an eviction notice had been served. That was true; the eviction notice had been served on the ground of the old rent unpaid, which rent had been reduced by nearly 50 per cent. The eviction notice being served, the whole affair fell entirely to the ground; the people remained in the condition of caretakers, subject to whatever rent their landlord might impose, together with the two years of the old rent unpaid and with the costs. This is the position in which the existence of these uncorrected arrears leaves the occupiers of Ireland who have not paid their rents. Well, Sir, they remained for some time thinking what they should do. At last, unwilling to be put out of their holding—whose attraction, one would think, could not have been very great; there were seven acres of land, and the seven acres, together with the dwelling, were worth only 38*s.* a-year in the view of the Land Court, or about 9*d.* a week—but still, with that fond affection for the locality which, I think, is one of the most honourable sentiments of a population, and among the greatest securities in the long run for their good conduct and obedience to the law, these poor people determined to sell everything they had in the hope of meeting the claim and of paying, together with the costs, the two years' uncorrected rent, which was twice as high as, in the judgment of the Court, it ought to have been. On the 1st of November they gathered the whole amount, two years' rent at £3 12*s.*—that would be £7 4*s.*, and the costs were, I think, £1 4*s.* 6*d.*, making a total of £8 8*s.* 6*d.* They carried this £8 8*s.* 6*d.* to the agent, and

what do you think was the answer? If he had said, "Aye, that will do," they might have become regular tenants again and might have obtained judicial rents. The answer was that he would keep them in the position of caretakers. The six months' redemption did not avail them; it was no advantage to them, as I understand, their position being caretakers. [*Opposition cries of* "Why not?"] They had become caretakers. The agent refused to receive the £8 8*s.* 6*d.* in satisfaction of the last farthing of the landlord's claim, unless the man would covenant by a new agreement to pay a higher sum than the judicial rent, which was 38*s.* He desired to raise that judicial rent to £2 7*s.*—an increase of 20 per cent, and thus to unsettle the arrangement made by the law and intended by Parliament for the tenants' benefit. Unless the man consented to this he was to remain as caretaker, liable at any moment to eviction and to all the disadvantages attaching in law to the position of an evicted tenant. Therefore I say by means of these arrears it is that the landlords in Ireland, where so disposed, are not only enabled to work the law so as to maintain their rents, and even to increase rents, by the terrors of the arrears imposed, but likewise even for unsettling and undoing the legal judicial arrangements already made in the Land Courts. I believe that these poor people did not choose to accept these conditions and go into slavery in the way proposed. I would point out to the House how these operations are connected with land purchase and with the conditions of Lord Ashbourne's Act. Lord Ashbourne's Act proposes to give a relief of 20 per cent upon the rent payable by the occupier. I will not complicate the question by entering into the consideration of what deduction ought to be made from that 20 per cent on account of the liability of the peasant purchaser to the payment of rates. I will assume the 20 per cent at present to be an integral relief, and I will not discuss this liability, because some people put it at 7 per cent and others at 5 per cent. *Primâ facie* there is a relief of 20 per cent. But look at the position in which the landlord, whom I have just quoted, is placed by Lord Ashbourne's Act. There is a quarrel between him and his tenant. His tenant wants to pay 38*s.*; he wants the tenant to pay £2 7*s.*, or 20 per cent more. Lord Ashbourne's Act enables him to come to his tenantry and say:—"Surely you can make no difficulty. You can consent to become tenants again"—knowing the intense anxiety to become tenants again—"you will not pay a single farthing more. It is true there will be a nominal addition of 20 per cent to your rent, but that 20 per cent will be immediately knocked off by your purchasing under Lord Ashbourne's Act." Therefore, it is the greatest mistake in the world to say that this 20 per cent will be for the benefit of the tenant. It is a leverage placed in the hands of the landlords. These are the results which, by means of these arrears, the landlords are enabled to achieve, and which make them, as I say, masters of the Land Courts if they are inclined to be so—God forbid that I should say that the whole of them, or the generality of them would be so inclined—masters of the Land Courts and masters of the judicial rents and the fortunes of their tenants. The House will understand how an operation of that kind serves the purchasing landlord. If the landlord sells a farm rented at 38*s.*, he receives so many years' purchase of the 38*s.* But if, by means of the machinery which I have described, he can make his tenant pay an increased rent, he will receive so many years' purchase of that increased rent. But the hon. and learned Gentleman says:—"Oh, these are voluntary arrangements. The Land Commission will not allow an unjust rent to be paid." Well, Sir, I must say, so far as I can see, I think the Land Commission deserves very considerable credit for its intervention. It appears, so far as I understand, that out of 1,198 cases there were no less than 998 cases in which the Land Commission found it necessary to interfere and find the terms exacted by the landlords to be exorbitant. So much for the voluntary contract. Even by the necessarily imperfect revision of the Land Court it was felt to be necessary to cancel or refuse the arrangement because of the unjust power the landlords had brought to bear to effect a settlement of the terms. And then it appears that 529 of these cases were reconsidered and re-adjusted, and other terms given, and 669 cases were wholly rejected. I define the 20 per cent in a

different manner from which it is defined by the hon. and learned Gentleman, and in which it appears to be a very amiable thing. The 20 per cent is, in my opinion, a lever placed in the hands of the landlord to enable him, under terror of arrears, to bring up the rent on which he sells to any point not exceeding 20 per cent. I should like to know what the answer to that argument is. The more I contemplate this Act, the more I contemplate this machinery, the more I regard it as a measure to facilitate the augmentation of rent where there is a disposition for defeating the operations of the law with regard to judicial rents, to multiply evictions with the horrible incidents that from time to time accompany them in Ireland, and which I repeat here, as I have said elsewhere, never would for a moment on any proprietary plea be tolerated or permitted in England. All these things appear flowing out of the unchecked operations of this Act, not out of the operations of tenant proprietary, and not certainly out of a good Land Purchase Bill. It results from the injurious construction of this Act, which, as I have said, we might have been ready to tolerate for two or three months till we can discuss it rather than intercept proceedings which, in some cases, might be very beneficial; but with regard to which it would be entirely wrong to assume that they are beneficial to those whom, undoubtedly, Parliament intended to take profit by the operation of its laws. I do not say always to drive. Sometimes to drive, and sometimes to induce. Hon. Gentlemen opposite are familiar with legislation under which inducing sends more people to prison than driving. I think I have shown that this small plan must be judged as if it were a large plan, and when it has grown to be a large plan it will be a very dangerous plan. There is no need whatever for incurring these dangers. It was perfectly possible to interpose, and we ourselves have proposed plans for interposing on a smaller or larger scale the means of absolute security to the party that becomes liable for the price of the land. If this party were the Irish Exchequer, I affirm, without the least doubt, that the Irish Exchequer would be made perfectly safe in respect of the payment on transactions by local means. Even with the means now in existence you might, if you thought fit, by the provisions of the Local Funds Act, give to the State, not only entire security, but what is infinitely more important—namely, the exemption from the risk—it may be the certainty—of having recourse to that dreadful measure of State eviction which I for one regard with sentiments not short of horror. While here very doubtful and very questionable and very mixed relief is to be given to a handful of tenants selected by the landlords—tenants who have no means of obtaining relief except at the landlords' good will and pleasure—we point out a defect in your law so gross that it maintains the servitude and dependence of the tenant in cases which I believe Parliament never contemplated. We point this out to you at a time when, freely, unanimously, and promptly, you have given to Scotland the very relief that Ireland had previously demanded; and, although you have lost the grace and beauty of the act by unwarrantably postponing it, we ask you even now to intervene and even now to stop the recurrence of the mischief which is but too certain, and which may come up on a greatly augmented scale, by doing justice to Ireland in the matter of arrears.

The right hon. Gentleman resumed his seat, but immediately rose again and said: If I am not going too far I would ask you, Mr. Speaker, to have the kindness to state, for the information of the House and the guidance of hon. Members, the nature of the Rule under which it has been made clear that, greatly to the convenience of all parties, it has been found possible and right to dispense with the preliminary Resolution in Committee in the case of this Bill.

MR. SPEAKER: The matter is one of such great, and I may even say from a constitutional point of view grave, importance that I am very glad the right hon. Gentleman has thought it his duty to call the attention of the House to it. Ordinarily, a Bill dealing with finance, as the House knows, is introduced in Committee and a preliminary Resolution is passed. This Bill is not drawn upon the lines of Lord Ashbourne's Act of 1885, when there was an advance of £5,000,000 out of the Consolidated Fund, but it proceeds under the provision of the National

Debt and Local Loans Bill of the Session of 1887. It is quite true that there is a contingent guarantee by the Consolidated Fund in the event of assets not being forthcoming. But in the case of the Act of last Session—the National Debt and Local Loans Act—that guarantee was duly provided, and when the House reached that particular guarantee clause the House then adopted the usual practice in Money Bills—namely, went into Committee, and a preliminary Resolution was passed before that clause was dealt with. The guarantee sanctioned by the National Debt and Local Loans Act is an accruing guarantee, and whenever funds are authorized to be drawn out of the resources of the Local Loans Fund that guarantee attaches. It has always been the practice of this House, sanctioned by my Predecessors in the Chair, to hold that it is not necessary for the House to go into Committee and to pass a preliminary Resolution in regard to a Bill which is in accordance with the provisions of an Act already passed, and where that Act has been passed under the ordinary sanction provided by the Standing Order in the case of Money Bills. Perhaps the House will bear with me if I give them an instance. In the case of the Irish Church Fund there was an ultimate guarantee out of the Consolidated Fund; and there were two Acts, which I have in my mind, which were passed to draw upon that Fund, but neither of these Acts had to go through the formality of a previous Committee and a preliminary Resolution of the House. Both these Bills were, in accordance with established practice, introduced on a Motion—I allude to the Irish Relief Bill, 1880, and to the Royal University (Ireland) Bill of the following year—1881. But there is a further reason which has induced me to come to the decision at which I have arrived. Under the very Act of last year, the National Debt and Local Loans Act, 1887, two Bills have been introduced which have passed into law. In neither of these cases—neither in the case of the Act of last year, nor in the case of the Act of the present Session — was it thought necessary, though money was involved, and *primâ facie* it might be supposed to require to go through the forms of a Money Bill. Both of these Bills were introduced on Motions, as in the case of the present Bill. These are, shortly, the reasons which have brought me to the opinion that this Bill did not necessitate a preliminary Committee, but might be introduced on Motion.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out all the words after the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in lieu of proceeding again to vote the sum of £5,000,000, so as to place the State in the direct relation of landlord to the Irish occupier, under the provisions of 'The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885,' it is expedient, especially in view of the lamentable sufferings caused by recent evictions in Ireland, to extend the provisions of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887,' so as to empower the Land Court to reduce or cancel the arrears of rents found to be excessive, as well as to deal with the rents themselves, after the example of the legislation recently and beneficially applied to the crofters' holdings in Scotland."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): Mr. Speaker,—I am sure the House will feel the disadvantage under which we labour in dealing with a subject so complicated without the presence of my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour); and if the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) had plainly rested his case upon details, it would have been more difficult for anyone to rise to follow him; but, save in one or two cases where he produced special and most exceptional instances, which will themselves require the closest examination, the right hon. Gentleman dealt rather with the broad principles underlying this question, and I think it will be perfectly possible to reply to him on those matters with success. I am bound to say that on many points the memory of the right hon. Gentleman has failed him to a remarkable extent. But, before I proceed further, I should wish to say one word—although it will be scarcely necessary after the remarks which you, Sir, have just made—with regard to the mode in which this Bill has been introduced. I entirely agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition that the mode in which Bills dealing with taxation are

introduced ought to be most carefully scanned; and not only did the authorities of the House examine this matter with the greatest care, but it was the duty of the Treasury also, and a duty which was discharged, to see that the mode in which these proposals came before the House was in accordance with precedent, and, after the observations which you, Sir, have made, it will be seen that it is in accordance with precedent that we make this Motion. The next point raised by the right hon. Gentleman was that he stated that a pledge had been given that no controverted questions should be introduced in this Session. I shall leave my right hon. Friend the Leader of the House (Mr. W. H. Smith) to deal with that point; but I find it was distinctly stated in July last by my right hon. Friend that we should deal in the course of this Autumn Session with matters relating to Land Purchase in Ireland, if possible.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: That was before the time of the House was given.

MR. GOSCHEN: That it was before the time of the House was given is merely the impression of the right hon. Gentleman. That is a matter with which, of course, my right hon. Friend will deal personally; but, at any rate, the right hon. Gentleman should have taken the trouble to verify this matter most carefully before he made charges of breaking pledges, which we wish to repel with the greatest indignation. Then the right hon. Gentleman suggested that there is another course which we might, and ought, to have followed, and that was to introduce a Bill, which the Opposition would have allowed to pass without much question —to take sufficient money to carry us over into next Session without asking for so large a sum as £5,000,000. The right hon. Gentleman gave us to understand that the principle of such a proposal would not have been challenged to the same degree. Well, my right hon. Friend the Leader of the House did take such steps as were open to him to ascertain whether the Opposition would accept a proposal to continue the operation of the Ashbourne Act without a check until Parliament should next year deal with the whole subject. My right hon. Friend was given to understand that under no condition whatever would we be allowed to extend the operation of Lord Ashbourne's Act. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE made some observation across the Table which was not audible in the Gallery.] I did not catch the observation of the right hon. Gentleman. Measures were taken in the usual manner to ascertain whether such a course would be acceptable. Feelers, as the phrase goes, were thrown out, but the response which we got was not such as to encourage us in the attempt. The right hon. Gentleman, speaking for himself and his Friends, says that they would not have opposed such a course, but I doubt whether he will answer for his Friends below the Gangway; and, if we may judge from what we have read in the organs which generally represent the Party below the Gangway opposite, I believe that the temporary measure, so kindly suggested to us by the right hon. Gentleman as likely to have received general acceptance, would have met exactly the same opposition from the forces opposite as that which we are about to encounter now. We should have gained nothing whatever, and we should have found that this Act, which, as my right hon. Friend has explained, has done, and is doing, more for the pacification of Ireland than any Act of Land Purchase has done before, would have met with the same opposition as it is meeting now, and we should not have been able to give that continuity to it which we desire, and which we believe the great majority of the tenants in Ireland themselves desire. I wish that on that point we could have seen some of the communications which have been made to right hon. Gentleman opposite and some hon. Members from Ireland. I think we should see that pressure almost has been put upon them on the part of the tenants not to give a direct opposition to the plan of the Government. Hence it is being met by a veiled opposition, a veiled negative. But while the right hon. Gentleman's Motion is so drafted as to give a veiled opposition to the plan, he would appear himself to be so opposed to the whole measure that, though at the beginning of his speech he stated that he was not so much against the Act as against the manner in which it was now introduced, he soon remembered

his real hostility to the measure, and brought against us as powerful an indictment as he could frame. If we look at the words of the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman, it will be seen that he states that—

"In lieu of proceeding again to vote the sum of £5,000,000, so as to place the State in the direct relation of landlord to the Irish occupier, under the provisions of the Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885, it is expedient, especially in view of the lamentable sufferings caused by recent evictions in Ireland, to extend the provisions of the Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887, so as to empower the Land Court to reduce or cancel the arrears of rents found to be excessive, as well as to deal with the rents themselves."

It is "in lieu of the present proposal." Now, I hope the House and the public will see that the two things, dealing with arrears and dealing with Land Purchase, are not incompatible with each other. There is no declaration against dealing with arrears in proceeding with this Bill, but the right hon. Gentleman opposite and hon. Gentlemen opposite anxious to conceal the opposition which they make to the Bill itself, drag the red herring of arrears across the path, endeavouring, in that way, to convey to the tenants of Ireland that they are not opposing a measure which is so strongly and strikingly to the advantage of the Irish tenants as the continuance of the Ashbourne Act. The right hon. Gentleman suggested that this must be the beginning of and practically, as far as principle is concerned, the end of our Land Purchase schemes. I entirely decline to admit what the right hon. Gentleman has suggested with regard to this. Our policy is this. We do not wish to arrest the progress of an Act which is conferring benefits upon the tenants and the landlords of Ireland; but I say distinctly that we do not consider that we have redeemed our pledges with regard to Land Purchase in general in Ireland by the introduction of this Bill. It is not, as the right hon. Gentleman says, a final and permanent attempt, even as regards principle, to deal with the Land Question, but it is an honest attempt to prevent checking an Act at present in beneficent operation. Still I am none the less prepared to deal with the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman which are directed against this Bill itself; and lest I should forget the point, let me remind the House how remarkable it was that in the contrast which the right hon. Gentleman drew between this proposal and the proposals of 1884 and of 1881 and the proposals under the Church Act, there was one proposal which had escaped his memory altogether, and that was the proposal made by himself in 1886, when he introduced the Land Purchase Bill.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: I beg your pardon; I mentioned that, and said a perfect security was given to the State under that scheme.

MR. GOSCHEN: I am within the recollection of the House that while the right hon. Gentleman argued elaborately, I do not say too elaborately, with regard to the 1884 Act, and with regard to the Church Act, there was the proposal of 1886, over which, at all events, I will say he glided with remarkable rapidity, yet which, he says, gave perfect security to the State. He did not take the trouble to contrast the security which the State would have had for an operation which might have involved an advance of £150,000,000, and the security which is offered in the case of this operation of £10,000,000, which we are now considering. Now, I will, with the permission of the House, reverse the order with which the right hon. Gentleman dealt with this question, and inquire, first, into the subject of and how far that question of arrears bears on Land Purchase. The right hon. Gentleman assumes that the question of arrears being open, the Ashbourne Act confers an immense advantage on the landlord, and has enabled him to drive a harder bargain with his tenants than otherwise he might be able to do. The first point he makes with reference to arrears is the contrast which he draws between Scotland and Ireland, and he asked in tones of great indignation—You have given a certain measure dealing with arrears to the Crofters in Scotland; is it not iniquitous you should not deal similarly with the tenants in Ireland? Here is an instance in which the right hon. Gentleman's memory fails him. He treated this matter as if it were *in pari materiâ*—as if the case of Ireland was the same as that of the Crofters of Scotland, as if the same legislation had preceded the dealing with arrears in Scotland as preceded dealing with arrears in Ireland. He forgot his own Act of 1882, when he dealt with arrears in Ireland,

an Act to which we have had nothing similar in Scotland; and one remarkable expression fell from the right hon. Gentleman in connection with this point. He gave us the information that the Irish tenant was the best paying tenant in the world. I cannot see, if the Irish tenant is the best paying tenant in the world, how these arrears could have grown to such proportions as they have done. The right hon. Gentleman seems to think that the landlords of Ireland have wantonly allowed these arrears to accumulate. That is a part of his case. In another part of his speech, he attempted to show that the landlords deliberately forewent their rents, which it might have been thought so necessary for them to have, many of them being scarcely able to live because those rents are not paid. The right hon. Gentleman seems to think that the landlords have encouraged these arrears for some iniquitous purpose of their own. But as to that point about Scotland, the right hon. Gentleman has forgotten altogether that you have for some years had judicial rents in Ireland, whereas the arrears which have accumulated in the case of the Crofters in Scotland were not arrears of judicial rents. How can he say, then, that the two cases stand upon parallel lines? In the one case you have had a Land Act fixing a judicial rent, and not only that, but after this Land Act was passed, you wiped out the arrears which had grown up before it. How then can the right hon. Gentleman say that Ireland is iniquitously treated because you have not dealt with arrears in Ireland, after having done so in the case of Scotland? I am not saying whether arrears should again be dealt with or not, but what I am saying is that this parallel has no foundation in fact. The cases are entirely different. I could not understand, when I saw the Resolution drafted by the right hon. Gentleman, how he could put upon the Notice Paper that we are dealing with less justice with the tenants in Ireland after all the legislation that has taken place in reference to that country, which legislation has not taken place at all in reference to Scotland. In Scotland you have to deal with arrears of rents which have never been fixed by judicial Courts as in Ireland. In Ireland arrears have arisen under those Courts which were established by the right hon. Gentleman himself. I should wish to be permitted here to expose a fallacy which has been repeated over and over again, and used by hon. Members in almost every speech that has been made about arrears. These arrears are called unjust arrears, because the rent has been reduced. It is said, because the rent has been reduced, the arrears which accumulated previous to the reduction of the rent must be unjust, and ought to be cut down in the same way as the rent. An hon. Gentleman says "Hear, hear!" He acknowledges that this is the opinion which is held by hon. Members below the Gangway. They have repeatedly said, in speech after speech, that when the rents were cut down it showed that the arrears were on an unjust scale. But see what has happened. The rents were reduced because of the fall in prices in 1886 and 1887. But the arrears accumulated in previous years before the fall in prices had taken place, and now the landlords are accused of asking for unjust arrears because the rents are cut down in consequence of the fall of prices which has taken place subsequent to the time when the arrears accumulated. Now, with regard to the accumulation of these arrears, the right hon. Gentleman made a very strong point as to the use to which arrears can be put, and he accused the Government of practically assisting the landlords in the conspiracy of allowing arrears to continue for certain specified purposes which he mentioned—namely, that evictions might take place; that the tenants might be prevented from obtaining judicial rents; and, lastly, that the arrears might affect the terms of purchase. Here is another of those extraordinary instances of forgetfulness on the part of the right hon. Gentleman. He forgets that we were prepared to deal with arrears. [*Ironical cheers.*] Those cheers are ingenious; but they repudiate the argument of the right hon. Gentleman. [*Laughter.*] Yes, because he said that we did not wish to deal with arrears. But we proposed dealing with them. We laid down certain conditions, which we shall still be prepared to accept. But hon. Gentlemen opposite were not thinking merely of the relief of the tenants. In their view these arrears were to be dealt with in a certain way, and unless they were dealt with precisely in accord with the

views of hon. Gentlemen opposite, they were not to be dealt with at all. But does the right hon. Gentleman and do his Friends think that the Government are anxious to encourage evictions? The right hon. Gentleman puts his case as if both the landlords and the Government were anxious to avoid measures which would reduce evictions. Really the suggestion is so absurd that it scarcely requires repudiating. Are the landlords in such a position in Ireland that they like eviction for their own sake? Under what conditions do evictions take place now in Ireland? I should like to know who prefer the evictions; those who do not object to evictions for the political use to which they can be turned, or those who feel the full painfulness of having to enforce them, who feel the full difficulties involved in enforcing them, but who, nevertheless, are driven in certain exceptional cases to enforce them through the Plan of Campaign? I believe that out of 347 cases of eviction which have taken place within a certain date, 200 or 250 are simply due to the Plan of Campaign. These evictions which the right hon. Gentleman thinks we desire and wish to utilize are brought upon the country to the greatest extent by those arrangements which are encouraged and gloried in by hon. Members below the Gangway, and which now are scarcely discouraged, if at all, by right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Bench opposite. I now come to an interesting point, and that is the argument of the right hon. Gentleman that through the existence of arrears the tenants are at the mercy of the landlords with regard to purchase. That is one of the points on which he laid the greatest stress, and stated over and over again that there was no reciprocity in the matter—that the tenant had no power to initiate negotiations for purchase, and that the power to initiate lay with the landlords only, and consequently that the landlords drove such bargains as show that they had the tenants at their mercy. I do not know how far that argument will be made good in this House; but it is a curious fact that the history and statistics of the Ashbourne Act during the last year or so prove that purchase is quite as much at the initiation of the tenant as at the initiation of the landlord. The right hon. Gentleman suggests that the landlords put the screw on by pressing for the payment of arrears. I have not only heard it suggested, but it has been stated and proved, that the tenants put the screw on the landlords by, on their part, withholding rent and allowing arrears to accumulate. There are cases in which tenants have brought about the sale of the land through the pressure that they put upon the landlords, who could not get their rents, nor afford to do without them, and the tenants in that way were able to coerce them. The right hon. Gentleman gave one specific, one exceptional case. I shall leave the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, or one of those specially conversant with proceedings in Ireland, to deal with that particular case. But it must have struck the House at once that this was an exceptional instance. It would have been far more to the purpose if the right hon. Gentleman had been able to establish from an examination of the actual terms under which purchases have taken place that the landlords have received in payment for their estates too high a price, and that the tenants have undertaken to pay instalments that are too high. That is the point to which I call the attention of the House. It is asserted that there is a power of coercion on the part of the landlords; but it would be far more to the purpose to prove that it had been exercised, and to show that they are receiving too many years' purchase of their estates, and that the tenants are not paying, generally speaking, annuities sufficiently favourable compared with the terms which they ought to receive. But the right hon. Gentleman, in his able speech, after preparing his case with all the assistance at his command, has not ventured to turn to the Report of the Land Commissioners, and say that there are cases in which the purchase-money is evidently too high. And why did he not do so? I think it will be in the recollection of the House that the right hon. Gentleman offered 20 years' purchase to the landlords in 1886. [Mr. W. E. GLADSTONE dissented.] Well, I read over the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and 20 years' purchase was what he considered to be fair—that was the basis, that was the standard on which he would proceed. [Mr. W. O'BRIEN: He named a minimum.] I am obliged for the interruption of the hon. Member. There

is a minimum in our case also which will strengthen my argument. Twenty years' purchase was the general idea of the right hon. Gentleman. If he had been able to come forward to-day and say that 20 years is what he thought landlords might fairly expect, but that the Government are giving 21 or 22 years' purchase, it would have looked as if that power of coercing by arrears had really had some effect, and as if the landlords' machinations and a wicked Government had been able to get terms out of the tenants which otherwise they would not have got. But under this wicked Act, and with all this power of coercion by arrears which the right hon. Gentleman made so much of, what has been the result? The landlords have not got 20 years', but 17·1 years' purchase, taking it all over Ireland. Therefore, under the Ashbourne Act, the landlords have been receiving three years' less purchase than they would have done under the standard of the right hon. Gentleman. True, as I am reminded, there was no minimum in the case of his proposal, and under the present system, too, there is no fixed limit; but I call the attention of the tenants of Ireland, and of their Representatives, to the fact that under the Ashbourne Act tenants are placed in a far more favourable position than they would have been under the measure of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman's contention was that arrears were worked to make the tenants pay more. Here is the case of an estate in County Kerry with long arrears. The rate of purchase varied from 17 to 19 years. The tenants least in arrears paid 17 years', in other cases arrears were added to the purchase money, but in no case did it, even including what was added for arrears, exceed 19 years'. Or take this case in Tipperary. The ordinary rate of purchase on the estate was 18 years. Arrears up to two years were remitted. Where there were more than two years' arrears, half a year was added, and the rate of purchase was 18½ years. No tenant paid more than 18½ years' purchase, however heavy his arrears. There are other cases where arrears have been altogether remitted, or where long arrears have been compounded for by the addition of only one year to the purchase money. I have examined cases with some care, and I find that the arrears have not been added to the purchase price. I cannot deal with the particular case put forward by the right hon. Gentleman, which requires investigation; but apart from that case I say that the facts destroy the effect of his contention. I now turn to the other portion of the right hon. Gentleman's argument. I refer to the question of security, and I wish to recall to the House his extraordinary assertion that 20 per cent of the money of the State would be lent by the Government to the buyer. Why, it is the money of the landlord; it is not the money of the State. Can it be said that, when one man sells to another and 20 per cent is deposited by the seller with the banker, it is the banker and not the seller who finds the money?

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Exactly the reverse.

MR. GOSCHEN: The seller receives only four-fifths of his purchase money, and leaves the remainder in the hands of the banker; how can it be said it is the banker who has advanced the money? Does the 20 per cent constitute a real security or does it not? Instead of acknowledging that the 20 per cent was a real security, the right hon. Gentleman passed it over as if it were a financial juggle. This is the impression his speech will leave on the mind of the ordinary reader; he diverts attention from the fact that one-fifth of the purchase money remains in the hands of the State; and no one can deny that that constitutes an extremely valuable security. Moreover, the purchase will take place at a time of agricultural depression, on reduced judicial rents corresponding with low prices; and that will enhance the security as compared with the security under the Church Act and other Acts. Besides that, you have the tenant-right. I was surprised at the jeers which greeted my right hon. Friend's suggestion that it was as valuable as the freehold; I could not by any psychological analysis arrive at the reason why hon. Members jeered that statement. According to them, tenant-right is the right to continue to pay unjust rents. Yet they acknowledge the tenant-right is valuable. How do they explain this high value of the privilege of continuing in a holding and paying a rent which is assailed as

iniquitous? But, however that may be, if the tenant-right is a valuable estate, then it is a valuable security. We have, therefore, got as securities one-fifth of the purchase money, a decreasing debt as the annuities are paid off; we have the tenant-right, and, moreover, these purchases are made at a time of unparalleled agricultural depression. In these circumstances it cannot be a venturesome act on the part of the Government to go forward in this direction. I entirely agree it is not desirable that the State should come into direct relations with the tenants. The right hon. Gentleman asks, "Would you apply any such system to England, or to Scotland?" But England and Scotland have not been blessed, or cursed, with such a system of land legislation as exists in Ireland. For the last 10 years you have departed in Ireland from the land system which exists in other countries, and we are now, by this Bill, only carrying out the policy upon which all Parties are agreed—namely, the multiplication of the small land proprietors in that country. We believe the method we are now proposing to be the best under the circumstances. The experiment has answered well in existing circumstances, and we desire to see it tried upon a wider scale. Of course we do not contend that it is desirable that the State should have direct relations with the tenants. But I would ask the right hon. Gentleman, are the relations satisfactory which now exist in view of the Plan of Campaign against law and order? Does he think evictions satisfactory? There is at present an infinitely greater chance of a tenant discharging his duty to the State than there is of his discharging his duty to the landlord. The State cannot be starved out under the Plan of Campaign; it cannot be calumniated in the same way as a landlord can be. No class interest can be aroused to stir up the tenant owners to refuse to pay their debts to the State. So, while I admit to the full that in ordinary circumstances nothing can be more undesirable than that the State should be the landlord, I think the relations at present existing between landlord and tenant are so disadvantageous to Ireland that, after all that has taken place, the position which we contemplate is a lesser evil, and the best mode which is at present available of increasing peasant ownership in Ireland. The Act has already promouted the pacification of Ireland; it has entirely changed the attitude of tenants who have become proprietors; we hear in many cases of their leaving the Land League, setting about the improvement of their property, and, what is as interesting as anything, we hear of their attempting to dispossess the Boards of Guardians whom they formerly elected when they had less interest in keeping down the burden of local taxation. On the occasion of a recent Poor Law election at Tralee, the Nationalists put forth a manifesto calling on the people to show that the National League, though harassed by the Chief Secretary, was "a more powerful factor than ever in the national life." The Unionists, who had hitherto seldom ventured to raise their voices, put out a circular calling on the people to show, as lovers of law and order, their contempt of the intimidation of village tyrants and the Land League. Lord Ashbourne's Act had been at work in that neighbourhood, and, as a consequence, while the Unionists got a majority, the secretary of the League was last but one. It is perfectly clear that the Land League cannot be in love with Lord Ashbourne's Act. It is a rival to the Land League, this process of increasing the number of peasant proprietors. The right hon. Gentleman speaks of the perfect security of the scheme which he some time ago brought forward, and he charges us with inconsistency in our opposition to it. It is quite true that we did oppose the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman while we are in favour of Lord Ashbourne's Act. But there is a vast difference between the circumstances of the two Bills. The Bill of the right hon. Gentleman was to buy off the landlords before Ireland was handed over to the National League; the proposal of the Government is to pacify Ireland so as to destroy the power of the National League and maintain the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. I therefore maintain that, as far as the objects and motives are concerned, the circumstances of the two measures are very unlike. They are, indeed, alike only in this — that they both aim at multiplying the number of owners in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman thinks that his plan provided perfect security for the Exchequer, while

ours is most dangerous. I should like to know would that security have been good which would have depended upon making Ireland tributatry to this country, so that, if there were that strike against rents which the right hon. Gentleman thinks possible, it would have taken the form of a National movement endorsed under the circumstances——

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE: Nothing of the sort.

MR. GOSCHEN: The right hon. Gentleman really contradicted me before I had come to the end of my sentence. The right hon. Gentleman said there was perfect security. I wish to make the matter clear. The right hon. Gentleman thinks that if the State is the creditor of individual tenants, the tenants might strike against the payment of their instalments because they might either not have the will or the means to pay. Supposing the case put by the right hon. Gentleman, that there was such poverty in Ireland that the tenants really had difficulty in paying, then under his system the agents of the National Government would have to go with their crowbars to evict the tenants. Would the tenant who is poor immediately surrender his holding to the agents of the Irish Government? Under these circumstances, I think the crowbar would be applied not only to the cottage of the tenant, but to the doors of the Parliament in Dublin. We know now that under any Home Rule scheme that may hereafter be proposed the Irish Members are to remain in the Imperial Parliament—how, by what plan, we are not told; but, under conditions devised by the wit of the right hon. Gentleman, the Irish Members are to remain—and under the circumstances that I have supposed would not pressure be brought by those Representatives upon the Government in London to reduce "the tribute?" Under these circumstances, I should like to know is the security of the right hon. Gentleman so absolutely good that if an application came from the Parliament in Dublin to the Ministry here that they ought to let off the tenants from the payment of their full instalments, or to reduce the liability of Ireland to England, on the ground that Ireland was poor and England was rich, or the purchase price had been fixed too high, it would not be possible that the virtue of the Government might fail, and that there would be as much risk in that eventuality as there would be in the case of the State being the creditor of the individual Irish tenant. Both are unsatisfactory; but I think the former the more so. The right hon. Gentleman may answer, "Oh, under my scheme you have the revenues of Ireland as security, for this money advanced would be a first charge upon such revenues." But are the Irish Home Rule Judges, the Irish Home Rule Magistracy, and the Irish Home Rule police to be stopped in their salaries while the money is being sent over here from Ireland to meet this liability, which would be denounced as unjust and excessive? Then, indeed, we might have another National movement, and if Ireland said she would not pay, or could not pay, it would not be a case of police to make her, but of soldiers. I deplore that it is necessary to bring the State into financial relations of this character with individual tenants; but I do not see how, under the circumstances, it is to be avoided. I say that the risks under our proposal are not so great as if you were to put a National bribe before the Irish people, that if they continued to agitate they would get a reduction of rent. I have endeavoured to meet the right hon. Gentleman upon the broad principles which he himself wished to have discussed on this occasion. I have told him that by this measure Her Majesty's Government do not, in their view, redeem their pledges to deal thoroughly with the question of Land Purchase in Ireland. We are most anxious to go forward as rapidly as we can, and, as far as prudence will allow, to multiply the number of peasant proprietors in Ireland by every legitimate means. But, looking to the circumstances in Ireland at the present moment, we think we are justified in appealing to Parliament to grant this additional sum of £5,000,000, and we think that Parliament will not disapprove of our continuing the experiment which, of all the experiments that have yet been tried, has produced the best results as between landlord and tenant in Ireland.

MR. PHILIPPS (Lanark, Mid) said, he desired to strenuously oppose this proposed legislation. Irish land had long been regarded as bad security. Even in regard to English land a mortgagee never advanced the whole value,

but at most two-thirds, yet this proposal of the Government was to advance the whole purchase-money or value, and upon Irish land, which was regarded as peculiarly bad security. There was plenty of money in this country. If it was possible to buy land in Ireland and sell it to the tenants, why were not Companies got up for the purpose by hon. Gentlemen on the Government side of the House, who were rich men, and to whom a few millions would be nothing at all? The main fact was that no sane man would invest 1s. of his own in buying Irish land at the present moment. If Lord Ashbourne's Act was favourable to the tenants, that did not meet the contention of hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House, who maintained that it would be unduly unfavourable to the British taxpayer. Hon. Members who would not advance their own money, and would not be allowed as trustees to advance money under their control on such security as this, were now asked to advance the money of their constituents upon this most inadequate investment. He was rather amused at the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), who painted the benefits of the investment in such rosy colours that he could not understand why people should not have been most anxious to invest their money. Sir Charles Gavan Duffy had been quoted in support of the measure, but if the right hon. Gentleman was going to be guided by Sir Gavan Duffy he was about to make a very large and a very rapid change of policy. Lord Ashbourne's Act gave an opportunity for fraud. Nothing could be easier than for a dishonest landlord—if there were dishonest landlords—if he could find a dishonest tenant to plan with the latter to put an artificial price on the land, get it out of the State, and divide the profits between them. In introducing an important Bill, which involved the voting of £5,000,000, neither the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer nor the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) had ventured to give any evidence that the 49 proposed instalments had been properly calculated. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer made some outrageous accusations against hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House when he said that they objected to the stoppage of evictions because they turned them to political advantage. That accusation was made without necessity, and did not help his argument—it was simply a horrible jeer at the Opposition side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman said that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian's Bill of two years ago offered 20 years' purchase to the landowners, but that was not so. It offered a maximum of 22 years, and had no minimum. The difference between the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian's Bill and Lord Ashbourne's Act was that there was no maximum in Lord Ashbourne's Act. In whose interest had the Bill been introduced? It was said that it was in the interests of the Irish tenants; but it was a remarkable fact that their Representatives were not in favour of the Bill, though all the representatives of the landowners were. But if the Bill were in the interest of the tenants he should oppose it, because he did not want to see anything done for the people of one part of the Kingdom which could not be done for the rest of the Kingdom. And how would English, Scotch, and Welsh Members explain the Bill to their constituents? He hardly thought that the Government would have ventured to introduce the Bill, and that they would have had some wholesome regard for the coming elections; but the social pressure put upon them had been too great for them. Their friends and relations and everybody they met in society with landed security were all hard up, and had consequently forced the hand of the Government. They had land securities in Ireland, and wanted to get something, and so the Government had chucked the elections as a bad job, and had concentrated their minds on doing something for their landlord friends while they had the power. If a Member of Parliament was a manufacturer and took a Government contract, he had to resign his seat, and a Civil servant had to do the same; but he saw that there were a great many Members of Parliament who were directly interested through their pockets in this Bill. There was one hon. Member who would, no doubt, vote for the Bill, and who had an interest as heir presumptive to an Irish

estate of £90,000 a-year. This, at 15 years' purchase, came to nearly £1,500,000, so that he would take that sum out of the poor people of this country. There was another hon. Gentleman on the Opposition side of the House who would, no doubt, back up the Government, and who had an heir-presumptive interest to an estate which, calculated on the same basis, was worth £515,000. And there was another hon. Member on the Government Benches who had a like interest to the extent of £500,000. All these hon. Members would, no doubt, support the Bill. Hon. Members had got such a breeches-pocket interest in the matter that the Bill ought to be carried by a large majority. But if those who had got an interest in it were not to vote, he believed it would not be possible to pass the Bill through the House. Those of them who were in favour of a different scheme for governing Ireland ought to be glad of an opportunity for passing this Bill, because the great argument against the scheme proposed by the Liberal Party was that if it were adopted it would lead to a plan of land confiscation. Possibly that might follow; but he thought there were things worse than land confiscation, and one thing worse was the state of society, which must cause a feeling which would lead to land confiscation. There was a time when France, by a wicked, spendthrift Government and a spendthrift aristocracy, was reduced to a state of hopeless bankruptcy, and at the Revolution there was a widespread measure of confiscation, but that was followed by the restoration of a better state of things and of national solvency. He did not believe the state of Ireland was anything like the state of France before the Revolution, and he did not think the remedy to be applied would be half so drastic. He was encouraged by that to leave this matter to the Irish people to settle for themselves. He had read the speeches of the advanced Nationalists, and he had never seen one who had advanced less than 10 years' purchase of the Irish landlords, and that, he thought, would be to the full what they deserved. He believed in the great principle that men must reap as they had sown. The Irish landlords had made their beds for themselves, and they must lie on them. He believed there was in all people a sense of justice, which would make the Irish tenants deal not unfairly with the landowners; but it was for them to settle it, and they must take the responsibility if they acted unjustly. He hoped that no injustice might be done; but he could not give a vote that would put the responsibility of settling the matter on the poor and suffering classes of Great Britain.

MR. HALDANE (Haddington) said, that if he found himself unable to assent to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Party to which he belonged, it was not because of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with whom he found himself at variance on almost every argument he used. Nor could they forget that when in 1886, acting under the Leadership of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone), that Party were endeavouring to discharge an obligation of honour and policy to the Irish landlords, they were met by denunciations from the Tory Party on the ground of extravagance to the British taxpayer. He found himself, therefore, with more reluctance than it was easy to express, at difference on certain points with the majority of his Party. He followed the right hon. Gentleman in 1886; he voted for the two Bills then introduced; and he would vote for them to-morrow if they were again introduced. He thought them great and statesmanlike measures, giving effect to principles which he held. He found himself in agreement with the right hon. Gentleman in this also—that he objected upon principle to proceeding to buy out the Irish landlords without a State guarantee from a responsible Irish Legislature. If the right hon. Gentleman had moved an Amendment expressing the principles of his Bills, or if the question was merely an academic and abstract one, as to whether the proposals of Her Majesty's Government were the best possible, he would vote against the Government. He was also entirely at one with the right hon. Gentleman in being in favour of legislation in the matter of arrears. In some full-dress debates he had himself moved one or two Amendments upon this subject. If the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman had been in the nature

of an Instruction on going into Committee on this Bill, or if the right hon. Gentleman would even yet move an Amendment which should insist on legislation on the subject of arrears, in addition to the proposal of the Government, he would support him. But, looking to the form of the Amendment, he failed to see why the principles of Lord Ashbourne's Act should not be carried into effect, and, at the same time, the legislation with regard to arrears. He now came to the point of difference with the right hon. Gentleman and the majority of his Party. He (Mr. Haldane) was, under the particular circumstances of the time, in favour of £5,000,000 more being given for the purpose of buying out the Irish landlords. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) put forward an argument which, in one aspect, had great force and cogency. The right hon. Gentleman asked where were they to stop—at £50,000,000 or £500,000,000? That reminded him of a problem of antiquity, which occasioned great difficulty, as to how many grains of corn it would take to make a heap? At last it was resolved to answer—"After the grains of corn thrown upon the ground had reached a heap." His answer to the difficulty of the right hon. Gentleman was that, as soon as the advances had reached such a figure as appeared to be alarming, then, and not till then, would he stop them. There was a second point, though he did not know it was a point of difficulty. Although a great many of the Party to which he belonged differed from him regarding it, he knew he was entirely at one with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) in being sensitive about insisting on the necessity of Land Purchase. He believed he was at one with the right hon. Gentleman in thinking that they were now, quite as much as in 1886, under an obligation of honour and of policy towards the Irish landlords. If he were asked why was he not content with an Amendment which did nothing to negative the principles of land purchase, but left the question to stand pretty much where it was before, he would recall to the House the position of certain hon. Gentlemen who took part in the deliberations of the Parliament of 1885 and 1886. In that Parliament there was a great deal of difference on the question of Disestablishment, and when any proposition savouring of Disestablishment was brought forward they voted against it, or abstained from voting, because they said it was always possible in the House of Commons to put forward under the cover of one proposal something quite different. He did not suggest that it was intended by this Amendment to give up the principle of Land Purchase; but there were other hon. Members of the House who were clear that they would have nothing to do with that principle in any shape or form. There was the hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who, under no circumstances, would give a penny of British money to the Irish landlords; and there was his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lanark (Mr. Philipps) who had just sat down. Then, again, there was his right hon. Friend the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan). He was not sure what his views were. The right hon. Gentleman had made speeches which indicated, that he at least, was no friend of Land Purchase. Then there was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South Edinburgh (Mr. Childers), who made speeches which did seem to him unsatisfactory as regarded this principle. It appeared to him (Mr. Haldane), therefore, that those who sat in the rank and file of the Party to which he belonged were placed in some difficulty. It was all very well for right hon. Gentlemen who took part in the drafting of the Amendment to vote for it, meaning only to vote for the words of which it consisted; but when they came to the rank and file of a Party which included such opposite elements, it seemed to him they were dangerously near being asked to express an opinion upon a general principle. He, for one, felt very strongly upon the general principle. He sat as a Home Ruler—as one who believed in giving Ireland, in the largest and fullest sense, practically the principle of self-government. He had an opportunity since 1886 of making the acquaintance of the Irish Members, and the more he saw of them the more he was convinced that they had the capacity and goodwill which was requisite for the successful formation of a Home Rule Government, and for the successful development of the in-

stitutions of their country. But he also recognized that Home Rule must be prefaced by a generous measure of Land Purchase. It was not fair to ask the Irish Members to undertake the business of the government of Ireland unless the ground upon which they were to build up a proper system of administration was made clear. He believed that was not only fair to those who would undertake the government of Ireland under such conditions, but he believed it was necessary that they should see the Irish landlords out of a situation which, in the altered circumstances, would be one of considerable peril. They all knew that there had been a good deal of difficulty about the course which was to be taken with regard to the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland. While Mr. Michael Davitt was in a position of influence they were sure he would urge eloquently those principles which he had inherited from his political master, Mr. Henry George, and which he was prepared to carry out to their logical conclusion. However hon. Members sitting on the other side of St. George's Channel might desire it, it would be impossible for them to advocate a scheme of Land Purchase out of Irish taxes after the extent to which Home Rule had been advocated on agrarian principles. What remained of that minority who would strive to discharge those obligations to the landlords which they, as Englishmen, felt bound to carry out to their fullest extent? He had no hope of the policy which was being pursued by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour) at the present time. Even if it was successful for the moment, it was bound to end in failure. He (Mr. Haldane) wished to deal with the question thoroughly, and it was because he believed it could not be thoroughly dealt with in the absence of this principle of Land Purchase, and because he believed that in every landlord they took out of Ireland they had a gain to the Nationalist cause, and brought the country nearer to Home Rule—it was for that reason that he supported the principle of the Bill which was now before the House. In the Home Rule Party they had some who followed the hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Northampton, and they had also a certain number of weak Home Rulers who had been in doubt and difficulty, and only at the last moment succeeded in embracing its principles, and who now said they distrusted their Irish allies so much that they could not go the length of trusting them with Imperial credit. It did seem to him that those two points of view—Home Rule and distrust of the Irish Party in regard to the fulfilment of their financial obligations—were not easily reconcilable, unless they wished to see Home Rule established at the expense, and the expense only, of the Irish landlords themselves. He did not wish to be understood to say that there were no circumstances under which he should assent to Home Rule in the absence of Land Purchase. On the contrary, he refused to recognize it as a condition precedent; and if the landlords were to take the course of saying, "You are bound by your own declarations to offer us Land Purchase, and we shall use it, not for the purpose of getting out of the ditch, but of dragging you into it," then he would refuse to hold out a helping hand. But that was not the situation. It seemed to him they were bound again to repeat the offer they had made to the Irish landlords in the fullest and freest manner, in order to see whether they would not take advantage of what morality and right compelled them to offer. He was in favour of the present proposal, and that distinguished him from his right hon. Friends who sat on the Front Opposition Bench. He was in favour of the proposition to spend another £5,000,000 under this Act. In the first place he thought the Act, although not a theoretically perfect step in the absence of an Irish State authority, was, at all events, a step which experience had proved to be a safe and a right one. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian said he would be surprised to find any private capitalist who would go the length of investing his money on such a security as the Bill proposed. He might mention that within the last few months an experiment exactly analogous to this case had been tried in Scotland. A gentleman of great financial ability and experience—Mr. Auldjo Jamieson, of Edinburgh—had devised a plan based on the lines of Lord Ash-

bourne's Act, but without the interposition of a Government guarantee, and the scheme had so far proved successful. There was another reason why he was inclined to support the Bill, and that was the Report of Lord Cowper's Commission. That Report stated that the Commissioners who signed it were strongly in favour of the continuation of the experimental policy of the Land Purchase Act, 1885, as a means of largely increasing the number of occupying landlords in Ireland; that the Irish landlord was more like an encumbrancer than an owner of his estate, and if the land were really the property of the occupier, subject to fixed instalments being paid, like taxes to the State, there was every reason to hope the occupier would set to work with a will to improve and cultivate his property; that the landlords considered themselves in an untenable position, and that the tenants had not much respect for the landlords as such. The Commissioners were aware that no immediate change on a large scale was possible; but they hoped that the ownership of land by occupiers in Ireland might gradually increase, and they therefore strongly recommended that the Government should continue their efforts to encourage the establishment in Ireland of the occupiers as owners of the soil, and continue from time to time to give limited sums for that purpose. That paragraph seemed to him to give reasons which should induce the House to grant the money asked for. He asked those who knew anything about land in this country whether there were not indications, amounting almost to certain indications, that they had very nearly, if not altogether, touched the bottom of the depression? This time last year it was almost impossible to get a tenant for any vacant farm in Scotland. This year they had got tenants crowding in to the number of four or five to each farm. And why? Because prices were better, because the prospects of the farmers were better, and because agriculture was far more promising than it had been in the past. These symptons in Scotland were to be found in an equal, if not a greater, degree in Ireland. He thought the present was accordingly a most favourable opportunity for purchase, and that was one of the reasons which had weighed with him in coming to the conclusion he had done upon this subject. Another point was made about the arrears, but he hoped hon. Members would not imagine that, by any process, Government money went in the discharge of those arrears. He recognized that the existence of arrears was being taken advantage of by some landlords for the purpose of forcing their tenants to sell; but was the protection which the Legislature had interposed, in the form of the Land Commission, not adequate to meet the difficulty? If it were true that arrears were being dangerously used for this purpose, he trusted that some of his right hon. Friends would see fit to move an Instruction, on going into Committee on the Bill, making it plain that it was the duty of the Commission for the future to make careful inquiry into this matter of arrears, so that proper precautions might be taken that the money to be advanced should go to the right persons. If that course was taken, he, for one, should have the greatest satisfaction in supporting it. Then there was another point. It was said that the advances were in some danger. Experience had shown that even under the present system of government with coercion there was no substantial danger of a loss. There were no actual arrears at all, but those which existed were due naturally. That seemed to point to this—that under the present system there was practical security for the payment of instalments as they fell due; and then, when Home Rule came to pass, he, from his point of view, was bound to assume that it would be accompanied by a proposition for the settlement of the Land Question on the basis of Land Purchase, and it would be the duty of the Party which proposed Home Rule and Land Purchase to stipulate that the outstanding instalments should be guaranteed. In no alternative, therefore, did it seem to him that there was any likelihood of loss in regard to these instalments. Holding these views, what must his position be with regard to this Amendment, which proposed that arrears should be dealt with in lieu of extending the Ashbourne Act? He was strongly in favour of dealing with arrears, but he was also strongly in favour of extending the Ashbourne Act, to a certain limited extent at all events. Holding the views he had expressed, the Amendment was one for which he could not

possibly vote in its present form. He had a full sense of the obligation which one owed to one's Party, but, on the other hand, this was not a Vote of No Confidence, it was a vote which simply meant what it said. It meant on the part of him who gave it that he was either for or against a particular Amendment that had been proposed. For his own part, while dissenting from the Amendment, he had no desire to participate to any large extent in the responsibility which the Government were taking upon themselves in making further proposals for Land Purchase without the interposition of an Irish Legislative Body. That seemed a defect in their system. He would rather that they took the responsibility on themselves, and he would feel himself under no obligation whatever to support them upon the later stages of the Bill. At the same time he would interpose no obstacle in their way, but, on the contrary, would endeavour by his individual vote to assist them to come to a decision. Holding the political opinions he did, it was with something more than a sense of obligation—it was with respect and gratitude—that he regarded the lead which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian had given to his Party upon the question of Home Rule; but his right hon. Friend himself would probably be the last man to say to him that personal considerations ought to stand in his way in giving a vote. It appeared to him (Mr. Haldane) that, from his point of view, there was only one course open to him. He thought he would be failing in his duty to the House, and wanting in respect to himself, however humble a Member of his Party, if he did not vote against the Amendment, and take the consequences which might follow from that vote.

MR. MUNRO FERGUSON (Leith, &c.) said, he thought it might fairly be held that this Amendment left it open to those, even upon the Opposition side of the House, to entertain some divergency of views, and even to support it from very different motives. In the Irish measures which were brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) in 1886, he thought that not the least admirable portion was that which dealt with the Land Question in Ireland. Therefore, as a firm believer in the necessity for some adequate and safe settlement of the Irish Land Question, he felt some anxiety upon this point; but, unlike his hon. and learned Friend who had just spoken (Mr. Haldane), he was re-assured by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) himself, and he felt convinced from that speech that the subject of Land Purchase, and the idea of Land Purchase, through the intervention of the State, had not ceased to form part of the programme of the Liberal Party. If he thought that the Party to which he belonged was committed to a policy of non-intervention in the Irish Land Question he should go into the same Lobby with his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Haddington, and he would be prepared at any future time, if the time did come when they divided upon the question, to vote with his hon. and learned Friend; but he thought that this was a fair opportunity for protesting against the policy of the Unionist Party, and against the particular method by which they had attempted to settle this first part of the Irish Land Question. One might fairly ask the question why the original Ashbourne Act was passed with so very little opposition. In the first place, the Government had just entered upon Office, and was in a minority in that position. It commanded some consideration; and then there was another marked distinction—namely, that the Government had dropped the policy of coercion, and was committed to a policy of conciliation towards Ireland. In 1886 the Liberal Party did not experience that forbearance. They introduced a Bill of general application, safeguarded so far as they were able to safeguard such a measure, and that proposition was made the topic of denunciation upon the hustings. That night they had a proposed extension of Lord Ashbourne's original scheme. That extension must have one of two effects, either this Act must involve the whole of Ireland, or it would divide Ireland into two classes — the class which came within the scope of the Act, and the class which was left outside; and he thought that the principle involved was so great, and the expenditure might be so enormous, that one might fairly

call for the opinion of the country being expressed before supporting it with a vote. The censure passed by hon. Members opposite upon the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) was so great, that that would be an additional reason for referring a question of this kind to the judgment of the country. The difficulties of making any settlement of the Land Question in Ireland now were very largely due to the action of the Unionist Party. During the last General Election, in his own constituency and in others, the statement was continually made that the expropriation of landlords in Ireland would involve an expenditure of from £150,000,000 to £200,000,000, which would have to be extracted from the pockets of the British taxpayer. It was difficult to know how hon. Members opposite, and some hon. Members on that side of the House, could reconcile the attitude they took in 1886 with that they assumed that night. Landowners up till now seemed to play into the hands of the interest which would confiscate their just rights. Perhaps the reduction of judicial rents which was lately carried out might awaken them to the chance they lost by the land proposals of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. Now, the landowners were unwisely trying to save themselves by pushing through a measure which left no security between the British taxpayer and the Irish tenant, with whom he was to come immediately into contact. The objection to this Act had not been better stated than by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain), when he said that the fatal objection to this legislation was, that if the extension of these transactions greatly increased, there would be a strike against the payment of interest, and there would only be one landlord, who would be the unpopular British Government. He (Mr. Ferguson) thought a safe measure was essential in carrying through the transfer of Irish land from the owner to the occupier; but he would remind those hon. Gentlemen who were against the State intervening in any way in such a question that such a transfer was by no means likely to be confined to Ireland alone, but that there would have to be an operation of this sort upon a large scale, probably, in this Island also. Speaking generally, the system of land tenure which was bound to prevail in the end throughout the world was that of occupying ownership, and the problem was how to carry through that change as easily and safely as might be. In one way or another, such a transfer had been carried out by nearly every progressive European Government. In Germany the Teutonic land system had been modified to a great extent already, and was still being modified, under the operation of the land rent banks; and it was by means of such a policy that the rural society of the United Kingdom was to be reconstructed on a better, or more equitable, and lasting foundation.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. GILL (Louth, S.) said, that the hon. Member who from those Benches had expressed his disapproval of the Amendment was taking up a position absolutely inconsistent with that which he had adopted two years ago, when he, in common with the whole Liberal Party, had refused to sanction an advance to the Irish landlords unless an Irish Executive were placed between the English taxpayer and the Irish tenant. But now the hon. Member was prepared to sanction such an advance without any safeguard. The hon. Member said that there were now no substantial arrears to interfere with the working of an Act like this. This remark showed the absolute ignorance of the hon. Member with respect to this question. The Irish Members were not hostile to buying out the landlords and the establishing of the tenants as owners, provided the measure were framed in a proper spirit and carried out in a proper manner. Quite the contrary. It was one of the chief objects they had in view in the future. There was only one condition they laid down as essential to the object, and the condition was the establishing in Dublin of a Legislature, with an Executive responsible and pledged to the Imperial Government to collect and remit the instalments of the purchase money advanced to the tenants. The question in Ireland was the question of arrears. They saw the question of arrears operating every

day in producing evictions, in producing the disturbance in the relations between landlords and tenants which now, unhappily, existed in Ireland and would exist so long as the House refused to deal with the question of arrears. It was the question of the coming winter in Ireland, and it was the question to which statesmen—anxious for the tranquillity of the country—should address themselves with all their earnestness. The case of James Dunne, who was recently evicted in County Louth, and died shortly after his eviction, had a most direct bearing on the question of arrears, because his eviction had, notwithstanding the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary's denial in his speech at Leeds, been caused by arrears of rent; and had an Arrears Bill such as was brought before the House last year and the year before been passed, the eviction would not have taken place, the man would probably be now alive, and his family would certainly be in possession of their old home. He would tell the House what the real facts of Dunne's case were, and he had not taken his views with an unquestioning ear, but had gone to the place and investigated the matter for himself. In the first place, Dunne was a man of 80 years of age, and during 60 of these years he had paid rent to the Singleton family for the holding, of which his family had been in possession for 300 years. They had built the dwelling house. They had drained and fenced the land. He could not imagine a more damning case against the state of the law in Ireland than that such an eviction could take place. The rent was fixed 60 years ago, and from that time it had never been reduced. During the years that had intervened since 1879 Dunne had made every effort to pay his rent. In 1885 he paid all his rent except £25. In 1886 there came the crisis, and Dunne was unable to pay the rent, and the landlord seized his cattle and crops, and in 1888 Dunne paid exactly half the rent; yet the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had said that the public opinion of England would support the landlord in casting Dunne out on the roadside; but he had not so poor an opinion of the people of England as the Chief Secretary for Ireland. The landlord had totted up the arrears for five years, and refused to take anything less than one year's rent in full. Under the Act to which he had given his support last year Dunne had been able to break a short lease. If the Arrears Act which had been pressed upon that House had been adopted Dunne's rent would have been reduced by 40 per cent. Dunne was paying a rent of 25*s.* an acre to the landlord, and he sub-let a portion of his land, but when it was put up for public auction all he could get was 14*s.* an acre. The next farm to Dunne's was one from which the tenant had been evicted. It was exactly the same class of land, and the tenant had been paying exactly the same rent as Dunne—namely, 25*s.* an acre. The tenant was evicted, and £300 was spent in improving the land. The agent then put it up for auction, expecting, of course, to get an enhanced rent after this expenditure on improvements, but the highest bid he could get was 10*s.* an acre, and he had to give the farm back to the original tenant at 12*s.* an acre. Other tenants on the same property, who had been enabled to go before the Land Court, had had their rents reduced—in one case from £28 to £17, and in another from £57 to £36, and that proved that had Dunne been able to have had his case heard before a Court, such as they had urged upon the House to institute in Ireland, and holding such powers as they contended should be vested in the Land Courts, he would have had his rent reduced by 50 per cent, so that if they calculated the difference between the rack-rent Dunne had been paying and what would be a fair rent, they would find that the old man had paid, since he became tenant, the arrears for the non-payment of which he was evicted at least seven times over. They must also remember that Dunne had built his house, the out-offices, and effected all the improvements with his own money and the industry of himself and family, and he lost all that property by the simple process of the law which evicted him after his long lifetime, and after paying the rent he had been paying for so many years. These and other facts which he adduced disposed, he contended, of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary's statement with regard to Dunne's arrears, and showed how eminently his was a case to be dealt with by a Bill dealing with arrears, such as was indicated by the Amendment before the House. The

right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had suggested the infamous conclusion that the National League, for the purpose of making capital out of this old man's death, had allowed him to lie on the roadside to die from exposure; but he would remind the right hon. Gentleman that this tenant was not a member of the National League at all, nor had there been any branch of the National League in the district in which he lived. If there had been a branch of the National League there, he (Mr. Gill) believed that the old man would be alive to-day, and his family would be provided for. He was not in the Plan of Campaign either—the tenants on this estate not being as fortunate as the tenants on a neighbouring estate at present leagued under the Plan of Campaign. This sorrowful story would not have to be told. It had been boasted by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary that the Plan of Campaign had been broken up on the neighbouring estate of Lord Massereene; but on the very same day that this old man was put out, Messrs. Dudgeon and Emerson were carrying out evictions on that estate, and on the first day of the inquest those gentlemen took advantage of the people going away to withdraw their soldiers and police to carry out five or six evictions on Lord Massereene's estate. The very presence of death was not sufficient to deter them.

Mr. MACARTNEY (Antrim, S.) said, he was glad to observe that the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Louth (Mr. Gill) took up quite a different position to that assumed by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lanark (Mr. Philipps). As to the case of James Dunne, the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland had made a statement, which was before the public, and they could judge between that statement and the one now made by the hon. Member. Therefore, it was unnecessary to go further into the details; but he would venture to say that the hon. Member had chosen a very unfortunate example of the rent-paying Irish tenant. It appeared that in 1881 Dunne was about £80 in arrear; in 1882 he was due £50 more; in 1883, £30; in 1884 he paid no rent at all; in 1885 he left £25; and in 1886 he paid no rent. That case would hardly extricate the right hon. Gentleman the Member fo Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) from the dilemma in which he placed himself when he represented the Irish tenant both as a rent-paying tenant and as crushed by arrears. The hon. Member (Mr. Gill) contended that Dunne's rent was an unfair rent; but it was admitted that in 1879 and 1880, which were two bad years, Dunne paid his rent out of savings of previous years. Of that the natural conclusion would be that, at all events, up to 1880 it was a fair rent. The hon. Member attempted to deny that Dunne's landlord had offered to wipe out his arrears, but, at all events, his arrears could not have been the result of pressure in previous years, as he had only paid about one-third of his rent the previous year. As far as he (Mr. Macartney) could gather from the tone of the hon. Member's remarks, he was not prepared to offer any opposition to the Bill now before the House. He understood that the hon. Member would vote for the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian; but he did not appear to be disposed to vote against the Main Question. He did not know if that was the position which would be generally taken up by the hon. Member's Colleagues, but it was satisfactory so far as it went. Well, then, that being so, he would address himself to the question of arrears, which was apparently the important question. The hon. Member for Mid Lanark refused to admit that he and those who sat with him represented any Irish opinion at all. He did not wish to enter into a discussion of the point, especially as the hon. Member was not then in the House; but he would instead offer the opinion of eminent Irishmen who, he believed, would be admitted to represent the opinions of Irishmen of all classes. He found in the Appendix to the Report of the Cowper Commission the expression of the opinion that—

"The provisions of the Ashbourne Act, as to amount and security of loans for the purchase of holdings, would give entire satisfaction to the tenants without involving any loss to the Treasury."

Dr. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid): Protestant Bishops?

Mr. MACARTNEY: No; they were Roman Catholic Bishops—the Bishop of Tuam and other Roman Catholic Bishops;

and he dared say the hon. Member would feel happier after that.

DR. TANNER: Yes.

MR. MACARTNEY said, that what he had quoted was a declaration by four eminent Irishmen, representing the opinions of Irishmen of all classes, and it must carry great weight in favour of the Bill. Additional testimony was given in a periodical this month by the Archbishop of Dublin, who wrote that—

"The abolition of the present system of dual ownership by a comprehensive measure of purchase is by the consent of all parties the ultimate goal to be aimed at as a step towards a desirable end. The extension of the singularly successful Act of 1885 will not be objected to by many Irishmen, provided always that the step be taken within the limits of a purely temporary measure, so as not to stand in the way of the consideration next year of the whole question of Land Purchase in Ireland."

[*Ironical Cheers.*] He was quite willing to give hon. Gentlemen opposite the full benefit of the safeguard which the Archbishop had introduced. All he claimed was that, with regard to the measure now before the House, they had the opinion of the Archbishop that it was beneficial, and that the Act which the House was asked to extend had been a singularly successful measure. He invited the House to give its attention to that opinion in contradistinction to the view which had been somewhat wildly put forward by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lanark. As to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, it indicated the worst possible way of dealing with the Irish agricultural question. It would be said by hon. Members opposite that he (Mr. Macartney) represented the opinions only of landlords, but in what he was going to say he believed he represented the opinion of every tenant farmer in Ireland who had paid his rent. He had taken special trouble during the last few months to ascertain their opinion with regard to arrears, and he unhesitatingly said that if the House proceeded to relieve men who were now in arrears it would be a step absolutely opposed to the views of the great majority of tenant farmers in Ireland. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] He was referring to men who had, with or without difficulty, paid their rent during the last eight or nine years. Hon. Members might deny the statement, but they would find it almost impossible to produce a single tenant farmer who, having paid his rent, would approve of any further measures with regard to arrears. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian said, "Why should you extend to Scotland a measure of relief which you are not prepared to extend to Ireland?" but it had been already extended to Ireland, and without any good results whatever. He ventured to say that nine-tenths of the tenants who were now in arrears were men who had their arrears swept away in 1883 by the operation of the Act of 1882; and if those arrears under which they now laboured were swept away by any measure such as that which the right hon. Gentleman proposed, they would be in arrears again in another five or six years. He had quite an array of facts and figures in support of that view. On the Gosling estate, in Queen's County—on which there were 66 tenants—every tenant who availed himself of the Act of 1882 was in arrears again in November, 1887, to a larger extent than before. One tenant, who had £285 cleared off in 1883, had accumulated, in 1887, £388 more. On the Ashdown estate, in County Galway, there was a remarkable case of a man who, having been freed of two years' rent in 1882, had only paid a year and a half's rent in all the time since. If his present arrears were swept away, no doubt he would at once proceed to run up some more. Mr. Uniacke Townsend recently had a conversation with a tenant, a neighbour of his, who had paid his rent. This tenant was greatly disgusted that Parliament was going to intervene on behalf of his neighbours who had not paid, and he said—"I will not be caught again. I am going to be qualified for the next Arrears Bill." [*Cries of* "Name!"] That was the feeling which pervaded the tenantry of Ireland. He would not give the name of the tenant in public, but he would be happy to hand the letter over to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley). The hon. Member read to the House numerous estate details, showing how general it was that tenants who were relieved under the Act of 1882 were again in arrear, and proceeded to point out that they would never get rid of the weakened condition of the agricultural interest in Ireland if by a series

of measures in Parliament they insisted on keeping upon the land men who were absolutely incapable of farming at an advantage. The benefit of Arrears Acts was mainly taken by idle and neglectful tenants, who ought to be cleared off and replaced by "strong" men. He could not understand the Parnellite Members, who looked forward to Home Rule, wishing to encourage a pernicious system for the benefit of men who never had been good farmers, and never would be, and who must, therefore, be a source of weakness not only to the agricultural interest, but also to every other interest in the community. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian tried to make the House believe that this Bill was being pushed forward for the benefit of landlords; but, speaking for Ulster, with which he was specially acquainted, he could assure the House that there was far greater anxiety in that part of Ireland on the part of the tenants than on that of the landlords to carry out sales under this Ashbourne scheme. Indeed, in some parts of Ulster pressure was being brought to bear on some Members of Parliament to make the sale compulsory on the landlord. The real objection on the part of the Gladstonians and Parnellites to extending the Ashbourne Act was simply that it had been too successful, and that it would destroy the foundation of the National League agitation. He would read to the House portions of two letters which he would show privately to any hon. Member, but he would not name the writers. One letter was dated October 10th, and related to a portion of County Monaghan. It said—

"Things certainly are very much improved in Ireland. The farmers are getting into better spirits, and in a corresponding degree are dropping agitation. I got some remarkable proofs of the change at Carrickmacross the other day. My informant, a Nationalist, acknowledged that the 600 tenants who had purchased from Lord Bath had lost all their patriotism. They would subscribe to no Nationalist fund, and they refused to attend the League; and, worst of all, the circulation of *The Freeman* had fallen off by upwards of 100 a-day."

Another letter, dated November 17th, stated—

"I have just returned from Kilkenny, where I went yesterday to complete negotiations with tenants for sale under the Act. They all closed and signed agreements except one, and he will do so before a week. They increased their offers to 20 years' purchase. This was very good, and as well as I expected; but, better still, the tenants on another property were all paying rent, and I said to them—'What would you think now about buying?' They had been approached on the subject 12 months ago, but then they were indifferent, and almost averse, and I did not think they would respond, but the sequel proved there had come a change, and they all bought before I left at over 18 years' purchase, and seemed delighted. I heard that pressure was put upon their Member (Mr. Quinn) not to oppose the grant. This is a curious commentary on *The Freeman* articles, saying that the grant would be a curse, and also upon Mr. Gladstone's Notice of Motion. There is a great change in the tenants; the air seems purer."

With regard to an observation of the hon. Member for Mid Lanark, that it was usual to insert in deeds a provision that the trust funds should not be invested in Irish land, it ought to be borne in mind that this had not always been the case. Such investment in Irish land had only been forbidden in such deeds during the last 20 years, dating, indeed, from about the time that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian commenced his Irish remedial legislation. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the Prime Minister's simile of the three Irishmen sitting on two others and rifling their pockets, and had said that if this was a true picture of the Irish people it was scarcely advisable to trust them with this further advance. But the simile had only reference to a hypothetical Ireland in which Home Rule was established. If there was any reasonable probability of Home Rule being granted, then he could understand the force of this objection; but they now believed that Home Rule was not within the limits of probability. Lord Spencer, on the second reading of Lord Ashbourne's Act, strongly recommended the gradual extension of purchase by the tenants as the best way of dealing with the Irish Land Question, and so did the Irish Bishops. The Government were doing the right thing at the present time in proceeding step by step with the question of Land Purchase in Ireland. They were proceeding in a way which would not only benefit the Irish people and successfully establish a proper race of peasant proprietors, but would also conduce best to settle one of the most thorny elements of the Irish Question.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.): I willingly join in the regrets that the House is deprived of the presence of

the right hon. Gentleman who is responsible for the Government of Ireland in this very important debate. I do not think there is any disposition on these Benches to improve the occasion by saying the sort of things which the right hon. Gentleman thought it right to say when the illness was the illness of men who were his own prisoners and in his own power. I pass from that. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), both in his Amendment and in his speech, insisted that the arrears question is the urgent question and the only urgent question in Ireland at this moment. The Irish Bishops, to whose authority the last speaker appealed, insisted upon the same thing a short time ago. The Irish Members insisted upon the same thing. I will try to recall to the House, and to fix its attention upon that question of arrears; and as to that question I must say I was not able to gather from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer what exactly is the position of the Government in reference to it. He did not deny the difficulty, but he did not face it; and he will excuse me for saying that his speech did not seem to me to betray anything like proper consciousness of the fact that this question of arrears is a question that is torturing the hearts of fathers and mothers in many a thousand poor Irish cabins to-night. He told us, indeed, that we are all labouring under a tremendous fallacy, and that those arrears are not the arrears of unjust rents, but that they are the arrears of judicial rents. I dare say that that tremendous fallacy is the precious discovery on the strength of which the Chief Secretary for Ireland a short time ago lectured the Irish Bishops in a compassionate manner upon their ignorance of this arrears question. They do not enjoy the superior advantage that the right hon. Gentleman enjoys of studying this question from a philosophical standpoint in Haddingtonshire or London. They live amongst the people, and the right hon. Gentleman taunted them, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer has taunted us to-night, with being under a complete hallucination as to the question of arrears. I do not know whether there is any truth in the rumour that the right hon. Gentleman has been taking measures to correct the erroneous doctrines of the Irish Bishops by another Rescript from Rome. He gave a very broad hint in one recent speech that he was trying it anyhow. But what is the fact as to this prècious discovery that these arrears are the arrears of just judicial rents? In the first place, the vast bulk of these arrears began to accumulate long before these judicial rents could be fixed at all. The hon. Member for Louth (Mr. Gill) gave an example to-night in the case of James Dunne. The arrears for which he was evicted, and for which he lost his life, began to accumulate as long ago as 1880, and they had been ever since increasing; and my hon. Friend told you of Dunne's fruitless struggles to beat off those arrears that were hanging like a millstone round his neck. What do the figures quoted by the last speaker as to the Arrears Act prove? Simply that these tenants swept themselves bare in order to raise the year's rent that was necessary to compound under the Arrears Act, and they never have been able to flounder out of debt since. In the second place, the Chancellor of the Exchequer forgets that until the Act of last year there were over 100,000 tenants who were debarred from getting judicial rents fixed. In the third place, even as to judicial rents, you yourselves had to reduce them last year as impossible and irrecoverable rents; and, more than that, every just landlord in Ireland has been for several years past reducing these judicial rents, and giving lower reductions than were scheduled under the Act of last year. It is the fact that nine-tenths at least of these arrears are the direct result of rents which are now acknowledged by law to be unjust and oppressive rack-rents. That is the fallacy to which the Irish Bishops and the Irish Representatives are a prey. The Chief Secretary has developed such an astounding faculty for denial that I would not be surprised if in his next speech down the country he told us that this arrears difficulty is purely an imaginary one, and is a fable a thousand times exploded. It would not be a bit more daring than his story of the Mitchelstown ricochet shot. If this question is not a very vital and burning question, why is the Government asking for £5,000,000? Is it for the benefit of thriving tenants that the British taxpayer is asked to supply £5,000,000? I regret to say that it is the rich flourishing tenants of the

Abercorn family who are feathering their nests at the expense of the British taxpayer, and not the poor cottier tenant of the West. But, of course, that is not the Government's case; it is their case that it is the embarrassed and overburdened tenant that will be benefited by this Bill. I think it will be easy to show that the Bill will do nothing of the sort; it will make the rich tenants richer; but, so far as the poor tenants are concerned, it will leave them as hopeless and helpless as ever, unless, indeed, they can be tempted to join in a fraud on the British Treasury; for when the Solicitor General told us to-night that the arrears would be wiped off by purchase, he did not tell us that if wiped off at all, they will be wiped off by adding them to the purchase money which the British taxpayer is asked to advance. I hold—and I think it will be proved in the course of these discussions—that the Bill will be either a fraud itself or the cause of fraud in others. But the point I am on at present is the terrific magnitude which I do not believe the House appreciates of the danger to the tenantry of Ireland from these iniquitous arrears. I think it is perfectly impossible on that point to resist the evidence of the Eviction Returns for the last two years, although most impudent attempts have been made to juggle with them, and all sorts of attempts made to minimize them, owing to the change in the form of eviction procedure under the Act of last year. When I heard the Chancellor of the Exchequer speaking to-night of 300 evictions for the past year I took the trouble to examine the Returns; and I beg the attention of the House to a comparison of the Eviction Returns for the year 1886—the year before the Chief Secretary introduced his Crimes Act—with the Returns for the present year, when the right hon. Gentleman and his newspapers and his friends are bragging of the triumphant success of his Administration. If the House will bear with me for a moment I think I will be able to show that during the career of the Chief Secretary for Ireland there has been a most alarming and progressive increase—a perfectly horrible increase in the number of legal evictions—in the number of persons whom the law has deprived of every shred of property in their holdings, and placed them absolutely at the mercy of the landlords. In 1886 —the year before the right hon. Gentleman introduced his Coercion Act—there were 698 tenants evicted in the first quarter; 1,309 in the second; 1,108 in the third; and 666 in the fourth—making a total of 3,781 tenants evicted during that year. In the present year, after two years' experience of the right hon. Gentleman's policy, there were, by one form of process or another, 2,780 tenants deprived of their property in their holdings in the first quarter; 3,775 in the second; 3,812 in the third—that is, the last quarter for which we have Returns—which shows there were in the last three months more tenants deprived of their property in their holdings than during the whole 12 months of 1886. For the nine months of this year 10,367 tenants have been legally, and quite as effectively, if not bodily evicted and deprived of every shred of their property in their holdings — 10,367 tenants against 3,781 in the year 1886. If the same rate continues until the end of the year—and the rate is steadily increasing —you will have 14,000 families, or 70,000 men, women, and children, subjected to this process of legal eviction this year —nearly fourfold of an increase in the figures for one year before the passing of the Coercion Act. I notice an interesting fact, which I commend to the attention of the hon. Member opposite, who boasted that he spoke for all the tenants of Ulster; and I commend it also to the attention of the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell), who, I dare say, will during this debate also speak for all the tenants of Ulster. In the loyal Province of Ulster there were 903 tenants turned into caretakers in the first quarter of this year, against 754 in the Plan of Campaigned Province of Munster. In the second quarter, the number of tenants whose tenancies were determined in loyal Ulster was 1,126; while disloyal Munster got off with 654. I venture to suggest to the hon. Member for South Tyrone that the next time he is in search of evictions he need not go so far afield as the County Clare. The farmers of Tyrone would be very much obliged to him to look at home; while he has been doing Emergency work in East Clare the landlords have been scourging Ulster, and Ulster had not a Plan of Campaign to protect her. I know it will be attempted, but it is perfectly idle to attempt to get rid of these appalling

figures by telling us that the greater number of 10,600 tenancies determined within the last nine months have been tenancies determined by caretakers' notices under Section 7 of the Act of last year—that is, the new form which the law prescribes—the new form of eviction; but it is a tenfold cheaper and surer form of eviction for the landlord, and it is every bit as effective in destroying the tenant's property in his little holding and in his improvements. An audacious attempt has been made by the Chief Secretary's Secretary and the hon. Member for Fulham (Mr. Fisher) at Haslingden to prove that the caretakers' notices were most innocent documents—that they were mere civil invitations to pay up, and that they did not damnify the tenants' position in the least.

MR. FISHER said, he did not make the speech.

MR. W. O'BRIEN: I refer to another gentleman whom I can name, as he is not a Member of the House, Mr. Wyndham. His speech at Haslingden is extant in choice English in *The Manchester Courier*. What is the fact? The moment the tenant receives one of those registered letters through the post, just as if the guillotine descended upon him, he ceases to be a tenant and becomes a mere caretaker. The ownership in the home and the house that he built, and in his own improvements, and, practically speaking, everything that he has in the world is put into the pockets of the landlord. He is liable to eviction on the roadside at any moment after a month when the landlord chooses to apply for an order for possession at the cost of, I think, 1*s.*; and he can never regain his status as a tenant unless within six months he can satisfy the landlord's demand for rent and arrears, and pay the lawyer's bill of costs—an impossible bill of costs—into the bargain. That is the effect of these notices, which the English people are led to believe are nothing more than a mere pleasant interchange of courtesies between landlord and tenant. The effect of them is simply to strip the tenant of every shred of legal property, and reduce him to a condition of absolute helplessness, hopelessness, and living death. I have shown you that there will have been this year 14,000 families, 70,000 persons, in that terrible position in this year of grace, when the Chief Secretary goes about bragging that he has brought back tranquillity and prosperity to Ireland. I know, Sir, side by side with this prodigious increase in legal evictions there has been a very marked suspension of actual bodily eviction; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to-night told us that the greater number of cases in which persons had been actually thrown out on the roadside and their houses demolished about their ears had been on the Plan of Campaign estates. That by no means has been universally the fact. Take the case of the Singleton property for example. That was not a Plan of Campaign estate; and let me cite as an example one of James Dunne's neighbours, Thomas Reid, who was evicted on the same day. His old rent was £57; his new rent, which was fixed as a fair rent, was £36; that is to say, he had been paying an unjust rent of £21 a-year during the 21 years while his lease had been running on, so that practically speaking he was robbed in that time of £441, whereas he was evicted for arrears amounting to £175; so that if full justice had been done in Thomas Reid's case he would not only have got a clear receipt for the arrears, but he would have been entitled to something like £300 from the landlord. I admit that the Plan of Campaign estates have been specially selected for vengeance, and that a great number of evictions have taken place there. That is our contention, and I hold that is the proof of the danger of the general body of tenants and a triumphant vindication of the Plan of Campaign. I have shown that there were over 10,000 tenants who were liable for the last nine months to be flung out on the roadside; but if they have not been flung out they do not thank the Government nor the landlords, but the Plan of Campaign. The landlords have been concentrating all their strength and their venom against the Plan of Campaign estates, because they knew that the tenants' combinations on these estates are the only barriers against a torrent of evictions; and I will tell you why that torrent of evictions has not broken loose, because the Government, with all their terrors, have absolutely and ignominiously failed to crush the Plan of Campaign. Those poor groups of Irish tenants have been for the last couple of years persecuted and maligned in every possible brutal way. But they have

stood their ground against all odds, and they have shown a heroism that never was surpassed on the battlefield—they faced evictions, faced bayonets, faced gaols, and faced the Holy Inquisition. Nearly two years have elapsed, and these poor unarmed Irish peasants stand unconquered and unconquerable still. It is because their sacrifices have aroused the attention and indignation of the English people against evictions in Ireland that the landlords have not long ago gone in for wholesale clearances like a pack of wolves. And these people would have been exterminated like vermin if the Plan of Campaign had been broken down. But it cannot. The right hon. Gentleman is quite correct. It has caused a few evictions; but it has saved thousands. Let me give you an illustration of this. There is not in the whole County of Mayo a single Plan of Campaign estate at this moment. Yet what is the fact? Of all the counties in Ireland Mayo is the one that heads the list of evictions for the three-quarters of this year. Is the Plan of Campaign answerable for these? No. It is the Plan of Campaign that has prevented all these 2,000 eviction notices that have been served in the County of Mayo from being executed, because the landlords remember the result of our struggle on Lord Dillon's estate in Mayo. They dare not face wholesale clearances in the face of the combination of the Irish people and the watchfulness of the English people; and though every man of these poor caretakers continues to be stripped of every legal right he has in the world, unless, as the hon. Member for South Antrim (Mr. Macartney) has suggested, they pay the amount of their rent and arrears—and many of them do manage, by some extraordinary shift, to endeavour to satisfy the landlord—but if they do they simply put off the evil day, and are plunging themselves deeper and deeper into embarrassment. You may dislike the Plan of Campaign; and I, for one, never hesitated to confess that I am ready to abandon it in the morning if you even give us a decent Court of Arbitration to replace it. You may abuse the Plan of Campaign; but where is the alternative? You may abuse it; but you cannot crush it. Up to this hour I defy you to affix any stigma of dishonesty or crime to it. The hon. Member for South Tyrone as been lying low to-night; but he has publicly stated that he means to convict us with fraud, and all the rest of it. He has publicly made mention of his intention to discomfit us over the Vandeleur estate, and I am sorry that he has not given us the opportunity of hearing him to-night; but I can very well anticipate what his statement will be. In the whole history of these transactions there is no incident more repulsive than that trip of the Member for South Tyrone to the Vandeleur evictions—burrowing all day in search of every scrap of evidence that could be twisted against the unfortunate tenants, dining and hobnobbing in the evening with the evictors, and then sitting down like the candid friend to write his letters to *The Times*, reporting every bit of tittle-tattle he had picked up from the enemies of the people, and making a particular entry of every bit of ribbon or fringe worn by a young girl, and of every decent pair of shoes that he saw on the people in the streets. It is not a nice trade, that of "tenant's friend" in Tyrone and literary Emergency man in West Clare. To all intents and purposes the hon. Member was just as much a part of the machinery of eviction as the battering ram. He was very much worse, because the English people would not have permitted the machinery of eviction to work so long, but for the machinery of misrepresentation. I do not know if it would be within Order to say that the hon. Gentleman went there to spy; but, as he said himself, he went to record everything that he wrung from the poor people of West Clare under the eye of Mr. Cecil Roche, when the elected Representatives of the people of Clare were batoned back by the police when they attempted to verify his inquiries. The House is not in a position to judge of the complicated details of these cases; but I will tell you who is. The landlord's brother-in-law, Mr. Henry Carew Reeves, is in a position to judge. Then there is Mr. Micks, the Local Government Board Inspector, the Secretary under the Arrears Act. The testimony of these two men is worth more than that of the hon. Member for South Tyrone. Both these men formulated terms of settlement which the tenants were willing to accept, but which the landlord rejected. Both these men—one a landlord and the other a high official—proposed terms; and by the rejection of these terms these

men, I can tell you, practically speaking condemned the landlord and vindicate, the position of the tenants. In face of the testimony of two men like these, what becomes of the twopenny-halfpenny fables which the hon. Member for South Tyrone picked up at the dinner table of the agent? But there is something more than that. I do not know whether the House is aware that in a public speech in the tenants' name I myself offered to submit this whole dispute to the arbitration of another Mr. Reeves, who is himself a Land Commissioner, a Queen's Counsel, a Protestant Conservative gentleman, and a landowner in the County Clare; and I undertook to pay £1,000 to the funds of the Landlords' Defence Association if the arbitrator decided that, upon the whole, the tenants' claim was a dishonest one, on condition that Colonel Turner would agree to pay £500 to the evicted tenants if the decision of the arbitrator was adverse to the landlord. I repeat that offer here to-night, and I will accompany it by an offer to the hon. Member for South Tyrone. If he is so confident of his position, let us both resign our seats in this House to-night. I am afraid it would be a French compliment to ask him to meet me in my constituency of North-East Cork, though if we believe what we are told by Ministerial speakers, my intimidated constituents would be only too glad, too enthusiastic in welcoming the hon. Member as a deliverer; but, seriously speaking, let him take the opinion of the farmers of South Tyrone as to his part in these Vandeleur evictions; and if he comes back victorious to this House, I pledge myself to sign the humblest apology he can pen for ever having impugned his action. If he will not close with that offer, and if he dare not face and show himself to South Tyrone, as the landlord dare not face the arbitrator, let us hear no more of the hon. Member's profound investigation into the condition of County Clare from the top of an Emergency jaunting car. There is another point in reference to these Vandeleur evictions, and it is of considerably more importance, and considerably more serious, than the hon. Member's contributions to *The Times* newspaper. I told you that Mr. Micks, the Local Government Board Inspector, proposed terms of settlement. Mr. Micks has since been removed from his post. He has been banished to the North of Ireland, and on the express ground that he interfered between landlord and tenant; and what I want to point out is that there was another official in connection with these Vandeleur evictions who interfered between landlord and tenant. He was not a man of Mr. Micks' experience in arrears. He was a military man—a police magistrate—Colonel Turner, and Colonel Turner interfered not in a quiet and friendly way in order to preserve the peace. He wrote a furious partizan letter to *The Daily News*, in which he accused the most venerable priest in Clare—the Vicar General, Dr. Dynan—and the hon. Member for East Clare (Mr. Cox) of being receivers of stolen goods; and then went on to say—

"I have not hesitated to express my regret that so far no steps have apparently been taken on behalf of the landlords to utilize the effect of these evictions and work the evicted farms. Evictions are a sad necessity, and especially so where the tenants can pay and will not; but certain duties are incumbent on the landlord, and if the vile and dishonest conspiracy known as the Plan of Campaign"——

[An hon. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] That may be the hon. Gentleman's opinion; but I have yet to learn that the Chief Magistrate of Clare is paid to express those opinions in English newspapers. Colonel Turner continued—

"than which no more fraudulent scheme was ever started by seditious minds, is to be successfully fought, more must be done than merely evicting tenants and leaving evicted farms idle, and the combination will not be defeated unless such take place. In this connection I am able to state with fairness to the agent, Mr. Stoddart, that this defect is now being remedied, and active steps are being taken on behalf of the landlord to save the crops and work the land, and generally to utilize these evicted farms."

Now, here is a man—a magistrate—paid to stand impartially between man and man, and his notion of impartially preserving the peace is to launch out into a furious newspaper controversy, and to accuse men at least as honourable and as moral, and as good men as he, to accuse a most respected priest and the Representative of the people of being receivers of stolen goods, and actually to flog the landlord up to his work, to stimulate him, and to prompt him to bring further trouble and further misery upon that estate by flooding it with hired bravos, with Emergency men, in order to make war on the unfortunate tenants. I want to know

from the Government what better right Colonel Turner had to interfere than Mr. Micks had? Unless it be that, unlike Mr. Micks, Colonel Turner interfered as an open and virulent partizan of the landlord. Has Colonel Turner been removed or reprimanded, as unfortunate Mr. Micks was? On the contrary, I have no doubt, in due time, we shall hear of his being gazetted a K.C.B., or sent out to Queensland; but, possibly, recent events have spoilt his chance in that quarter. Has there been any sort of rebuke administered to him? On the contrary, within the past few weeks, Colonel Turner has tried his hand upon a new interference between landlord and tenant, and this time it was on the Kenmare estate, in County Kerry. This time he appeared in a new character—that of a successful intimidator of the landlord—and he posed as a rival to the Plan of Campaign in the confidence and affections of the tenantry. Most luckily we have got the evidence under his own hand, and the correspondence speaks for itself, though I do not think it was originally framed by Colonel Turner with a view to publication. On the 28th of October Sergeant O'Callaghan informed the tenants he was authorized by Colonel Turner to tell them that if they would abandon the Plan of Campaign he would submit their demands to the proper authority, and take steps to obtain reasonable reductions; and he, furthermore—this Sergeant O'Callaghan—informed the tenants that Colonel Turner was a more powerful person in Munster than even the Chief Secretary. The tenants took the Sergeant's hint and they wrote to Colonel Turner. This is his reply—

"Sir—I have received your letter, and I will put your case before the proper people as your representative. I must, however, point out that I have no power or authority whatever to interfere."

That is precisely what we say; and then he immediately proceeds to interfere and lay down conditions, and says—

"I did not say I would undertake to see the tenants fairly dealt with. What I did say was"—

and I would like to know what legal warrant there is for saying this—

"that if they abstain from taking any part whatever in the fraudulent conspiracy called the Plan of Campaign, which has been declared illegal."

By whom? "By the Government." That is the Dublin Castle theory of legality to a T. It is not the law which has got to be obeyed; but the Government—

"That if they abandon the Plan of Campaign, which has been declared illegal by the Government, and pronounced immoral by the highest ecclesiastical authority—namely, the Pope."

I do not see the hon. Member for South Belfast. I would like to know what he thinks of the definition, unless he also has gone over to Rome in a political sense. We hope the hon. Member, whom we all respect, will be able to give us his opinion on this subject. "If, further," the letter continues—

"They cease to have any dealings with agitators, who, for their own selfish ends"—

this is the unmalicious and impartial magistrate—

"Who for their own selfish ends are endeavouring to push the unfortunate tenants to their ruin"—

Colonel Turner is the only friend unfortunate tenants had—"I will do all in my power,"—he commenced by saying there was nothing in his power—

"I will do all in my power to get their case fairly put forward."

The tenants immediately thanked him, and they wrote—

"As this is the gale day, and we at any moment might be pressed for the payment of rents which are unjust, and which we are unable to pay, may I ask you will you kindly let me know at your earliest convenience, for the information of my fellow tenants, what reductions you have been able to obtain for us?"

[*Laughter.*] Well, Colonel Turner did not laugh at that letter; but he sent a perfectly grave reply, saying he had received the letter; that he would submit the case to the proper quarter; and that he would communicate the result as soon as he received it. I venture to say that is the Government plan of dealing with the arrears. That is what all their boasts and coercion have come to; and after two years they are driven back to the same hit or miss, the same arbitrary plan of pressure on bad landlords, which the right hon. Baronet the Member for Bristol (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was detected in two years ago. I say the Government have acknowledged that interference in some shape or form is absolutely essential; and this is their Plan of Campaign. I ask the House, can there possibly be a Plan

of Campaign that is more un-Constitutional, any that is more objectionable in every shape or form? What does Colonel Turner mean by his promise to do all in his power if he does not mean exactly what Sergeant O'Callaghan said—if he does not mean that he—a police magistrate—is to assume to himself the very function which the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) would transfer to a competent and regular judicial tribunal? To my mind it is perfectly clear that he—a police magistrate—practically speaking, undertakes to bully landlords or tenants into any terms, whether just or unjust, that he in his ignorance may lay down. And remember this also—that Colonel Turner never interfered at all until the tenants had adopted the Plan of Campaign; and because they had adopted the Plan of Campaign, and because he found it necessary to compete with us and to outbid us, and because we ventured to emancipate Kerry from the dual control of the Chief Secretary and Captain Moonlight. I would like to know how hon. Gentlemen opposite like the idea of dealing with arrears by drumhead court martial? Are the Irish tenants to be taught that they must adopt the Plan of Campaign if they want Colonel Turner to interest himself in them, and what is to become of the tenants in the other 30 counties that have no Colonel Turner? I hold that Colonel Turner's action is a complete official recognition of the necessity for this Amendment. The wit of man could not devise a remedy more objectionable and more unjust to landlord and to tenant than this system of ignorant and arbitrary meddling by a police magistrate, who takes up his quarters in the house of the most hated agent in Clare, and who does not as much as attempt to conceal his uncontrollable partizanship. Now, I have addressed myself at very undue length to the subject; and I will say that, so far as we are concerned, while we do not object to Colonel Turner's interference in the least, still we join the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian in desiring to establish a regular or judicial Court of Arbitration instead of the amateur Arrears Court of Colonel Turner and Sergeant O'Callaghan. The urgency of this question is now admitted. If what the Government want is to bring about peace in Ireland, and not merely to gain political triumph and vengeance, I say here to-night that it is perfectly within their power this Session, or even within the limits of this Bill, to construct a tribunal which would do for Ireland what the Crofters Commission has done for Scotland, and wipe out with generous and judicious hand the accumulated results of many years of suffering and injustice. I say that this Bill is not a remedy, and is not intended to be a remedy. It is a mere Bill for shovelling English gold into the pockets of the Irish landlords; and if you pass it you will simply be enabling the Irish landlords to complete their historical career of public mischief and guilt by plundering England after draining and plundering Ireland.

MR. CURZON (Lancashire, Southport) said, he could not attempt to follow the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. W. O'Brien) in the fire and eloquence of a speech which had interested, if it had not much enlightened them. He desired to congratulate the Government on their decision to introduce and press forward that Bill, and to meet with, he hoped, a firm and uncompromising opposition the most mischievous Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). He paid that tribute to the Government with greater pleasure because he had been totally opposed to the policy of an Autumn Session, and had thought it bad as a precedent and unwarranted by the reasons alleged for its justification. But the time which they might have grudged for the conduct of business which had fallen into arrear they would gladly give to the passing of a measure of that kind, conceived in the best interests of the peasantry of Ireland. He was sure there was not a man on the Benches around him who did not feel that he would be amply repaid for the trouble and inconvenience to which he had been put in coming there at that time of the year by the passing of the Bill. He held it to have been an act not of policy or of wisdom on the part of the Government, but of positive duty, to have introduced that measure. By Lord Ashbourne's Act of 1885 they had entered into an obligation with two classes in Ireland—with such landlords as were

willing on equitable terms to sell, and with such tenants as were willing on reasonable terms to buy. They pledged to both the encouragement of the State and the co-operation and the security of the State. That was an obligation of faith and honour on the part of Her Majesty's Government, to borrow a phrase from a forgotten vocabulary of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. That obligation had increased rather than diminished by the lapse of time. If landlords and tenants in Ireland were both anxious for a renewal of that measure, and if they asked to have the same facilities accorded to them as had been enjoyed by their fellows during the past three years, they should be refused they might justly complain of an act of bad faith on the part of the Government and say that instead of being encouraged they had been defrauded and aggrieved. The hon. Member who had spoken last called that Bill a Bill for shovelling English gold into the pockets of Irish landlords, and it had also been characterized as a landlords' relief bill. He (Mr. Curzon) maintained, however, that until they revolutionized the meaning of the English language that was a most incorrect description of the measure. He contended, on the contrary, that the Bill was most clearly a tenants' relief bill. The tenant made a clear gain—a twofold gain by the Bill. He was an immediate gainer by the fact that the interest *plus* the sinking fund he would be called on to pay from year to year under the Act was less by a good deal, if he came at all to reasonable terms with his landlord, as he was pretty certain to do, than the rent he was now paying; and he was a prospective gainer by the fact that after the efflux of time, and that no considerable time, he became the owner of the fee simple instead of a mere tenant. Therefore, to contend that the Bill was introduced in the interest of the landlords instead of in the interest of the tenants was in the highest degree absurd. He must congratulate the hon. and learned Member for Haddington (Mr. Haldane) on the honesty of the speech which he had made that evening. He understood that that hon. and learned Gentleman intended not only to vote against the Amendment, but that he was in favour, with certain reservations of the policy embodied in that Bill. But the hon. Gentleman, although he sat behind the rose, was not the rose himself; and what they wished to ascertain was what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian was going to do, and what vote the Party behind the right hon. Gentleman were going to give on the Bill. He had listened with great attention to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, but was unable to extract from it any clear or definite information on that head. The right hon. Gentleman said that he did not object to the Bill itself—that was, in principle, but he objected to it because it was introduced at that time, and because it involved the postponement of a larger scheme of land purchase which was supposed to be somewhere in the background. It was, he thought, not a very reasonable course of action to object to a measure of Land Purchase the character of which was known, the success of which was admitted, and with the principle of which they agreed, because it involved the postponement of another larger measure of Land Purchase the nature of which they did not know, the probable effects of which they could not gauge, and with the principle of which they might possibly disagree. [Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian stated that his objection against the measure was one of time and season, taunting the Government at the same time with the precipitancy with which they had introduced the Bill. But, he asked, where had been the precipitancy in the introduction of the measure? For months past it had been a matter of notoriety that the money granted by the Act of 1885 had been exhausted, and that the Government intended in this Autumn Session to come forward and make a demand for further funds. It was unfair, therefore, to say that this proposal had been suddenly sprung on the notice of the House. If the right hon. Gentleman did not object to the Bill itself, why did he object to its being taken *de die in diem?* Supposing the Amendment were to be carried, it would interfere with the progress of the Bill and practically destroy it. They wished to know what was the vote which the Party opposite—led by the right hon. Gentleman—were going

to give on the Bill itself? Was objection on the score of time going to over-ride approbation on the score of principle, or was consideration of principle at last to have some sway? Then, the right hon. Gentleman said that he introduced the Amendment as an alternative proposal to that of the Government. The Party opposite deserved to be congratulated on the manner in which they had coupled together two questions so opposite and irrelevant as those of land purchase and arrears of rent. He failed to see any relation whatever, except that of opposition and contrast, between a measure for wiping out a certain portion of the debts of a particular class in Ireland and a measure for enabling another class in Ireland to become the purchasers of their holdings. It was just like meeting a resolution to give A a coat by proposing to give B a waistcoat. There were tenants in Ireland who would be much benefited by reduction of arrears, but there were also tenants who were anxious to become the purchasers of their holdings; and he contended that the solvent tenants of Ireland had just as much claim, had even a superior claim, on the attention of the House than the insolvent tenants had. He understood that the argument of the other side with regard to arrears amounted to this—that because rents had been pronounced to be excessive, first by the decision of the House in 1887 that they ought to be revised, and, secondly, by the revision of the Commissioners themselves, therefore the arrears must be excessive also. Plausible as that proposition was, it involved a gross fallacy. The rents pronounced to be excessive were those fixed some time between 1881 and 1887. They were not excessive at the time they were fixed, but they had become so since, owing to the fall in prices. He reminded the House that it was not until 1886 that the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) asked leave to introduce a Bill for the revision of rents, and that in 1887 a Bill of a somewhat similar character was introduced by the Government granting a somewhat similar reduction for similar causes. But the arrears had accumulated since 1881; they were of several years' standing. The hon. Member for North-East Cork might say that the rents were excessive from the first; but if they were excessive from the first, then the hon. Member condemned the tribunal by which they were fixed. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian had referred in his Amendment to the lamentable suffering from recent evictions in Ireland, allowing it to be understood that the suffering and evictions were due mainly to the pressure of arrears. But they had a good idea as to the source whence the sufferings from evictions came and the evictions themselves. They had been due, not to legislation by the House, but to the action of certain legislators in and outside the House. Instead of all this being due to the pressure of arrears, it might, with greater justice, be attributed to the Plan of Campaign. He believed there had been scarcely any cases in which the landlord had not been willing to grant an abatement of arrears at least as great in proportion as, if not greater than, the reduction of rent forced upon him by the Land Commissioners after the passing of the Act of 1887. By this Amendment the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian asked them to upset the decision at which the House of Commons arrived twice in the same month in the Session of 1887. It could be shown that the Amendment was invidious and unjust, that it would be immoral in its operation, and that it would be fraught with injury to the people of Ireland. It was invidious with regard to those tenants who had already paid both rent and arrears. It would teach the people of Ireland that honesty was stupidity, and that the doors of that House were an avenue to the repudiation of those debts which were most disagreeable to them. Again, he contended that the Amendment would be most unjust in its operation, because it was an attempt to penalize one class of tenants at the expense of another. Where was the justice of annulling, or partly cancelling, the debts due to the landlord, and leaving the debts due to the shopkeeper and the usurer untouched? Indeed, the latter debts could hardly be said to be untouched, inasmuch as they would become better property if the debts due to the landlord were partly cancelled. In 1887 the Government made a fair and reasonable offer to the House and to the Party opposite to place all these debts upon a similar footing; but the offer was refused then, and, as he understood

it, had been again refused that night. That circumstance threw a flood of light on the motives which led to the opposition to the present Bill. He contended that the right hon. Gentleman's Amendment would be immoral in its operation. The Land Bill of 1887 was not defensible in principle, but was a rough-and-ready way of dealing with a temporary and serious emergency. It was a natural corollary of what had occurred in the vicious system of land legislation since the disastrous Act of 1881. But the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian now invited them to take one more retrogade step, and to plunge deeper into the Serbonian bog of economic revolution which he inaugurated in Ireland in that year. If this Amendment were carried where were they to stop? The policy of the right hon. Gentleman appeared to him (Mr. Curzon) to be a policy not of statesmanship, but a policy of muddling utterly unworthy of the traditions and the legislation of that House. There was, he thought, something else behind the Amendment which had been moved by the right hon. Gentleman—something other than the mere philanthropic wish to relieve distress in Ireland, or the desire which some hon. Members entertained of still further mulcting the landlords. He was encouraged in that belief by the defence offered by the organs of the right hon. Gentleman. The morning after the right hon. Gentleman made the announcement of his Amendment to the House, he (Mr. Curzon) was so astonished at the apparent change of front with regard to Land Purchase, and so anxious to see how the question of the reduction of arrears could be described as an alternative to Land Purchase, that he went to the oracle that spoke from Fleet Street to see what it said on the question. *The Daily News* said on the matter—

"It is a matter of justice and of policy, and the action of the Opposition must be entirely approved of by every genuine Liberal."

The test there offered of a "genuine Liberal" was that he approved of the action of the right hon. Gentleman, and that action was defended on the ground of policy. It was therefore not a practical, but a tactical Amendment. Policy suggested that it would never do to meet with a direct negative a principle in favour of which the Liberal Party had been pledged up to the eyes for the last 20 years. Policy suggested further, that it would be much safer to ride off on some side issue, and that if it was not possible to defeat the Bill, at least they might cast discredit upon it. Policy demanded that the bogey of evictions should be trotted out, and that one more "fillip" should be given to an expiring agitation. He hoped those who read the papers, not less than those who sat in that House, would see very clearly through that manœuvre, the tactical ability of which appeared to him to be about on a par with its morality. They would see very clearly that the Liberal Party and the right hon. Gentleman opposite had not merely set themselves up in antagonism to a policy they had espoused for 20 years—that they were accustomed to—but that they were doing their best to defeat a measure demanded by every true friend of the Irish people.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN (Stirling, &c.) said, he desired to call attention to the singularly unfavourable circumstances under which the House was forced to consider this important question. The general principle of the Bill was one on which he believed all Parties in the House of Commons were agreed—he meant the policy of creating in Ireland a cultivating ownership of the soil. The Liberal Party, nearly 20 years ago, attempted to create it in legislation, and the Party opposite, after their manner, had gradually come round to it. But Her Majesty's Government had contrived to present their proposal to the House in such a way as necessarily to provoke the most reasonable irritation and suspicion. The House was obliged to discuss this matter with a pistol at its head. The position in which they were placed was entirely without precedent in the history of Parliament. On the 19th November, with more than one-half of the laborious Business of Supply unaccomplished, and with measures on hand on which much time had been spent, the Government stepped in with this proposal, superseding Supply and endangering those measures, and that was not all. Not only were they to give this Bill precedence, but they were called upon to gallop it through without a halt or breathing time. This was a matter which, above all others, required time for consideration. Lord Ashbourne's Act was avowedly passed as

an experiment, and he asserted it was their bounden duty, before doubling the experiment and granting a three years' supply of money for it, to know how the experiment had succeeded. It was the duty, as well as the right, of the House to require that information. Only a few copies of the Land Commissioners' Report had been placed in their hands, and the House at large had no knowledge even of the statistics from which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) quoted. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed some astonishment that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) had not come forward and, looking at the actual terms of the purchases effected, complained of them. How could he complain of them when he did not know what they were? He would like to know, before he could be sure of this great experimental scheme having succeeded, the number of years' purchase that had been granted in each instance, and the particular rents upon which the transaction was based? He would like to know what in each case at the moment of the purchase were the relations between the tenant and the landlord, and whether the tenant was a perfectly free agent in the matter? He would like to know on what estates the operations had occurred, why these estates were selected, and why it had been applied with a lavish hand and on a large scale on certain estates? They wished to know also what was the nature and the character of the holdings affected? In short, they required to have information of this kind before they could know whether the result, however satisfactory it might be considered by the Government, had really carried out the intention of Parliament, and whether the evil and mischief which they had anticipated had been avoided. Before the Government proposed this large experiment of Land Purchase, there ought in fact to have been an inquiry before a Select Committee, into the manner in which the Act had been worked. The very least they might have asked was that they should be furnished with the information of which he spoke before the introduction of a measure, and that ample opportunity should have been allowed for that information to be examined. He felt so strongly on this point that he should be quite content upon that ground alone to have opposed the introduction of the Bill. But when he came to consider the merits of the Bill itself, there was so much in it which was objectionable that he was quite content to put aside the other question with which he had been dealing and deal with the nature of the scheme itself. They all said that the true remedy for the agrarian difficulty was to be found in the doctrine that he who cultivated the soil should own it. His right hon. Friend the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan) in 1884 brought in a Bill of a much more generous nature than this; but he interposed as security the guarantee of the county cess in Ireland. Whether on that ground or not he could not say, but the measure did not meet general favour. In 1885, when he was at the Irish Office, they were prepared to introduce a Land Purchase Bill; but they left Office, and then they had Lord Ashbourne's Bill. The House would observe that there had been a constant widening of the terms of purchase. He was not disposed at that time to criticize Lord Ashbourne's Act. He admitted that in the existing state of public opinion it would have been difficult to stop without advancing the whole of the purchase money, and if that Bill was not much criticized by himself and his hon Friends who acted with him, it was because they were then in a somewhat unfavourable position to offer any suggestion to the House. They could not expect that their suggestions would meet with much favour from the party opposite, and, in 1885, they had not a large amount of the good will of hon. Members below the Gangway. He had therefore been unwilling to find himself between the upper and the nether millstone, and had held his peace. But, for his part, he had had the most serious misgivings with regard to the wisdom of that Bill, and many of those misgivings were as applicable to the Bill which his own Government intended to introduce as to the Bill of the Government which succeeded them. He was full of hesitation as to the whole proposal of proceeding piecemeal with Land Purchase in Ireland. While entirely accepting and adhering to the general principle of creating a peasant

proprietary, he saw then, and still saw, the most alarming prospect of a continually increasing irritation and discontent in the future as the result of a partial measure. They would have two tenants living side by side under different conditions, one paying his judicial rent, the other paying for 49 years only an annual instalment amounting to perhaps three-fourths of that sum. Would that conduce to peace and contentment? That was one of the main reasons why he looked askance all along at those proposals for dealing partially with the question of Land Purchase, although he admitted that in 1885 public opinion was so strongly in favour of it that it was difficult for any Government to resist attempting to deal with the matter. Again, it must be remembered that judicial rents had only been fixed for 15 years, and that at the end there was to be a re-valuation. If the rent was lowered, the purchaser would complain that he had entered upon the basis of the present rent on a bargain which was to extend over 49 years, and if the rent was raised the contrast of which he had spoken between the two cases would be greatly exaggerated, and the discontent thereby increased. His second ground for hesitation was the risk to the taxpayer who advanced the money, and this was a point which was better appreciated to-day than it was then — he meant the danger of leaving the Treasury as rent collector face to face with the tenant paying his instalments. We should not only be face to face with a great money risk, but a great political danger. His third point was the confusion which it created. They had class after class created by these fresh measures, which called into being different bodies of purchasers. They had already those under the Church Act, under the Land Acts, under Lord Ashbourne's first Act, and there would next be those under the present Act; and not only would there be discrepancies and disparities in the position of these men, but their existence would make it almost impossible for the Government to deal with Land Purchase on a large scale when the time came for that to be done. He remained as strongly as ever of opinion that it was in Land Purchase alone there would be found rest and satisfaction for the agrarian community in Ireland. But he disputed altogether that by these partial advances they were now entering upon they were doing anything else than to make confusion worse confounded, and further complicating a situation already too much complicated. He had another difficulty as to the nature of the holdings to be dealt with; and in this connection he was most concerned that money should not be paid to landlords to compensate them for nominal rents which were not really agricultural rents. There were in many parts of Ireland small wretched holdings, for which money, which was called rent, was exacted, which was not rent, but a mere fine extorted from the affection and attachment of a man to the place in which he was born, or for which at least he had a home feeling. He denied that such property ought to be brought within the scope of a Land Purchase scheme. Those were some of the reasons for hesitation which possessed him in 1885, and there was not one of them which did not remain as strong now as then and most of them were even increased in strength; and therefore he maintained it was not only inexpedient but even dangerous to proceed further with this bit by bit or bite by bite legislation. The time had passed for any temporary or experimental measure such as this, and the question, in fact, should be left alone to be dealt with comprehensively at a future time. This question of Land Purchase, moreover, had moved on since 1885. In 1886 his right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian produced his great scheme of Land Purchase. That scheme was never fully considered or discussed in Parliament; it was greatly misrepresented in the country, but it was made abundantly evident when it came to be discussed that this country was in the extremest degree reluctant that its credit should be directly pledged for any such purpose without the intervention at least of an Irish guarantee. It was to his mind evident that the one plan of all possible plans to which public opinion in this country was most strongly opposed was precisely a plan such as that proposed by the Government, which interposed no Irish guarantee to protect the

Mr. Campbell-Bannerman

interests of the taxpayer, and which left the British Exchequer to collect as best it could the instalments which would take the place of rent. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, and those who thought with him, however, did not stop there. They suggested an alternative. The Government had admitted that rents in some cases were unfair, and the arguments on the Opposition side of the House were that if rents were unfair, the arrears, which were the multiple of the rent, were unfair also. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that the arrears had accumulated before the prices fell. If that were so, the Court would not reduce them. All they asked was that the Court should have the same equitable power of dealing with arrears as it had with rents. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer also stated that the Government were ready to deal with arrears; but the condition was that they should be treated in exactly the same way as any ordinary debt, and astonishment was expressed by the Government that this was not accepted. The principle on which all this legislation proceeded was that rent did not stand upon the same basis as other debts, and that the State had a right to interfere and see that justice was done in the matter of rent, which it did not possess in the case of an ordinary debt between a shopkeeper and his customer. The proposal of the Government was, in fact, absurd. The Government practically refused relief in the matter of arrears, though the arrears lay at the bottom of all the agrarian disturbances in Ireland at the present time. The Purchase Bill which they proposed did not, like the rain, fall upon the just and the unjust alike. But an Arrears Bill, on the other hand, would reach everybody in the country. The plan proposed by his right hon. Friend was one of a pacifying character; it was wise, equitable, and safe; and it had no element of future mischief in it, while it was immediate and universal in its application.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir Edward Grey,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

ORDER OF THE DAY.

PATENTS, DESIGNS, AND TRADE MARKS BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 348.]
(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

MR. BIGGAR (Cavan, W.) objected.

MR. MUNDELLA (Sheffield, Brightside) appealed to the hon. Member not to persist in his objection.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) said, it was impossible to take the Bill at that hour.

Committee *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (KILRUSH AND CAPPOQUIN) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to Kilrush and Cappoquin, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland and Mr. Arthur Balfour.

House adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 20th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Sweating System, Earl Brownlow *added.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Local Government (England and Wales) Electors Act, 1888, Repeal (282), *negatived;* Sea Fisheries Regulation * (264); Statute Law Revision (No. 2) * (258); Municipal Funds (Ireland) * (278).

Withdrawn—Companies Relief * (241).

AUSTRALIA — QUEENSLAND — APPOINTMENT OF GOVERNOR — SIR HENRY A. BLAKE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, he rose to put to the Secretary of State for the Colonies a Question of which he had given him private Notice—namely, whether he could communicate to the House the reply sent by Her Majesty's

Government to the telegraphic despatch received from the Acting Governor of Queensland in reference to the appointment to the Governorship of that Colony. The difficulties which appeared to have arisen respecting the appointment of Sir Henry Blake to the Governorship of Queensland were of a twofold nature. There was first the question of how far that particular appointment was a suitable or an unsuitable one; and there was also the question which had been raised as to what was the right, if any, which a Colony possessed of selecting or of being consulted as to the appointment of a Governor. As to the first point, he desired to say very little. If the Secretary of State for the Colonies thought it advisable to enter into that part of the subject, and to give his reasons to the House for the appointment, their Lordships would, no doubt, be glad to have his explanations; but he felt that under the circumstances that might not be desirable, and, as far as he was concerned, he would not press for any information on that point. But what appeared to him to be a matter of much greater importance was the question whether a self-governing Colony had any kind of right of selection in the appointment of Governors. It seemed to him that a very grave and serious Constitutional question was raised in connection with that matter. The Governor of a Colony was not merely sent out by his Sovereign to exercise certain functions. He was the direct representative of the Sovereign; he was even more than a mere representative of the Sovereign, but in many respects it might almost be said that he actually was the Sovereign for the time being. That was to say, he not only exercised the functions delegated to him by the Sovereign, but he represented absolutely the person of the Sovereign in the Colony to which he was appointed. Therefore, for a Colony to set up a claim to have any right to select a Governor appeared to him to be not only un-Constitutional, but of necessity to bring about, or be the first step towards bringing about, that which they would all deeply deplore—namely, a tendency to separation, and to break up the British Empire. It was scarcely an exaggeration to say that if a Colony had a right to select a Governor it had an equal right to choose the Sovereign; and if it had no right to select the Sovereign, he held that, constitutionally, it could not have any right to select the Governor who was to represent the Sovereign. He, therefore, could not but think that, if in the Colony they had reflected on the grave Constitutional questions which they had raised, they would not have entertained the views that were attributed to them. He admitted that he thought in some cases the greater self-governing Colonies might reasonably expect that the Governors sent out to them should be of a certain *status* and position. The great Colonies in Australia had developed in a comparatively short time into large and important communities. At the same time the position of Governor had very much changed—in some respects it had diminished, in others increased in importance. It was obvious that with telegraphic communication and self-government the Governors of self-governing Colonies had not that importance and power in some respects which they formerly enjoyed. Administrative ability, although of the utmost importance, was not the *sine quâ non* which it was at one time. But if the *status* of a Governor had deteriorated in that respect, it had increased in what might be called its social aspect, and it therefore became of more importance that a Governor should be able adequately to represent the Sovereign in that point of view. He thought also that every legitimate means should be taken to ascertain that the appointment to be made would be one that was suitable, and not only so, but acceptable likewise. Further than that he would not go.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Lord KNUTSFORD): In reply to the Question which my noble Friend has put to me, whether Her Majesty's Government have returned an answer to the reasons for the opposition on the part of the Queensland Government to Sir Henry Blake—reasons which Her Majesty's Government thought fit to call for—I have only to state that those reasons are still under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. As regards the production of Papers, it would not be for the public interest to produce them at the present moment; but I see no reason why they should not be hereafter laid on the table. I regret that I am unable to deal with many matters which have been

brought to your Lordships' attention by the noble Earl. I shall content myself with expressing a general concurrence with what has fallen from him, but I think your Lordships will agree with me that the discussion on the general subject just now would serve no good end. It would be premature, it would not advance the public interest, and it might tend to impede a satisfactory solution of the important questions that are now under consideration. I would also add that, as regards one very important part of this case to which the noble Earl has referred, the opinion of Her Majesty's Government has in fact been expressed very clearly and very fully in a letter which was addressed to the Agent General of South Australia on November 15, and which has been read in the other House. I am sure your Lordships will agree that this is not the fitting occasion for discussing the particular appointment in question, and the merits or demerits of Sir Henry Blake. I desire to assure your Lordships that in making the selection I was not unmindful of the great responsibility which attaches to every Secretary of State in selecting a Governor, whether for a Crown Colony or for one under responsible Government.

AFRICA (SOUTH-EAST)—THE BLOCKADE OF THE ZANZIBAR COAST.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

EARL GRANVILLE: I beg to ask the noble Marquess at the head of the Government whether he can, without inconvenience to the public service, explain what seems to be a discrepancy between his statement and that of the French Foreign Minister on the right of search on the coast of Zanzibar. On the 6th of November the noble Marquess stated that this country and Germany had approached France, and the French Government, although unwilling to depart from their traditional policy, had stated their readiness to look upon the blockade such as is proposed as one carrying with it the incident of the right of searching all vessels under whatever flag, so that we have obtained for the first time under this arrangement with the German Government that which is of priceless value, the right of stopping and searching all vessels, under whatever flag. I find that the Paris Correspondent of *The Standard* gives the following explanation of the declaration of the French Foreign Minister on the subject:—

> "M. Goblet said that the matter was in the stage of negotiation. No undertaking had been entered into. In the interest of civilization, it could not but be desired that foreign Governments should extricate themselves to their advantage from the difficulties they had encountered on the Eastern Coast of Africa. France had stated that, so far as the importation of arms was concerned, if England and Germany established a blockade, the right of search would be a consequence of that measure. With regard to the Slave Trade, although France had honoured herself by taking the initiative in the suppression of that criminal traffic, she had never sanctioned the right of search."

The correspondent adds, what seems obvious, that the French Government consent to a search for arms, but not for slaves. But, if this is the case, it would appear that, unfortunately, we have not obtained for the first time a thing of priceless value. We have only got what blockaders always had—the right of searching neutral vessels for contraband of war.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): I have received no notice from the noble Earl, and therefore am rather at a disadvantage.

EARL GRANVILLE: I was not able to give a long notice, but I left a letter for the noble Marquess with a very courteous porter at the noble Marquess's house, who said he would send it immediately to the noble Marquess.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I am sorry to say that the very courteous porter has not acted up to his professions. The noble Lord will see in a moment why I am placed at a disadvantage in consequence of that telegram in *The Standard*. If my memory does not deceive me there is a much fuller report in *The Times*, which gives a rather different colour to the statements of M. Goblet that the matter is still under negotiation, and that there is no engagement. I am rather, therefore, apprehensive of entering upon a subject in regard to which that statement has been made, because I might say something which might disturb the negotiations. But I think I may say this, that the impression of the two Powers derived from the verbal communications with the French Government has not

been so fully borne out by subsequent communications. I believe for all practical purposes the concession of the French Government will enable us to put a stop to the traffic in slaves; but, as the noble Earl, I think, indicated in his speech, that will rather result from the ordinary rights extending to a blockade than from any special concession of the French Government. But I do not like to dwell upon the matter more than that, except that I only wish to indicate that the objection which the French Government has taken is rather in theory than in practice. I do not believe any practical difficulty will arise. I am bound, also, to say that the French Minister was also misunderstood on another slight matter. We understood him to say he was about to send a French vessel, I think I said, to take part in the naval operations. He has corrected that. He has said that a French vessel will not be sent to take part in naval operations, but merely to supervise, to survey the French vessels flying the French colours on the coast. That, of course, is a different statement, but it is not different in practice, because the only difficulty we have with the Slave Trade is with vessels flying the French flag, and if that difficulty is effectually met by the survey of French ships, all our difficulties, so far as the French flag is concerned, will be at an end. I do not know that I have anything more to say. If I went into the matter fully, I should like to comment on some observations which have been made as to the frequency of these abuses of the French flag, but I think, as the matter is still under negotiation, I shall be pursuing the ordinary practice in not saying more now.

LAW AND JUSTICE—COST OF LEGAL ADMINISTRATION.

STATEMENT.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY): My Lords, I must ask your Lordships' indulgence while I make a statement which is, no doubt, of an unusual kind, arising out of unusual circumstances. The Lord Chancellor and the Department of which he is head—a Department not the least in the State, either in extent or importance, being, in fact, the Department of the administration of public justice—is in the singular position of having no responsible Representative in the other House of Parliament. With every other great Department of State, the Minister may be in one House, and there is a Parliamentary Secretary in the other, whether for the purpose of meeting criticisms, or for the purpose of promoting desirable measures. This state of things is very disadvantageous. As regards personal attacks, the prevailing courtesies of public life, and the sense of honour and fairness that a man should not be assailed except when and where he may defend himself, have caused this inconvenience to be but rarely experienced. My Lords, according to the ordinary channels of information, I have learnt that both the Legal Departments and myself were lately the objects of violent attack, without Notice, in "another place." Let me dispose at once of that which is merely personal to myself. I will not repeat the gross language which has been used. Your Lordships know how many and how important offices the Lord Chancellor has from time to time to supply with fit and proper persons. I believe there are people who sigh for patronage. I am sure all who have had experience of it will agree that it is not the least anxious and ungrateful part of a Minister's duty. If any should wish to have a return of the appointments I have made, he can easily find it; it would be a long and varied list, and in it he would find—that which is, I presume, the foundation for the unseemly remarks which have been made—the name of a relative whom I appointed a Registrar in Bankruptcy. My Lords, the gentleman in question has now been engaged in the performance of the important duties intrusted to him for something more than three years, those duties being constantly under the supervision of the Court of Appeal; and I venture to say that he has proved himself fully qualified for the Office, for which of my own personal knowledge I knew him to be well fitted. If I add—though it is not very relevant to my present subject—that I transferred a connection, who was already possessed of a benefice, to another benefice, slightly better in point of emolument and in a more genial climate, I have stated the whole foundation for the charge made against myself personally. In no other instance have

I ever exercised any power of appointment in favour of any relative or connection whatever. My Lords, I am aware that the attacks made upon myself are not new; but I certainly would not ask your Lordships' indulgence in replying to them if they remained in those publications the existence of which I think is not very creditable to English society. I have always felt and have not hesitated to avow my contempt for, and dislike of, collectors and vendors of petty defamatory gossip. Not unnaturally, perhaps, those interested in such wares have replied by a chorus up and down the whole gamut of vulgar invective. But, my Lords, I think words spoken in Parliament, by whomsoever spoken, stand upon different ground. I now feel bound to apply myself to strictures passed on the Legal Departments. It appears to have been said generally that Commissions and Committees had reported adversely to these Offices, and that the Reports were pigeon-holed. Then, further, particular Offices were mentioned, and personal charges made, without Notice, on absent and defenceless officials. As to the general complaint, there were two Commissions mentioned—one of 1874 and a recent one of 1886. A very strong case was made out in many instances by quotations from the later Report, which indeed was signed, and I believe actually drafted, by the Permanent Secretary of my Department. My Lords, the principal Representative of the Government in "another place" certainly did not go too far when, though without communicating with me, he pledged the Government to carry out these Reports. I fully recognize the advocacy of the Attorney General, spoken without preparation or opportunity for inquiry, in a matter for which he is in no way responsible. Your Lordships will agree with me that this is startling when you learn that the fact was not stated in the other House that, so far from being pigeon-holed, the recommendations of the Commissioners of 1874 were practically exhausted by my Predecessors, and that the further recommendations of the Report presented to myself only last year were in the main realized and brought into operation before the close of that year, and as to the rest are in active and rapid progress. I will now deal, as briefly as I can, with the particular criticisms. For the statements and figures I refer to the report in *The Times*. I will first take the Offices referred to in the Report of 1887, that is to say what is called the Central Office, meaning the Offices of the Queen's Bench Division. It was said that the Masters—who are the heads of the Central Office—were excessively numerous, and had salaries unnecessarily high, ranging from £1,500 to £2,000. The fact is, the number of Masters has actually already been reduced to the point recommended in the Report, and their salaries fixed from £1,200 to £1,500. The reduction has actually been from 22 to 15, with a saving of at least £10,000 a-year. I ought not to pass from the Masters without saying that I am making inquiries as to the statement that they attend Boards of Companies during office hours. Next as to the clerks in the Central Office. They are stated to be over numerous, 85 in number, with salaries ranging from £250 to £700. The fact is the clerks are reduced to 77, and their salaries fixed from £100 to £600. The reduction has already been from a total of about 110, with a saving of about £8,000 per annum. Then it was said that there were five clerks wholly unemployed, yet receiving full salaries. It is the case that under arrangements with which I am not personally acquainted a class of redundant clerks was created, liable to be called upon when the office should be reduced to its normal level. Four of these, having reached an age when their services cannot be efficient, were some weeks ago, in pursuance of the general scheme of reductions in progress, called upon to resign, and placed themselves in my hands. There is a fifth, who is a younger man, and whose position is still under consideration. A further class of clerks —namely, those who are superfluous above the limit of 73, to which the Central Office is in course of reduction—are stated to be doing nothing, instead of being transferred to other offices. The fact is, the number of such clerks now only amounts to four. Several such transfers have taken place. Of course they can only be effected when a vacancy in another office occurs, and they cannot be made wholly regardless of the fitness of the clerk for the office to which he is proposed to be transferred. I have met

with difficulty in this matter, and I am glad to have the support of Parliament. The next charge I find is one of general unpunctuality. I have some difficulty in dealing with it, because it was said that some clerks left before 5 and some did not come before 11. The case is, that some of the offices have their official hours from 10 to 4 and others from 11 to 5; and I do not know whether it is charged that an officer who was entitled to begin at 11 was or was not the same officer who left before 5. However, the answer is that this complaint, quoted from the Report of 1887, has been already dealt with under the regulations introduced since that time, and that any breach of those regulations will be severely dealt with. As to the number of hours of attendance, they are regulated by rules of Court, under statutory authority, and the system of six hours was recommended by the Commission of 1874. Whether or not seven hours should be adopted is a question which I certainly think must be answered with reference to all the public offices, and not piecemeal; and it must be considered with reference to the question whether or not additional pay should be allowed for additional hours. In connection with this subject, it was mentioned that there was no attendance book in the Central Office. I may say that I am in favour of an attendance book, but the Report which has been so much relied upon does not recommend it. I think that I need say nothing about the Queen's Remembrancer's Office; the duties are performed by the senior Master with a small addition of salary, which is expressly secured to him by so recent an Act of Parliament as that of 1879. There was probably a misapprehension about it, which was removed in "another place." I will take next the question of the number of Official Referees. Your Lordships may be aware that this tribunal was constituted, on the recommendation of the Judicature Commission, by the Judicature Act, 1873; the object being to relieve the Courts from a class of cases involving accounts or inquiries which tend to block the way for business requiring, in a greater degree, the attention of a Judge in person. Before the institution of that office nothing was a greater evil and expense to suitors than the cases which were brought into Court, when everybody knew they must end in a special reference, and everything have to be done over again. The number was settled, according to that Act, in 1876, by the then Lord Chancellor, the Chief Justices of the Common Law Courts, and the Master of the Rolls. That order still remains, and, until changed, I have hitherto considered ought to be my guide. I have received no intimation from the authorities coordinate with me that they think the number should be reduced; and the Report of 1887 makes some recommendations for adding to their work and enabling the number of Masters to be thereby diminished, but does not say anything about reducing the number of Referees. My Lords, I am of opinion that the number of four was a right number for the purpose in view at the time it was determined upon, and I think so still. When there is so much complaint of delay in the Courts, I did not think I could willingly be responsible for diminishing any channel of relief to the congestion. But I am bound to admit the office has not hitherto met the expectations of those who created it. The cause has, I believe, been attributable to the misfortune of the ill-health from which, almost from the first, more than one of the Referees suffered, and those who are aware how great an age was reached by more than one of these officials before actual retirement will not be surprised that the business dwindled. It is my belief that had the fortunes of the office been different, a different return of its utility would have been obtained. I have done my best, as I was glad to see reported to have been fully admitted in "another place," to infuse vigour and efficiency into that most valuable office; and it is the fact that the amount of business has already materially increased. Now, I wish to say something as to the Chancery Division, which, however, was not referred to in any detail. It was described generally as over-crowded with overpaid officers. I admit, indeed I have more than once stated to your Lordships, that there are points in which I believe the administration of the Chancery Division might be improved and material reductions made. A Committee, of which my noble and learned Friend the Master of the Rolls was Chairman, made recommendations on that subject which I have been desirous to carry into effect

ever since I have been in Office. But the scheme submitted to me was based on the addition of a sixth Judge, and until I am given to understand that such an addition, which I believe to be necessary, is unattainable, I am not in a position to take up another scheme. I may mention, however, that the general scheme of reduced salaries, commencing at £1,200 and rising to £1,500, has been applied to this Division as well as to the others. It was stated that a novel system had been introduced and caused dissatisfaction, that the junior clerks in the Chambers of the Chancery Division were appointed by the Lord Chancellor, and not by the Chief Clerks. That is provided for by the Judicature Acts; and in so acting I and my Predecessors have been merely complying with the Statute. But the system which appears to be suggested in preference is utterly contrary, I believe, to the principles of the Public Service, according to which salaried officers must be appointed by the heads of Departments responsible to Parliament. I find a charge made that £600 a-year is paid to an officer to look after the ushers. I have to guess that this refers to the office of Superintendent of the Royal Courts of Justice. He has the whole responsibility, not only for the care and cleaning of that great public building, but also for the preservation of order. He has under him a staff of 150 men; and the police are relieved of duty there. It is a most responsible and arduous post; and the salary is no more than that of a first-class clerk. An officer called the Superintendent of Stationery was also referred to, and I think it was said he had £300 a-year for filling the inkbottles. In fact, he has the whole supplying of stationery and books throughout the Courts and offices. He was an instance of an officer transferred, and not abolished. His present duties are regulated under the recommendations of a Committee formed by the Lord Chancellor at the request of the Stationery Office, and I believe the system has effected a most beneficial economy in relation to the Stationery Office. I have not mentioned the Judges' clerks, as to whom it is complained that they cost £8,700. My Lords, the existing arrangements is that each Judge is to have one clerk; I hardly think it can be seriously suggested that a functionary of such dignity and with so much labour as a Judge should have no clerk at all. As far as cost is concerned, I believe the saving under this head amounts to at least as much again as the existing charge. There is only left for me to remark on the criticisms upon the Lord Chancellor's immediate official surroundings. The multitude of his secretaries and of his ceremonial attendants appeared both to amuse and to shock those who referred to them. The ceremonial, I think, is more for your Lordships to consider than for me; I have no desire to perpetuate any pomp and circumstances which your Lordships would desire your Speaker to dispense with. But in point of fact I have no ceremonial officer personal to myself who was not declared necessary, and his salary confirmed in the Report of the Commission of 1874. Both the number and the cost of the Lord Chancellor's personal attendants has been reduced even below that which was recommended by that Commission. There is no office of Purse Bearer; the purse is carried by the Lord Chancellor's confidential clerk. There are not three Private Secretaries, as has been stated, but two. One of them, for my ecclesiastical business, is the same who was Secretary of Presentations in 1874; it has been said that the Commission thought the salary might be reduced on a vacancy; it was never suggested by the Commission that Mr. Thesiger should be prejudiced. I doubt if any Minister's secretaries are fewer in number, or have so much and so delicate correspondence to deal with. As to the Permanent Secretary, he is no more part of the Lord Chancellor's personal attendants than is the Permanent Secretary of any other great Department of the State. The office is of modern creation, arising out of the concentration, under the Judicature and other Acts, of the administrative departments of the law under the Lord Chancellor, as, in fact, a Minister of Justice. The principal personal officer of the Lord Chancellor, who formerly received £1,200 per annum, until 1874, when the Commission recommended that £1,000 was enough, has been abolished and ceased to exist. It is true that the first Permanent Secretary was appointed from the personal office which he held before. But I feel bound to say that what I believe each of my

Predecessors would say, that for ability, industry, and zeal it would have been impossible to find a gentleman better fitted for the post. I have no doubt the Treasury Minute or other documents relating to the constitution of the office could be obtained by moving for them. As to the salary of £1,500, it is materially lower than that of any other Permanent Secretary of a Department of State presided over by a Minister. Two objections I have been informed were taken at the time when the constitution of the office was proposed by the then Lord Chancellor. Lord Cairns—who was ex-Chancellor—said he did not think the office would be maintained in the hands of one holder as a permanent office if the salary were less than £2,500. The Treasury recorded their doubt whether any one officer—or succession of officers—could, for any length of time, perform all the duties laid upon this office. I ought not, perhaps, to pass from these questions of public expenditure without correcting the expression which has been reported about robbing the taxpayer. I am, my Lords, no less the guardian of the suitors than the Chancellor of the Exchequer is guardian of the taxpayer; but I am bound to point out that all the expenses of these offices are borne by the suitor, that these offices are, at least, self-supporting and cost the general taxpayer nothing. I regret to have been obliged to go into so much detail and occupy so much time, and I will only add this much, that while I deprecate the injustice to individuals and the injury to the Public Service which is done by reckless and indiscriminate attacks, I am in complete accord with the feeling displayed in Parliament that a vigilant watch must be kept in order to establish and maintain both the economy and the efficiency for which, as regards the legal establishments, the Lord Chancellor is responsible; and while I will defend to the utmost of my power any officer under my jurisdiction from unjust charges and insinuations which he is precluded from answering for himself, I am glad that it should be clearly known that the efforts which, with the assistance of the Committees already referred to, I have been making and will continue to make, are supported by the general feeling of Parliament.

Lord Halsbury

Lord ESHER desired to say, with respect to the Registrar in Bankruptcy who had been referred to, as it was his duty to hear appeals from the Registrar, that, in his opinion, this gentleman was a conscientious, hard-working, very able, and very efficient officer, and entirely worthy of the appointment which he held.

Earl GRANVILLE said, he had listened with interest to the statement read by the noble and learned Lord, who had pointed out with great clearness the disadvantage under which he suffered in not having a representative in the other House when attacks were made upon him without Notice. He thought it was quite natural that the noble and learned Lord should have taken the first opportunity of answering these personal attacks, and he felt sure that no noble Lord would wish to make attacks on the noble and learned Lord. But he did not think it was convenient to deal with the whole general subject without Notice, as it was one of considerable importance. There had been a long debate on the matter, which was one of importance, in the House of Commons, and its decision was come to by only a small majority. If Notice had been given, many noble Lords might have been anxious to take part in the debate. In these circumstances it was not necessary for him to express any opinion.

Lord COLERIDGE said, that he was Chairman of the Committee referred to, which was appointed to consider the working of the Central Office. But, like the noble Earl, he was not aware, till a couple of hours before, that his noble and learned Friend was about to make a statement, and he was therefore not able and had not materials to go into the matter with anything like detail. He quite agreed with his noble and learned Friend that there was a great difference between attacks made by irresponsible and anonymous persons, and those made in the other House of Parliament, and by persons occupying an important position. He only wished to refer to that portion of his noble and learned Friend's speech with which he was able to deal from personal knowledge. It was found some time ago that reform was wanted in the Central Office that there were too many officers, and that

the work was imperfectly done from want of organization. Certain recommendations were made, some of which largely interfered with his noble and learned Friend's patronage. He desired to say that these recommendations were most loyally supported by his noble and learned Friend, though the Committee was not appointed by his noble and learned Friend, and he was by no means bound by its Report.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (ENGLAND AND WALES) ELECTORS ACT, 1888, REPEAL BILL.—(No. 282.)

(*The Lord Denman.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Lord Denman.*)

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY), in moving the rejection of the Bill, said, their Lordships could hardly consent to the repeal of an Act passed in the present year.

On Question, *resolved* in the *negative*.

SEA FISHERIES REGULATION BILL.

(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

(NO. 264.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE SECRETARY TO THE BOARD OF TRADE (The Earl of ONSLOW), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said that for some time past fishermen had complained of the destruction of immature fish, and of the increase of steam trawlers which could go into the shallow and less accessible parts of bays, and were in the habit of destroying young fish and throwing rubbish into the estuaries of rivers. Some time ago a Commission, under the presidency of the late Lord Dalhousie, had inquired into the subject, and made certain recommendations, some of which were embodied in the Scotch Fisheries Act. The Scotch Act gave power to the Fishery Boards to prohibit fishing within certain areas and to make bye-laws and regulations. An objection, however, remained in the Scotch Act, and that was that there was no representative of the fishing industry itself on the Board. In this country there was now machinery at hand, in the new County Councils, to which it was proposed by the Bill to entrust with a power to regulate fisheries in their districts. The Bill proposed to add to the Fisheries Committee appointed by the Borough or County Council a number of representatives of the fishing industry equal to that of the members of the County Council. The Bill would enable sea fisheries committees to be established on every part of the coast where they might be required. There was one important omission in the Bill, which he hoped to remedy if their Lordships read the Bill a second time, and that was that Boards of Salmon Conservators had not had their authority preserved by the bill as it came up from the other House. The salmon conservators had made representations to the Board of Trade on the subject, and he proposed in Committee to insert regulations to meet the defect.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª." —(*The Earl of Onslow.*)

Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

MUNICIPAL FUNDS (IRELAND) BILL.

(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

(NO. 278.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

THE LORD PRIVY SEAL (Earl CADOGAN), in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it was a Bill for authorizing the expenditure of local rates in Ireland in promoting or opposing Bills in Parliament, and in defraying the cost of the necessary legal proceedings incidental thereto. Their Lordships were, perhaps, aware that, unlike the circumstances under which municipalities in England existed, municipalities in Ireland had no power to expend rates, or money derived from rates, either in the promotion or the proposition of Bills in Parliament. The matter was brought before Her Majesty's Government recently in an application that was made by a deputation of the Lord Mayor and Municipality of Dublin to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the loan of £500,000, three-fourths of which was to be applied to the reduction of their debt, and one-

fourth in the promotion of public works in Dublin. The Chancellor of the Exchequer pointed out that he was unable to lend public money for this purpose, and suggested that the Corporation should promote a Bill to attain their object. It was found, however, that it was beyond the power of the Corporation to do so, and that there were no means whereby they could apply the rates for such purposes. Subsequently, upon a consultation between Her Majesty's Government and the representatives of the municipal authorities in Ireland, it was decided that the better plan would be, in order to assimilate the Irish with the English practice in this matter, to apply to Ireland the provisions of the English Borough Funds Act, 1872. This would be carried out by the Bill which he now asked their Lordships to read a second time. Whilst the provisions of this Bill were in the main similar to those of the English Act of 1872, there were two exceptions which, perhaps, he ought to mention. In the first place under the English Act no expenditure of the rates for such purposes could be incurred unless it was approved by a resolution of the owners and ratepayers of the district, whereas under this present Bill they proposed that the vote of approving or disapproving of this expenditure of the local rates should be taken by the resolution of a general meeting of all persons qualified to take part in the election of members of the governing body of the district; and, secondly, there was another point of difference between this Bill and the English Act in this respect, that whereas in the English Act the proposed expenditure was forbidden unless it had the approval of the Local Government Board or the Secretary of State, in the Bill, the second reading of which he now moved, it was proposed that the expenditure should not be incurred if disapproved of by the Local Government Board of Ireland or the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. These were the points upon which the two measures differed. This Bill would carry out an object to which he believed the consent of the two former Governments had been given. At all events, he had been so informed. It was brought into the other House of Parliament by the Secretary to the Treasury, and also by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and it passed through the other House with perfect unanimity, and he hoped it would also meet with their Lordships' approval.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2ª."—(*The Lord Privy Seal.*)

LORD FITZGERALD said, he did not wish to interfere with the second reading of this Bill. He thought it ought to be read a second time, because its principle was good, and it would be a useful piece of legislation. The noble Earl was a little in error in stating the disabilities of corporate bodies in Ireland. Corporations in Ireland had certain powers for the construction of works and for sanitary purposes. The object of the present Bill was to enable them to promote or oppose Bills, or to prosecute or defend certain legal proceedings and defray the expenses out of the rates. No doubt English Corporations had that power; and, as the English Corporations were trusted with it, he would not oppose extending the same privilege to corporate bodies in Ireland. Yet they must be very cautious in this matter. They must see that the Bill proposed by the noble Earl was essentially the same as the Act of 1872, and furthermore, that there were those safeguards provided which were essentially necessary to prevent abuse. The safeguard under the English Act of 1872 was that, in the first instance, the proper officer on his responsibility should approve of the step proposed to be taken, while the provisions of this Bill did not place on the Local Government Board or the Chief Secretary the responsibility of examining into the thing and approving of it. The provision was that the proposed expenditure should not be incurred if, after the lapse of a stated time, they had not expressed disapproval of it. He also thought that there should be some safeguard provided against the temptations to litigation which such a measure as this might hold out to small and irresponsible communities, as many of the Irish townships undoubtedly were.

THE EARL OF MEATH said, he was afraid that if the Bill passed as it stood at present they would have a great deal of litigation in the case of small boroughs, and he did hope that the re-

commendations of the noble and learned Lord who had just sat down would be very seriously considered by Her Majesty's Government. If it were possible, he would like to see the operation of this Bill limited to townships of not less than 10,000 inhabitants. With that limitation he thought they might safely pass this Bill, and he very earnestly hoped that Her Majesty's Government would take into consideration the possible risk of promoting litigation with the view of preventing small boroughs from being ruined.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next; and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered in order to its being dispensed with.

COMPANIES RELIEF BILL.—(No. 241.)

(*The Earl of Crawford.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee, read.

Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill."—(*The Earl of Crawford.*)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Lord HALSBURY) observed, that it appeared to him to be a somewhat serious Bill, as attempting by a side wind to evade the provisions of the Companies Act of 1862. He would not object to the Motion to go into Committee, but would reserve liberty to himself to limit the application of the measure, so that it should give relief only in cases when persons had acted in a valid and honest manner. In his opinion the Bill, as it stood, would have too sweeping and general an effect.

THE EARL OF CRAWFORD remarked, that it had been pointed out to him that the words in Clause 2 would go almost beyond the Preamble of the Bill, and, therefore, he thought it would be to the interests of all parties, especially after what had fallen from the Lord Chancellor, if he were to postpone the present stage of the Bill, so that further time should be given for the consideration of Amendments.

LORD FITZGERALD said, he considered the Bill unsound in principle, and one which the House ought not to assent to. If passed in its present form, it would cover and give legal validity to a great number of transactions which might be of a very fraudulent character.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

EAST AFRICA—THE SLAVE TRADE.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, he rose to call attention to the Correspondence respecting the suppression of the Slave Trade in South African waters, because on perusal of the Papers which had been presented since the discussion took place in their Lordships' House, many matters which appeared simple and easy before seemed to him, at least, to be beset with many difficulties, and possibly with many dangers. He should be glad, therefore, if the Prime Minister would give some further explanations on the subject. In the first place, he should be glad to know whether any definite arrangements in the shape of a Treaty, or anything approaching to a Treaty, had been executed between this country and Germany, or was contemplated. The word the Prime Minister used the other day was that there was an "understanding." If, however, there was anything more fruitful of misunderstandings than another it was an "understanding." They were so indefinite that misconceptions were almost certain to arise. It appeared from what the noble Marquess said that evening, that misunderstanding about some not unimportant points had already taken place as regarded the understanding between us and France. He wished to know, not so much what was the object of the blockade, but rather against what commodities or goods the blockade was to be made. In fact, what was contraband? He could not well ask what was contraband of war, because we were not at war; and it would be rather ridiculous to inquire what was contraband of peace. But he asked what was contraband in that particular blockade. The Correspondence was rather peculiar on that point. In the Memorandum communicated by Count Leyden on October 8, it was stated that—

> "The object of such a blockade would be to cut off all traffic with the insurgent coast districts, and especially that in slave vessels, and the carriage of arms and ammunition."

The words "all traffic" were not used

further on ; they were dropped in Count Hatzfeldt's letter to the noble Marquess, and were not mentioned in the noble Marquess's reply to Count Hatzfeldt, nor in his despatch to Sir Edward Malet. In the latter despatch the noble Marquess said that "the blockade will be strictly limited to the two objects I have named"—that was to say, to the prevention of the exportation of slaves and the importation of arms. But there was nothing in those Papers to show whether that view of the matter was accepted by Germany. That was a point of the utmost importance, because the blockade of all traffic along a great strip of coast in time of profound peace was, he believed, what no nation had attempted before, and what he imagined was absolutely contrary to International Law as generally understood. He should like, therefore, to know against what objects the blockade was directed, and if they were clearly and distinctly defined. He also wished to know how the blockade was to be carried out—whether the action of the British ships was to be confined to the coast line that was under British influence, and whether the action of the German ships was to be confined to the part of the coast under German influence. That was, he thought, a point of too much importance to be left to be decided as a matter of detail by the admirals on the station. It would be idle to expect any distinction to be drawn, in the native mind at any rate, between the action of German and of English ships if they were operating conjointly in the same waters. Then he wanted further to know how far our operations were to be limited to operations by sea. On that point the correspondence was a little ominous. The Memorandum communicated by Count Leyden said—

"It appears doubtful to the German Government whether military expeditions into the interior are suited for such a purpose."

But there was a very large line between operations by sea and military expeditions into the interior. Military expeditions into the interior would not include operations on the coast—certainly they would not include the landing of seamen and marines or the bombarding of coast towns. The Memorandum proceeded to say that—

"Under these circumstances it appears desirable to confine the joint action of Germany and England in support of the Sultan at first to maritime action."

But there was nothing in that document to say that Germany was not to be at liberty at any time to engage in military operations. The operations were to be confined to maritime operations "at first." That last expression appeared to imply that it was contemplated that at some future time the joint action of England and Germany might be directed towards military operations on shore. The noble Marquess, the other day, said distinctly in that House that there had been no suggestion or intention of any military action. He confessed, for himself, he did not see how that was quite compatible with what he had read from Count Leyden's Memorandum. But what was, perhaps, the most important part of the matter was to define clearly what was military action. What was to be our position if Germany, for instance, thought it necessary to bombard some places on the coast, or Zanzibar itself; and how far were we to be at liberty to withdraw from the arrangement or understanding in such a contingency? It was most essential that it should be distinctly laid down that on no occasion should we be called upon to act on the coast or on land, and we ought to have some assurance by the agreement that no operations of that kind should be undertaken. If anything of that sort was done it would be utterly impossible for us to avoid responsibility—at any rate, as far as the native mind was concerned. The Natives could not well make a distinction between Englishmen who were making it very inconvenient for them at sea, and Germans who might also be making themselves very disagreeable to them and annoying them on land. Therefore, especially in view of our good name among the Natives, it was very important that our position should be safeguarded in that respect, and that we should not be drawn into operations of a nature of which we should not approve. Then, as to the whole nature and character of that blockade, he asked what were our rights and duties, and, above all, what were our responsibilities under the circumstances? Blockade in war was a very simple matter. To

establish it it was only necessary that there should be due notice of it and that it should be effective. But this was not a blockade of war. We were not at war with anybody, and, therefore, according to International Law, a blockade of the usual character could not come into force in that case. A blockade without the right of visitation and of search and of stopping vessels would be of little worth. Those rights were acquired by belligerents, and only by belligerents. There was another way in which those rights could be acquired, and that was by Treaty. In regard to the Slave Trade, we had treaties with nearly all powers allowing us the right of visitation and search in the case of all vessels reasonably suspected of being slavers. He believed that was not the case as far as France was concerned, but at any rate it was the case with other nations, and with the United States. But this blockade was not directed merely against the exportation of slaves, it was directed also against the importation of arms; and he was not aware that this country had any Treaty with any European Power, or with the United States, giving by Treaty a right of visitation and search in the case of vessels suspected of carrying arms. He should like to know what our rights were with respect, say, to German or United States vessels. What were our rights and responsibilities in enforcing this blockade so far as the importation of arms was concerned against United States vessels? He thought we were entering upon a path with a light heart when it might be necessary to pursue it some day with a heavy one. Germany, France, and Great Britain were more or less interested and engaged in this matter. All those Powers had great interests in this portion of the world. It was all very well to talk about community of interests between England and Germany; but although there was in a certain sense a community of interest between all civilized nations when dealing with barbarous or semi-barbarous peoples, there was at the same time a great conflict wherever civilized nations were engaged in colonizing, in gaining influence, and pushing their trade in undeveloped countries. The whole situation in that respect was a very difficult one, and it would be so even if the condition of Europe were entirely normal. No one could pretend, however, that the condition of Europe was normal. As far as this country was concerned our position was, he believed, a very good one. It had never been better. We were in a state of profound peace, and it was difficult to see any reason why such a happy state of things should not continue. But it was idle to pretend that the other two Powers interested were as well situated in that respect. It was certain that if a cause of quarrel were at any time required, a cause would be found at any moment in the operations of this blockade. There was nothing on which nations were so properly sensitive as the honour of their Flag upon the sea. He did not anticipate that there would be any cause of quarrel sought; but in such a ticklish condition of affairs it appeared to him that, were matters brought to a state of tension in Europe, it might be suddenly changed into a state of conflict by a comparatively trifling incident arising out of the blockade. We were therefore entering upon a course which might not only lead us into great difficulties, but might place us in a very false position, so false that we might find it difficult to extricate ourselves from it. What was it we were going to receive in exchange? What was the object of the blockade? It was believed that it had originated in a desire to restore the authority of the Sultan of Zanzibar. While recognizing its advantages, he doubted whether the process would be successful. But the main object was the suppression of the Slave Trade. That was an object with which everyone sympathized most deeply, and he believed the sentiment of the country would be strongly in favour of making great sacrifices to put a stop to that most horrible traffic. It was, however, doubtful whether the means adopted were the best. It was, at any rate, strange that the persons most deeply interested in the matter—the Universities Mission—looked upon the blockade with great disfavour, and their opinion ought to be of some weight. There were two ways of putting down the Slave Trade—either by stopping the exportation or cutting off from the markets. That was an operation in which this country had been engaged for the last century, and one in which Germany had but lately become interested. There

was another way—that of enabling the people from whom the supplies of slaves were drawn to be strong enough to help themselves. It was obvious that if they could stop the importation of arms and ammunition, the partially civilized tribes would be unable to defend themselves against their warlike and savage neighbours, and certainly against the slave-raiders, who were armed. He doubted whether we could prevent these people from getting arms or ammunition, or whether any blockade would deprive the slave-raiders of their arms and ammunition. By stopping the importation of arms they deprived the coast tribes of all means of protecting themselves. There was one other danger to fear—it was this, that we should infallibly suffer greatly in the estimation of the people. Rightly or wrongly, we stood high in the estimation of the people at present; rightly or wrongly, justly or unjustly, the Germans did not. This country would be mixed up with the Germans in this matter; the Natives would not distinguish between the two, and whatever odium Germany incurred would have to be shared by England. That was a great misfortune and an important factor to be considered in the case. As a rule, partnerships of this kind were not desirable, and past records were not of such a character as to lead this country to expect that it would reap any great benefit from the partnership. He would only add, in conclusion, that he was anxious to obtain fuller, clearer, and more definite information, and he hoped the noble Marquess would be able to supply it.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS (The Marquess of SALISBURY): My Lords, I think that my noble Friend in reading these Papers has imagined that the despatch from Count Leyden is a statement of the policy of this country, and that we were prepared to defend it. I cannot accept any such interpretation. I inserted the Memorandum to show how these negotiations commenced. It is a statement that proceeds from the German Government, expressing their opinion. It is not my purpose nor my duty to explain their policy. The language which they use they will, no doubt, be able to defend; but I entirely decline to be in any way bound by anything that is stated in that Memorandum. The only thing which binds Her Majesty's Government is the communication from the Foreign Office to Count Hatzfeldt, which appears signed with my name. Anything outside of the four corners of that document does not bind England in any way. I may say that I think my noble Friend rather exaggerates the effect of some of the language of the German Memorandum. He saw a threat of military action in the words "at first," whereas the words were obviously merely used for the sake of diplomatic caution, so as not to bind the Government unnecessarily in circumstances which have not yet arisen. There is no ground for believing that the German Government have any intention to resort to any action on shore. I have strong grounds for believing the contrary, but, at all events, whether they do so or not, with that we have nothing to do. We have merely engaged in certain naval operations, and we have not the slightest intention of engaging in military operations. Then my noble Friend insists upon the use of words of a similar kind to the words in the German Memorandum—namely, that the object of such a blockade will be to cut off all traffic to a certain coast, especially that in slave vessels. I noticed that phrase, and at once objected; and I was informed that there was not any intention on the part of the German Government to ask for the suppression of all traffic. But, of course, such an understanding as that cannot depend upon a verbal interpretation. In that Note to Count Hatzfeldt, and in Count Hatzfeldt's Note to me, the blockade is distinctly stated to be against the importation of munitions of war and the exportation of slaves; and it is for nothing else; and that is the only object we shall have. As to the international position of the blockade, my noble Friend will see that this coast is no doubt mainly a German coast; but there are menaces of insurrection on the English coast also. The coast behind which German influence lies is in rebellion against the Sultan of Zanzibar. There are several precedents for the blockading by a Sovereign of a portion of his dominions which are in rebellion against him. We are acting as his allies in the matter, and it is against these insurgents, especially the Arab Slave Traders, that the blockades is exercised. There are several precedents which fully

justify us in exercising all the rights of blockade as against this insurgent population, and among those rights we have the power of stopping ships which are suspected of carrying munitions of war, and of preventing all ships that intend to break the blockade. The French Government have not the slightest doubt of the legality of that position, and I do not see how any difference of opinion can arise with them upon the subject. My noble Friend seemed to think that the action of the German Government was actuated by some hostility towards France in this matter, and that there was great danger of tension between the two Powers, and the possibility of some collision arising. I can assure my noble Friend that the very reverse is the case.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, interposing, explained that what he said was that the circumstances were peculiar, and that eventualities might occur in Europe which would produce a state of tension between the two countries, and that that tension might be snapped by an incident of this blockade.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I am glad to hear that. It is entirely my own opinion that there is in this matter no feeling of hostility and no danger of friction between these two Governments. But I think my noble Friend has much exaggerated the part which France bears in this matter. In the speech of M. Goblet which has been quoted, he disclaimed any great French interest in these parts. The only interest France has is an accidental interest, which she is trying very hard to get rid of. The Arab dhows will occasionally obtain surreptitiously and on false pretexts French papers and will float the French colours; but a French ship is going out there to prevent that wrong issue of the papers and that abuse of the French Flag. Therefore I do not anticipate the slightest danger of any difficulty with France on the subject of this blockade. Undoubtedly the interest of France is not prominent, and that difficulty is not likely to arise. I think I have now answered the questions of my noble Friend. The only point on which I have still to offer any remark is with regard to the separate action of the two Admirals. No doubt it is our opinion that separate action should be preserved. No doubt the two Admirals themselves are of that opinion, and have arranged accordingly; but I hesitate to bind our Admiral by any absolute prohibition which would prevent him from taking the course of action which in his own discretion, acting in the circumstances on the spot, he may think necessary. Still, the Admirals are quite aware that in our judgment it is better for the forces to act apart. I do not myself attach much importance to that consideration on which my noble Friend dwelt—namely, that the Germans and English will get confused in the Native mind. I think the Natives have a mind more perspicacious than my noble Friend gives them credit for, and that they perfectly well know the difference between the two nations. I think it is undesirable that German ships should be engaged in stopping English traders. It is much better that English people should be dealt with by their own officers. On that ground I very much hope that any operations which may be necessary—probably they will hardly be necessary—in the neighbourhood of that coast where the English are interested will be conducted entirely by English vessels. I think my noble Friend altogether drew in too dark and sombre colours the character of these operations, and attached to them a larger importance than they deserved. We are really, after all, doing in respect to slaves what we have been doing for any number of years; only we are doing it under the more efficient circumstances of a blockade, and we shall be able, therefore, to exercise a vigilance and control which otherwise we should not have had. There is no doubt that the Slave Trade has increased in malignity and volume very largely in recent years. We have a proof of that in the various outbreaks that have taken place in Nyassa, in the Soudan, and on the Zanzibar coast. We have a proof of it in the very clear account of travellers and Missionaries who have gone inland; and, from all that we hear, the cruelties which now attach to the Slave Trade far exceed anything which attached to it in former times. I cannot look upon it as an evil that we have got the active assistance and the pledged co-operation of a Power so great as Germany in resisting the spread of this great evil upon a particular coast where it has lately shown

the greatest signs of spreading. But my noble Friend asks me what we are to gain by the existence of this blockade? Well, if it had been a question whether or not any operations should have been undertaken, I could understand my noble Friend asking the question. I could understand a man saying, "We have gone on peaceably for a long while in the old way, without any great success, it is true; but why should we encounter new and unknown hazards when the original path of action still remains open to us?" The point which I wish to press on the noble Lord is, that the question we had to decide was, not whether there should be operations or not, but whether we should see Germany conducting them by herself or not. We had also to consider the hazardous position occupied by the Sultan of Zanzibar. We cannot abandon Zanzibar to its fate, or allow it to incur any risk which the course of events may bring upon it. We are bound to watch over it, and the question which really presented itself to us was whether we should watch over it more effectively by standing aside and renouncing, not only all co-operation, but all voice in the operations that were taking place; or whether we should not rather show our friendship and interest in the Sultan more effectually by acting up to the professions which we have made for any number of years, by joining in more efficacious measures against the Slave Trade, which we have pursued with so great persistency, and by joining also in cutting off from the slave dealers that supply of new and deadly arms which science has furnished, and which enables them to reduce to a state of utter vassalage and to inflict the most terrible and innumerable evils upon the helpless and unarmed populations on that vast Continent. Those poor people have no arms, and have no money to buy them. They are helpless before a resolute and unscrupulous and fully-armed race, such as these slave-trading Arabs, and we can only effectually prevent this by diminishing the power of evil and the power of oppressing them possessed by their persecutors, and possessed by those persecutors because they have come in contact with the science and the progress of the Christian world, and have bought from us the arms of destruction, in the manufacture of which, unhappily, we have acquired such deadly skill. I can assure my noble Friend there is nothing new in the policy of excluding and shutting out arms. It has been under discussion again and again. It has been carried out, as he will see, on the Congo. We have endeavoured to carry it out in the Soudan; but, unfortunately, have not been successful, and we are suffering a very disagreeable conflict at the present moment in consequence. It is a policy the soundness of which up to this time has been generally recognized; and I cannot believe my noble Friend will find any considerable number of men familiar with the problems of that trade and of that coast who will condemn us for trying to diminish the importation of arms into the interior. When we have prevented the taking of arms by a blockade, and have taken part in the prevention of the exportation of slaves — when we have done that, we shall not have departed from any sound principle, and we shall have obtained powerful assistance for the policy which we have pursued, and the objects for which we have always been anxious; we shall have secured a voice and control in the operations which are carried on upon that coast; we shall have put ourselves in the best position to assist our ally the Sultan of Zanzibar, and to secure his permanence and his independence; and, I should think, when we have done these things, we shall have struck a very heavy blow at the Slave Trade without incurring any of the dangers which my noble Friend has indicated, and which could only have been incurred if we had undertaken measures beyond our own element —the sea, or if we had undertaken any of those larger and wider enterprizes which my noble Friend mistakenly attributes to the Government.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, the only key of the situation was to consider whether, under the circumstances, it was wise or prudent for us to hold aloof. Whatever might be the merits or demerits of the policy which we had pursued in the past with regard to Germany, on which he reserved his opinion, the question we had now to consider was what, in the actual position of affairs, was for our own interests and those of the Sultan of Zanzibar and the civilized nations who were anxious to put down the Slave Trade? He could

not agree with the noble Earl that it would have been wise to refuse all co-operation with Germany in this matter—he entirely agreed with the Government that within certain limits we were right to co-operate with Germany; but he had heard with the greatest satisfaction the restrictions which the noble Marquess had imposed on our operations, and repudiation of any intention of carrying on operations inland. There was the more reason for caution in this respect, because we could not disguise from ourselves that Germany had her own schemes to further, in which we we had no interest. Germany had found herself in great embarrassments in consequence of the failure of the Colonization Company, and, naturally enough, she desired to re-establish her reputation. But it was no valid reason against co-operation with Germany, as far as our common interests were concerned, that she had other interests in Africa. In his opinion, it was far more likely that embarrassments in the future could be avoided by timely action such as was now contemplated. He had also heard, with true satisfaction, what the noble Marquess had said as to the policy of this country not to abandon the Sultan of Zanzibar. This was not only a matter of policy, but of national feeling, and it would have been ungenerous to abandon an ally of so many year's standing, who, if allowance were made for the difficulties of his position, had done much to suppress the Slave Trade, and had shown towards us a desire to consult our wishes as far as possible. It was more likely that the interests of our Indian subjects on the coast would be safeguarded if we acted in concert with Germany than if we had left Germany to take her own course alone. As we were acting in the name of the Sultan of Zanzibar, the blockade was quite in accord with the practice of nations. He agreed with the noble Marquess that the steps which he had taken were not a new departure, but a carrying out of old traditions. He would like, however, to know whether the noble Marquess had secured the co-operation of Portugal in this blockade. He had no doubt the noble Marquess had been in communication with the Portuguese Government, but he would, of course, not press the question if the noble Marquess did not think that it would be prudent to make any statement.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, he trusted the measures which had been taken would be successful. The assurances received made him believe that Portugal would co-operate with the two Powers thoroughly in adopting measures to prevent the exportation of slaves and the importation of arms. He knew the co-operation of Portugal in this matter would be invaluable.

EARL GRANVILLE said, he had given a sort of pledge to make some observations when the Papers were in their hands, but he felt that it would be a kind of surplusage if he added anything to what had been said by his noble Friend, and with which he entirely agreed. With regard to what had been said by the noble Earl who brought forward the subject, there were certain things with which he agreed, but there was need of caution, and there might be considerable complications, but he could not say whether he concurred in the advice given, and he could not make out what the drift of it was. He wished also to entirely reserve himself with regard to the arrangement as to the boundaries in the agreement with Germany. This country had made the greatest sacrifices, not only in money but in precious lives, in repressing this traffic; in fact, they had prided themselves on the lion's share in preventing slavery and putting down the Slave Trade during times past, and they had complained of the want of assistance which they received from one Power and another. This being the case, it appeared to him that there would have been some danger of their being placed in an illogical position if they had refused to co-operate with one of the most important Powers in putting down that trade, because it was said that Power was not animated exclusively with a desire to end that trade, but was also actuated by commercial considerations.

House adjourned at a quarter before Seven o'clock, to Monday next, Eleven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, 20th November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—Mark Oldroyd, esquire, *for* Dewsbury.

PUBLIC BILL—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Land Purchase (Ireland) [385].

MOTION.

—o—

NAVAL EXPENDITURE.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD (Marylebone, E.) moved for a

"Return of the actual Naval Expenditure, Ships added to and struck off the Navy Lists, with other details, from 1859 to 1888 inclusive, with totals and averages of triennial periods."

MR. LANE (Cork Co., E.) asked the noble and gallant Lord to supplement the Return by inserting a sub-head for information as to the amount of money spent on naval works and repairs in Ireland. Many of the Irish Members desired information on this subject, such as would enable them to discuss the matter, for they had very often pressed it unsuccessfully in regard to the small proportion of money spent on naval architecture in Ireland.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD said, that he had no objection whatever to the addition of the information asked for.

MR. SPEAKER pointed out that the Return standing upon the Paper was moved for as an unopposed Return.

MR. LANE said, that there was no intention to oppose the Return; all he asked was that it should be postponed for a day, so that the addition which he had suggested should be made.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD remarked that his object in getting the Return was that it might be laid on the Table before the Naval Estimates were discussed; and he should be very sorry if the delay now asked for prevented that from being done.

MR. LANE said, that he would put down a Notice on the Paper asking for the additional information.

Motion *agreed to.*

QUESTIONS.

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ARMY (INDIA)—COLONELS' ALLOWANCES.

MR. KING (Hull, Central) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether Indian colonels drawing colonels' allowances, who reside in any of the French, Portuguese, or Dutch Settlements in the neighbourhood of British India, can draw their allowance in sterling through their attorney in London, as permitted to do if resident in Ceylon; and, if not, why not?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): No application from any Indian colonel residing in any French, Portuguese, or Dutch Settlement in the neighbourhood of British India to draw his allowance in sterling has been made to the Secretary of State. Such an application, if made, would receive due consideration.

SALMON FISHERIES (SCOTLAND)—THE RIVER DOON.

MR. J. SINCLAIR (Ayr Burghs) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to the destruction of large numbers of salmon and trout in the Doon in the month of October last; and what steps he intends to take to prevent the wholesale poisoning of fish by the discharge of poisonous matter into the river?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): I have inquired into this matter, and am informed that a number of salmon were found dead in the Doon in the months stated in the Question; but that the cause of death was the salmon disease, and not the discharge of poisonous matter into the river. The Salmon Fisheries Act of 1862 empowers District Boards to prosecute persons who knowingly put deleterious matters into a river, and prosecutions in these cases are not undertaken by the Crown.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE VOLUNTEER CORPS—CAMP ALLOWANCE.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Secretary of State for War, If there is any surplus from the camp allowance grant assigned

to Volunteer corps in the past drill season available for proportionate division among the corps which have earned a greater sum, in accordance with the undertaking given; and, if so, when, and in what manner, it will be distributed?

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY, WAR DEPARTMENT (Mr. BRODRICK) (Surrey, Guildford) (who replied) said: I much regret that there is no surplus on the item of camp allowance; but provision can be made from the Estimates for defraying the extra expenses incurred in camp by the Artillery Volunteers. My right hon. Friend (Mr. E. Stanhope) wishes that the case of the Infantry Volunteers could also have been met; but it must be remembered that the allotment of the money for camp allowance was made months before the camps were formed; and that the effect of the concession asked for would be to penalize those corps which observed the fixed limit, as compared with those which took into camp numbers in excess of those authorized.

NAVY (SHIPS) — PARTIALLY ARMOURED BATTLE-SHIPS.

LORD CHARLES BERESFORD (Marylebone, E.) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, When, and in what manner, the Board of Admiralty are going to adopt the strong recommendation of the Committee on Navy Estimates for further investigating, with the aid of outside opinion, the value of those battle-ships with unarmoured ends which form the majority of the British Fleet; and, having regard to the information lately given by the Secretary of State for War, as to the alarming effect of the high explosives on targets representing the unarmoured ends of these battle-ships, whether he will assure the House that experiments shall be undertaken as soon as possible in a practical and business-like manner with one of the vessels itself?

THE FIRST LORD (LORD GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The recommendation of the Report is as follows:—

"Your Committee do not conceive it to be their duty to examine into and report upon the question of the design of these vessels. But in view of the adverse opinions expressed regarding them by high professional authorities, as well as on account of the evidence given by the Director of Naval Construction, your Committee would press on the Admiralty the necessity of further investigating, with the aid of outside opinion, the best means of distributing the protective armour to be given to our battle-ships and cruisers in the future."

And this we shall be prepared to give effect to. The experiments recently carried out as to the effect of high explosives bursting inside a ship do not merely affect the unarmoured ends of ships, but any other portion of any ship which is devoid of vertical armour. To fire at the unarmoured part of one ship would be no test of the fighting capacity of the ship, unless the ship fired at were allowed to return the fire of the ship assailing her; and, therefore, I cannot consent to an experiment which would be both misleading and very costly.

COAL MINES, &c. REGULATION ACT, 1887 — DECISION OF MAGISTRATES AT KILMERSDON PETTY SESSIONS.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the reports appearing in *The Bristol Mercury* and *The Bristol Daily Press* newspapers of October 23, 1888, of a prosecution under "The Coal Mines, &c., Regulation Act, 1887," before Lord Hylton, Chairman of the Bench of Justices at Kilmersdon Petty Sessions, in which the summons obviously required amendment, so as to include not more than one count, in accordance with "The Summary Jurisdiction Act, 1848," section 10, are substantially correct; whether it is correctly stated that, before the close of the case for the prosecution had been announced, Lord Hylton delivered judgment against the persons charged without having heard one word in their defence; if he can state what course Lord Hylton took after his attention was called to the irregularity which he had committed; and, whether he will inquire into all the circumstances of the case?

THE SECRETARY of STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have seen the report in *The Bristol Mercury*, which appears to be substantially correct; but I do not gather from it that the summons required amendment. I have made inquiry into the circumstances, and I am informed that, at the close of the complainant's case, Lord Hylton did not deliver judgment, but did express the opinion of the Bench that the summons was rightly taken out. Upon the defendants' solicitor

objecting that he had not been heard, Lord Hylton stated that he had announced the opinion of the Bench in order to save time, and that the solicitor was at liberty to address the Bench. The solicitor then argued the case and called witnesses. The Bench ultimately decided the case against the defendant; and the Government Inspector who was present in Court informs me that the decision was satisfactory and carefully arrived at.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM asked, if it was usual for Justices to express an opinion before the defendant was heard?

MR. MATTHEWS said, he did not know that it was usual; but he had heard learned Judges express opinions in the course of cases.

CHARITY COMMISSION — CHARD CHARITY, DRAYCOTT, DORSET.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) asked the hon. Member for the Penrith Division of Cumberland, Whether representations have reached him from the inhabitants of the hamlet of Draycott, in the parishes of Rodney Stoke and Cheddar, in the County of Dorset, as to the administration of the Charity of John and Joseph Chard; whether he is aware that the inhabitants complain that, although it is provided by the scheme that the Trustees shall be residents in or near Draycott, no such residents have of late been appointed; and, whether the Commissioners will make inquiries, if possible on the spot, into the way in which the funds of the Charity have been recently administered, and into the other matters complained of?

THE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford) (who replied) said: A copy of a Petition addressed to the Trustees of the Chard Charity, and signed by the churchwardens, overseers, and certain inhabitants of the hamlet of Draycott, praying that a person resident in the village should be appointed to fill a then imminent vacancy in the Trust, was forwarded to the Commissioners on November 24, 1887. Subsequent representations have been received by the Commissioners, complaining of an unequal distribution of the Charity Funds by the Trustees. It is provided by the scheme that the Trustees shall be resident within the distance of 12 miles from the parish church of Draycott. The complaint of the inhabitants in question is not that this provision of the scheme is disregarded; but that no one of the non-official Trustees who have been appointed is resident in the village itself. The Commissioners have more than once urged on the Trustees the desirability of appointing a gentleman so resident; and, as a result of these representations, a gentleman resident in the immediate neighbourhood has been selected to fill the latest vacancy which has occurred. The Commissioners will institute an inquiry, with a view to ascertain whether the complaints which have been made as to the application of the income of the Charity are well founded, and whether the general operation of the scheme is satisfactory.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — EDUCATION CODE, ARTICLE 134--TEACHERS' PENSIONS.

MR. J. G. TALBOT (Oxford University) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, On what grounds the 79 teachers, who, during the year ended Michaelmas, 1887, had applied for pensions, and had satisfied the conditions of Article 134 of the Education Code, were refused such pensions; whether any of these applicants had taken service in elementary schools before 1851; and, whether he will consider the advisability of so modifying the terms of Article 134 as to include in its operation those persons who were pupil teachers or students in training on or before May 9, 1862, and have also fulfilled the conditions of that Article?

THE VICE PRESIDENT (Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE) (Kent, Dartford): Almost all the applicants to whom my hon. Friend refers were refused for want of funds. Five of them had entered the profession before 1851, and these were refused on valid administrative grounds. It does not appear that the Report of the Royal Commission contains any recommendation in regard to the last paragraph; and I am inclined to doubt the expediency of re-opening the question.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—REMOVAL OF PLACARDS AT COORA CLARE, CO. CLARE.

MR. COX (Clare, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ire-

land, Whether he is aware that the police tore down the following notice from the chapel gate at Cooraclare, County Clare, on Sunday, 11th instant:—

"Kilmacduane Gaelic Athletic Association. A meeting of the above Association will be held at Cooraclare after last mass. Gaels come and join.

Yours faithfully,
S. MESCALL, Hon. Sec.;"

and that two other notices were subsequently posted up and again torn down by the police; and, if so, by what right or authority the police acted in this manner?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Inspector General of Constabulary reports it is the case that the police tore down the notices alluded to. They did so in the discharge of their duty, as they had reason to believe that the object of the notices was an attempt to convene a meeting of the National League, which was suppressed in that district as an illegal Association.

MR. COX: Am I to understand that any ruffian of a policeman in the country may tear down a perfectly legal notice because he believes it to refer to a meeting of the National League, which (we have it on highest authority) is a "thing of the past"?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT — COTTAGES AT MULLINGAR.

MR. TUITE (Westmeath, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that representations were made early in August last, and again on the 14th instant, to the Local Government Board, by the Mullingar Board of Guardians, as to the delay of the Engineering Inspector of the Local Government Board in inspecting 85 cottages built under the Labourers (Ireland) Act in that union; whether all of those cottages have been finished for the past eight months, but remain untenanted in consequence of the Guardians declining to undertake the responsibility of taking over the cottages without their being previously passed by the Engineering Inspector; and, whether, having regard to the large number of cottages awaiting inspection in the union, and the loss and inconvenience which the delay is causing to all parties concerned, he will cause an immediate inspection of the cottages to be made?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, that representations had been made by the Board of Guardians asking for an inspection of the cottages; but there had been no avoidable delay. The cottages were not completed eight months ago, because, when the Guardians made their application for the first time in August last, some of the cottages were not fully completed. He believed that an inspection of the cottages would be made next week.

MR. TUITE asked, if it was not a fact that there were only two Engineering Inspectors in the whole of Ireland?

MR. MADDEN asked for Notice of the Question.

ARMY CONTRACTS—CONTRACT FOR 50,000 BAYONETS—MESSRS. WILKINSON AND COMPANY.

MR. HOWARD VINCENT (Sheffield, Central) asked the Secretary of State for War, If his attention has been drawn to the allegations in an evening newspaper that Messrs. Wilkinson and Company, who recently obtained a contract for 50,000 bayonets, have discharged a number of their English workmen and replaced them by Germans brought for the purpose from Solingen; if there is any truth in this statement, and that while this is occurring the average wages of the bayonet hands at Enfield have, from want of occupation, fallen to 9*s.* a week; and, if there is any clause in War Office contracts providing that British Government orders should be executed, as far as possible, by British artizans.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Certain skilled workmen have been brought over from Solingen to instruct English workmen in the art of sword forging. This art has almost died out in this country. In fact, I took the heavy responsibility last year of passing over certain firms at Solingen, who offered to do the work at a cheaper rate, in order to endeavour to revive this industry in England. Almost all of these German workmen are going home shortly. As regards the rate of wages at Enfield, the average for the past fortnight in the bayonet branch is

18*s.* 6*d.* a week and not 9*s.*; the average when in full work is 36*s.* a week. The want of occupation is due to preparation for the adoption of a new pattern of sword bayonet. The men have been allowed to stay on optionally, so as to avoid discharging any of them.

LAW AND JUSTICE—SENTENCE ON MR. M'HUGH, MAYOR OF SLIGO.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) (for Mr. P. M'DONALD) (Sligo, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that Mr. M'Hugh, Mayor of Sligo, who has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment, as a common criminal, for articles published in his newspaper, *The Sligo Champion*, was on Wednesday last, at 4 o'clock in the morning, removed from Sligo Prison to Londonderry Prison; whether, on arriving at Londonderry Prison at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, he was refused any breakfast, on the ground that "he had got it in Sligo;" whether the alleged breakfast in Sligo was some cocoa, which at that early hour he was unable to taste; whether it is consistent with the Irish Prison Rules to oblige a prisoner of delicate constitution to travel for seven hours without food, and then at the end of a long and painful journey to be refused any nourishment till the ordinary dinner hour; and, whether he can state the reasons for which Mr. M'Hugh was removed from Sligo?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: I am informed that Mr. M'Hugh did not leave Sligo at 4 o'clock in the morning, but by the 5.15 train, and that he arrived at Londonderry Prison at 11.30 a.m. Breakfast was refused at Londonderry; but 10 minutes after Mr. M'Hugh had asked for breakfast his dinner was taken to him. The breakfast at Sligo consisted of bread and cocoa, which Mr. M'Hugh at first refused; but he afterwards partook of it, and had plenty of time to finish it had he been inclined to do so. The journey occupied 6½ hours, not seven, and the prisoner had not been without food. He was removed from Sligo because it was considered inadvisable that he should be imprisoned in the town of which he is Mayor and in the prison of which he is a Visiting Justice.

ARMY—DUBLIN BARRACKS—INSANITARY CONDITION.

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that another officer has died from typhoid fever, contracted in barracks at Dublin, and that several other officers are at present suffering from the same disease; whether the recommendations made by the Commission presided over by Sir Charles Cameron with regard to the sanitary condition of the Royal Barracks, Dublin, have been carried out; whether it is a fact that in the Wellington Barracks (formerly known as the Richmond Bridewell), it is impossible to light fires or heat the corridors in which the troops are quartered; and, whether he will take steps to have a thorough investigation made of the sanitary condition of all the barracks in Dublin?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Four officers have been ill from enteric fever lately, which is believed to have been contracted in Dublin; but I am glad to say that no death has taken place among the officers since that of Lieutenant Crofton, who died of typhus on the 28th of October. Most of the recommendations of Sir Charles Cameron's Commission have been carried out, and nearly all the remainder are in course of execution. There are, however, serious difficulties with regard to all the Dublin Barracks as to the disposal of sewage, which difficulties can scarcely be overcome till the sewage arrangements of the city itself are improved. In the Wellington Barracks the heating apparatus has been repaired and improved, and no complaints of its insufficiency have been received. The sanitary state of the barracks in Dublin has been, and is, a source of great anxiety to me. It is not to be tolerated, if human science can prevent it, that officers and men should be exposed to the risk of contracting this fever; and therefore, although I am by no means prepared to say that any reasonable step has been neglected, I have determined to institute a further wholly independent inquiry into the sanitary state of the Royal and Wellington Barracks,

and I have appointed a sanitary engineer of eminence, Mr. Rogers Field, of Westminster Chambers, London, to undertake it.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT (Sussex, N.W.) asked whether the Valentine Square, in the Royal Barracks, was still occupied by troops; and whether it was not a fact that for more than 40 years that square had been infected with fever?

MR. E. STANHOPE: As to what has happened during a period of 40 years, I think I might reasonably ask for Notice. It is perfectly true that there has been fever in Valentine Square; but the recommendations have, in the main, been carried out, and others are now being carried out.

MR. CHAPLIN (Lincolnshire, Sleaford) inquired whether the new inquiry would be extended to all the barracks in Dublin; and further, would the right hon. Gentleman give an undertaking that, when the investigation was complete, he would carry out a thorough sanitary reform of all the barracks?

MR. E. STANHOPE: I think it may very likely be desirable to extend the inquiry to all the barracks in Dublin; but I should prefer first to get the two most important cases—I mean where there has been most illness—namely, Wellington Barracks and the Royal Barracks, inquired into. As to the steps which will afterwards be taken, I need scarcely say that I have ordered this inquiry for the purpose of endeavouring to get rid of this terrible disease.

SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID (St. Pancras, S.): Has the right hon. Gentleman satisfied himself that Mr. Field is an eminent sanitary authority?

MR. E. STANHOPE: I know there are enormous differences of opinion with regard to any particular sanitary engineer; but I know he has undertaken works of great importance, and carried them out satisfactorily.

METROPOLITAN POLICE—SIR CHARLES WARREN, LATE CHIEF COMMISSIONER.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been directed to the second paragraph of a letter addressed by Sir Charles Warren to *The Times* of the 17th instant, in which he says that—

"Whilst in many cases he has received instructions apparently contrary to Statute, he has protested, and, in protesting, taken legal advice;"

and, if he will inform the House what those instructions "apparently contrary to Statute" were?

MR. PICKERSGILL (Bethnal Green, S.W.) also asked, Whether the right hon. Gentleman will lay upon the Table of the House the Correspondence which passed between the late Chief Commissioner of Metropolitan Police and the Home Office, and to which Sir Charles Warren appeals in his letter published in *The Times* of Saturday last?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I presume that Sir Charles Warren's published letter refers to the voluminous Correspondence on Departmental matters between the Home Office and Scotland Yard. It is unusual to lay a Correspondence of this kind upon the Table of the House; and part of it is altogether confidential. I will, however, state generally that I know of no occasion on which I have given to Sir Charles Warren directions apparently or really contrary to the Statute. But if the hon. Members will put upon the Paper a Question addressed to any specific subject on which they suggest I have done so, I will inform them, as fully as public duty permits, what directions I did give, and they will be able to form their own judgment.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM: In what manner am I to obtain information only obtainable by the Home Secretary or Sir Charles Warren? [*A laugh.*] It is no laughing matter; it involves the question of the death of two Englishmen killed in London; and I want to know who is responsible?

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): Are not the circumstances of the case altogether unusual—that is to say, the question is between Sir Charles Warren and the Home Office; and as the whole question turns on the relations that have existed for some time between the late Chief Commissioner and the Home Office, is it not desirable to enable the House and the public to arrive at a conclusion between the Home Office and the late Chief Commissioner? In order to do so, should not the whole of the Correspondence be laid before us?

MR. MATTHEWS: I do not think it is necessary that the whole Correspondence should be laid before the House. As I have stated, a great deal of it cannot be. But any matter in which it is suggested that I have gone beyond my powers, I shall be happy to state fully.

BURIAL GROUNDS (METROPOLIS)—CITY OF LONDON AND TOWER HAMLETS CEMETERIES.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Will he state his reason for not causing action to be taken against the City of London and Tower Hamlets Cemetery Company, situate at South Grove, Bow Road, to exact penalties for the non-compliance with the provisions of the two Orders in Council, which he has already admitted has taken place?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): The inquiry made by the Burials Inspector last August revealed certain irregularities; but, on the whole, they were not brought home to the knowledge of the Directors in a way to make a prosecution expedient. I therefore addressed to the Company a letter, warning them that unless the Orders in Council were strictly complied with in future, proceedings would be taken. Since then I have from time to time had Reports of the steps taken to carry out the Regulations; and the Inspector has been instructed to satisfy himself, by occasional visits, that the Orders in Council are obeyed in all particulars.

BURMAH (UPPER)—THE RUBY MINES.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether, looking to the magnitude of the concession in the case of the Burmah Ruby Mines, and to the fact that it has already once been put up to open competition, he can state the precise procedure which the India Office will adopt as to the final hour for sending in tenders, the persons in whose presence tenders are to be opened, and other precautions for securing the fairest possible and most public competition?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): Tenders will, according to advertisement, be received at the India Office up to midnight on November 21. No envelope which is known to contain a tender will be opened until noon on the 22nd, and they will then be opened in the presence of the Under Secretaries of State.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.): Is it intended to give a monopoly of the Ruby Mines to a firm in London, and to deprive the Natives of their rights of searching for rubies?

SIR JOHN GORST said, that if the hon. Gentleman had read the advertisement he would have seen that it expressly decided that no Native right of any kind would be in the least infringed.

SOUTH AFRICA—TRIAL OF UNDABUKO AND OTHER ZULU CHIEFS.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) (for Mr. A. M'ARTHUR) (Leicester) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is true that Undabuko, Somkeli, and other Zulu Chiefs are now upon their trial for high treason; whether they are being tried by jury; and, if not, why trial by jury was denied them; whether they have had time to secure counsel; and whether he will take steps to ensure that the course of the trial shall not be so hurried as to prevent a fair time being allowed to the prisoners to prepare their defence.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (BARON HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): Her Majesty's Government have no reason to suppose that these Chiefs are being tried for high treason. Sir Arthur Havelock, on the 29th of August, wrote that warrants had been issued against Undabuko on a charge of assembling armed forces with the intention of disturbing the peace and of resisting the police; also on a charge of public violence. Tshingana is charged on warrant with public violence and cattle stealing; and Somkeli with public violence. The laws of Zululand do not provide for trial by jury, as there is no body of men in that country from whom juries could be formed. The trials will take place before a special tribunal, consisting of Mr. Wragg, Senior Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court, and Messrs. Rudolph and Fannin, Resident Magistrates of Natal. The Chief Magistrate and the Resident Magistrates of Zululand will, no doubt, be called as

witnesses; therefore, they could not properly adjudicate upon the cases of these Chiefs. It is understood that a preliminary investigation of the charges was held by a separate magistrate; the prisoners are defended by counsel, and the matter is now before a Court which may be trusted to deal fairly with the accused.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—PLEURO-PNEUMONIA.

MR. FARQUHARSON (Dorset, W.) asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, In order to avoid the indiscriminate slaughter of cattle on the occasion of outbreaks of pleuro-pneumonia, some method of quarantine can be arranged for cattle merely suspected and not actually infected; whether he will give instructions that on every occasion of the outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia, special inquest shall be held with a view to tracing the origin of the disease; and, whether arrangements can be made, in cases where the disease is clearly traceable from imported cattle, for the compensation for slaughtered cattle to be paid from the Consolidated Fund instead of from the rates.

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM (Lewisham) (who replied) said: The whole subject of pleuro-pneumonia, in reference to its origin, its prevalance in the United Kingdom, and the best measure to be adopted for the purpose of stamping it out, was considered by the Departmental Committee which sat a few months ago and took evidence from a large number of witnesses; and the Order of March, 1888, which is now in force, for the slaughter of cattle which have been exposed to the infection of pleuro-pneumonia, is in strict accordance with the recommendation of that Committee. The alternative of quarantine for the duration of the animal's life—namely, up to the time of slaughter, was also considered by the Committee and rejected by them; (2), the travelling Inspectors and veterinary officers of the Agricultural Department and Local Authorities use their best endeavors to trace the origin of outbreaks; (3), the payment of compensation out of the Consolidated Fund can only be sanctioned by Parliament.

POST OFFICE—POST-CARDS.

MR. HENNIKER HEATON (Canterbury) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he is aware that in France, Germany, and Italy single post-cards may be purchased for their face value; if there is any reason why the public should not be allowed to supply its own post-cards, putting on them halfpenny adhesive stamps; and whether he is aware that this privilege exists, under proper regulations, in many foreign countries?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The facts are, I believe, as stated in the first and third paragraphs of the hon. Member's Question. With regard to the second paragraph, I beg to state that the question of allowing ordinary cards, bearing a halfpenny postage stamp, to pass as post-cards, was carefully considered by the late Mr. Fawcett; but that it was not then deemed expedient to sanction such an arrangement. I am, however, now engaged in considering whether any variations from the existing system can be advantageously adopted.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT — ELECTION OF COUNTY COUNCILLORS—THE VOTING SYSTEM.

MR. HOWARD (Middlesex, Tottenham) asked the President of the Local Government Board, How many votes each elector under the Local Government Act will have in those Divisions where the election of County Councillors will, in the first instance, be by the whole Division and not by wards; and whether an elector can give more than one vote to any particular candidate?

THE PRESIDENT (MR. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): An elector in any of the combined Electoral Divisions will have as many votes as there are Councillors to be elected for the combined Divisions. But he will not be entitled to give more than one vote to one candidate.

LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—THE PROCURATOR FISCALSHIP OF ORKNEY.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is the case that the Procurator Fiscalship of Orkney is vacant; and, whether, in filling up the vacancy, he will take steps to secure

that an officer is appointed who will devote his whole time to the work, and not practice as a land agent or solicitor in the district?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): There is a vacancy in the Procurator Fiscalship of Orkney. The appointment rests with the Sheriff, but requires approval by the Secretary for Scotland. The point to which the hon. Member directs attention will have due consideration.

SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—DINIZULU.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is the case that the Natal Supreme Court have granted an interdict against the removal of Dinizulu to Zululand, and whether it is the intention of the Governor to move to set it aside; whether the Government are supporting the Local Authorities in their determination to hurry on the trials at Ekowe, notwithstanding the appeals of the prisoners for delay; and, why the Papers on Zululand, promised by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in July, and laid upon the Table of this House on August 10, have not been printed and distributed?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): In answer to the first paragraph of the hon. Member's Question, I have to state that Her Majesty's Government have no information on the subject, but that an inquiry will be addressed to the Government of Natal. Her Majesty's Government have no reason to suppose that there is any determination, or even desire, to hurry on the trials; and I may observe that it is stated in the papers that the Court in whose hands the matter rests has overruled an application for postponement. The Papers on Zululand are now being printed for distribution, and it is expected that they will be in the hands of Members not later than Monday next.

BRITISH GUIANA—DEMERARA—TRANSIT OF MERCHANDIZE.

MR. WATT (Glasgow, Camlachie) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether there is at present any means of transit for merchandize by land or water between Demerara and the north-western frontier of the Colony; and, whether the Government will consider the desirability of constructing a railway for the development of the interior of British Guiana?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth): There are no means of transit for merchandize by land between Demerara and the north-western frontier; but a portion of the frontier is accessible by water. No proposal has been made by the Colonial Government for the construction of a railway for the development of the interior of British Guiana. Should any proposal be made, it will receive due consideration from Her Majesty's Government, who are, of course, alive to the advantages which railway construction, if it could be made remunerative, would confer.

MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd is now drawing any public money; and, if so, in what capacity?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.), in reply, said that, as far as he had been able to ascertain, Mr. Clifford Lloyd was receiving no pay, either from Imperial or Colonial Funds. He understood that Mr. Lloyd drew a pension to which he was entitled as a magistrate in Ireland.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked, in what way all doubt on the subject could be removed?

MR. JACKSON said, he had made all possible inquiry in the time at his disposal since the Question was given notice of; and he did not think any further inquiry would alter the tenour of his answer.

EGYPT—DEFENCE OF UPPER EGYPT.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Secretary of State for War, If it is true that British troops are ordered up to Assouan, and are again to engage in the defence of Upper Egypt; if so, whether they are to go at the expense of the British taxpayer; and, who is to pay the charge for their moving, including railway and other charges of the Egyptian Government,

according to the system which has hitherto prevailed?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): Yes, Sir; it is true that, as the Egyptian Government has been compelled to withdraw certain troops from their frontier in order to strengthen the garrison at Suakin, it has been found necessary to order some British Infantry —I believe about 500 in number—to go temporarily to Assouan to assist, if necessary, in the defence of the frontier. The mode in which the cost of this move is to be defrayed is now the subject of communication between the Foreign Office and myself; but *primâ facie*, according to the understanding arrived at, it must be defrayed by the Egyptian Government.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether there is any truth in the report that it is proposed to send British troops to Suakin?

MR. E. STANHOPE: No; there have been no orders to send British troops to Suakin.

KEBLE COLLEGE, OXFORD.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the following points in the Charter of Keble College, namely:—That the Warden must be a person in Holy Orders; that the Visitor is the Archbishop of Canterbury; that the Council consists of certain persons (all members, and the majority clergymen, of the Church of England) nominated in the Charter, or elected by the Council itself; that the object of the College is expressed to be an academical education based upon the principles of the Church of England; and that it is expressly provided that the Warden, Council, and Visitor may at any time dissolve the Corporation, and dispose of its property as they please; and, whether, having regard to the privileges conferred upon Keble College by "The Mortmain and Charitable Uses Act, 1888," he will undertake to introduce a Bill next Session to modify the Charter so as to deprive it of its sectarian character, and preserve the property of the College for academical uses under the ordinary law now governing Colleges in the University?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have no means of inquiring into the facts or allegations contained in the Question. I do not question the accuracy of the statements made. I am not, however, in a position to enter into any engagement to bring in a Bill next Session to amend the Charter in the direction which the hon. and learned Member desires.

MR. E. ROBERTSON gave Notice that he should take the first opportunity to call attention to the extraordinary circumstances under which, in the Summer Session, without Notice, and in contravention of the previous decision of the House, a Keble College clause was inserted in the Mortmain and Charitable Uses Act, and he should move a Resolution in the terms of the second portion of his Question.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-upon-Tyne): I desire to put a Question to the First Lord of the Treasury. I want to ask him, Whether he intends to-morrow to take the next stage of the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill; or, whether he does not think it would be more in conformity with the general opinion of the House to proceed with Supply to-morrow, and resume discussion on the Bill on Thursday?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have already stated in the House that the Government propose to take this Bill *de die in diem;* and I think great inconvenience results to the House generally from any change which has been indicated beforehand. The Bill consists of but one clause, and arrangements have been made by which any Member who desires to see it may see it in the course of the evening. I think it will be for the public advantage, on the whole, that the House should proceed with the debate on the second reading to-morrow.

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) failed to see how the Bill could be printed immediately after the Division, unless the Government had undertaken to print it on the assumption that it would be carried. If it was not carried, their act would be unjustified. He also wished to know how many days the

right hon. Gentleman intended to devote to the Bill itself, inasmuch as the House was only discussing the Amendment?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that he had taken upon himself the great responsibility of ordering the Bill to be printed, which was not unusual in the conduct of Public Business. If, as the hon. Gentleman seemed to think, the Bill was not accepted by the House that evening, he must take upon himself the serious responsibility of abiding by the course of action he had adopted. He did not think it would be desirable to indicate at the present time the length of time that would be devoted to the debate on the second reading.

NAVY—THE SHIPBUILDING POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—"BATTLEWORTHINESS."

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) rose to make a personal explanation with regard to the use of the term "battleworthiness" of ships of war, which the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) had challenged. He wished to refer to the report of the Question 2,987, which was—"Do you consider yourself responsible for the battleworthiness of the ship?"

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is rather exceeding the limits of a personal explanation. The good faith of the hon. Member has not been attacked.

MR. HOWELL said, he had received a letter from the First Lord of the Admiralty asking him to bring the matter before the House.

MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member thinks he is misrepresented, he is at liberty to bring the matter before the House.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (WEDNESDAY).

MR. BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the ordinary Rule applicable to Wednesday Sittings would be observed to-morrow?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Certainly, Sir.

SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE (EXEMPTION FROM THE STANDING ORDER).

Ordered, That the proceedings on the Motion for leave to introduce the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House.—(*Mr. William Henry Smith.*)

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

MOTION FOR LEAVE. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [19th November],

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill further to facilitate the Purchase of Land in Ireland by increasing the amount applicable for that purpose by the Land Commission."—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

And which Amendment was,

To leave out all the words after the word "That," to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in lieu of proceeding again to vote the sum of £5,000,000, so as to place the State in the direct relation of landlord to the Irish occupier, under the provisions of 'The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885,' it is expedient, especially in view of the lamentable sufferings caused by recent evictions in Ireland, to extend the provisions of 'The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1887,' so as to empower the Land Court to reduce or cancel the arrears of rents found to be excessive, as well as to deal with the rents themselves, after the example of the legislation recently and beneficially applied to the crofters' holdings in Scotland."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

SIR EDWARD GREY (Northumberland, Berwick) said, he was one of those whom the Amendment placed in a difficult position. The Amendment raised what, to his mind, were two important separate questions, and he was anxious to give a vote in favour of both. His difficulty was that one vote would now be made to destroy the other. In the first place, he thought that, on the whole, the Government was in a great degree responsible for the difficulty in which they were now placed. They were to blame for the fact that it had been possible for the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) to interpose between them and their Land Purchase Bill the subject of arrears, which appealed so strongly to many Members on the Opposition side of the House. He could not understand the excessive deference dis-

played on the question of arrears to the opinion of Members of the Opposition. But, however strongly he might feel on that question of arrears, he could not get away from the position that two totally separate questions had been mixed up. He knew that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian in his speech showed how it was possible that arrears affected the question of land purchase; but, so far as he could understand, the right hon. Gentleman put a hypothetical case, and did not show that so far arrears had materially affected the question. And there was this to be said—that this question of arrears did not apply to the whole of Ireland. It applied to the poorer parts. Although he believed the tenants were in urgent need of relief, no Arrears Bill or Land Purchase Bill would ever solve the question in congested districts. But at the present moment there was a large part of Ireland where there was every opportunity for a successful operation of land purchase where the tenants were not in arrear, where, owing to the generosity of the landlords, or to the fair action of the agent, or even to the action of the tenants themselves, satisfactory arrangements had been made. But there still existed in many of those parts a vast amount of antagonism to the landlord, which was sometimes due to personal unpopularity, sometimes to the odium of the system, and sometimes to the unnatural condition of dual ownership. He admitted it was very hard that the question of arrears should be kept waiting, but it would only increase the mischief if they put off the operation of land purchase because they were unable to deal with the poorer districts. He had voted once this Session in favour of an Arrears Bill, and was prepared to do so again, but he could not give his vote in a way which would reverse the vote he wished to give in favour of land purchase. First of all, land purchase as a principle was not only desirable, but was vitally necessary to any permanent settlement of the Irish question; and, secondly, looking not at what was ideally perfectly, but at what, under present conditions of Party government, was practicable, the extension of Lord Ashbourne's Act was desirable. The second proposition was justified by a speech of the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) made on the introduction of the Bill in 1885. He had said—

> "I cannot see that very much mischief can be done, either to Irish landlords or to Irish tenants, by its passage; whereas, on the other hand, some knowledge may come to us, from the experience derived from its working, which may tempt all the parties interested in the question—the tenants, the Government, and the landowners—to go further in the future, and, perhaps, to arrive at a final solution of this very important and difficult Land Question in Ireland."—(3 *Hansard*, [300] 1103-4.)

The time contemplated by the hon. Member for Cork had now arrived. They were able to look back on the working of this Act. The hon. Member for Cork had offered, in 1885, to accept the test of experience, and the time had now come when that test could be applied, and with what result there could be no doubt. As for the objections which had been urged, it was said that the Bill was not a complete measure. He did not suppose that it was intended to be; but it would clearly pave the way for more complete measures; and, as far as £5,000,000 could be expended, he believed that good would be done. It was further objected that the measure was a Landlord's Relief Bill. He admitted that it was; the landlord in Ireland who took advantage of this Bill exchanged an uncomfortable for a comfortable position. He obtained security for insecurity, but he paid for it; and the price which he paid passed into the tenants' pockets. This would, of course, only apply where the Act was used fairly, and it had been urged that the Crimes Bill and the distress in Ireland would be used to obtain unfair bargains. Attempts to do so might be made; but there was no evidence as yet that the Government had sanctioned any such bargains, though it was known that the Government had lowered the terms of purchase in a large number of cases. If the Government were careless in putting the Act in force; if they sanctioned terms which the land could not afford to pay, they would be putting a knife to their own throats. If the instalments under this Act became due and could not be paid, then the Government would be saddled with the full responsibility of the loss. But he believed that the Government, during the last two years, had shown that they were perfectly alive to this contingency and most careful to guard against it. Therefore he was not afraid to take his

part of the responsibility of granting another £5,000,000 under the Ashbourne Act. Again, there was the danger of bringing the State into direct relations with the tenants in Ireland. That was a question of degree. There was considerable force in it, but there was this answer which qualified it to a certain extent. At the present moment, under the landlord's system, much odium attached to many landlords, but a great deal of the odium was fixed on the State and the Government. The Government in Ireland were at the mercy of bad landlords. If they set the law in force in an unjust way, the Government, according to the Chief Secretary, was bound to support them, and then the odium fell on the State. There was less chance of conflict between the State and the tenants under the Act, when the rents would be fair, than in the present condition of things. Then the present was an excellent opportunity—a better opportunity for land purchase than had been offered in 1885. No one could speak with any certainty about agricultural prospects, but it was known that at the present moment, when the price of land was low in consequence of recent depression, profits were apparently on the rise. An intermediate authority between the Government and the tenants was needed in Ireland, if it could be obtained. But under the present conditions it would take some time to set up such an intermediate authority, and during that time the economic opportunity would not wait. In all probability it was an opportunity which would never occur again. Suppose it were neglected and better times arrived, it might be that the tenants would have to purchase at such a high value that the instalments paid would be in excess of the rents, and not below them. What inducements would the tenant have to purchase then? In such circumstances purchase could only be carried out by compulsion at a fixed price, which would be opposed both by landlords and tenants. That was a danger which he saw ahead, and that was one reason, especially as the grant of money was comparatively small, why the utmost should be done to take advantage of the present opportunity. Indeed, an objection had been taken to it because the grant of money was so exceedingly small. But in 1886, when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian had introduced a Land Purchase Bill, it had been most unscrupulously used on every Unionist platform in the country, and no doubt it had told with the electors. But why? Because of the large sums of money which had been mentioned in it. The British elector was willing to proceed with this question of Land Purchase; but he knew he was treading on delicate ground, and he would never be induced to proceed otherwise than step by step. He wished to see each step behind him made good before he went further forward. It had been said that those who were genuine Liberals would vote for the Amendment on grounds of justice and policy. He did not know whether one could very well prove the genuineness of one's principles by being over much actuated by considerations of policy. But if the matter were to be regarded as a question of policy merely, the argument was much on his side. The Opposition had, since the last Election, gained many votes in the country; but there was still a large mass of support on the other side. The Opposition needed to win more votes, and they had exhausted their arguments, just as Gentlemen on the other side had exhausted theirs. It was to the side which could show a fresh feature in the controversy that the next gain of electors would belong. What was it that prevented the Opposition at the present moment from sweeping the electors into their net? It was not the outrages which were hawked about the country, and which applied only to a limited part of Ireland; it was not the arguments used by their opponents with regard to separation; it was not even the great powers of ridicule used so freely by the Chief Secretary for Ireland. It was the difficulty of convincing the electors of the country of the genuineness of the Irish Home Rule movement. Many electors had objected to him that the Opposition as a Party and the Irish Party were keeping open the sore of agrarian discontent in Ireland because their agitation was based upon it. [*Ministerial Cheers.*] Hon. Members opposite adopted that view; he differed from it very widely, and the event would decide between them. But he did say that here was a Bill before

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the House proposing to deal with the Irish agrarian question, not by repression, not by force, but by allaying discontent by voluntary agreements. If the Opposition opposed that Bill, they would at least give some ground—he did not think justifiable ground, but colourable ground—to some electors to suppose that their suspicions were true. That, as a matter policy, was most dangerous. If, while professing to be in favour of land purchase, he opposed this Bill of the Government's, the explanation which he should have to give as to why, being in favour of settling the agrarian question by any means except force, he had yet opposed the Bill, would be of too subtle and refined a nature for him to conceive or for the average elector to understand. He held, as regarded the Home Rule movement, that it was no spurious growth founded on the surface of agrarian discontent. He held it to be a genuine movement, bound up with the life of the people. Others might differ from him, but he was sure that no Member would get up in that House and say that on any other ground was the Home Rule cause worthy of support. Few were the opportunities provided of proving conviction by other means than argument. This was the only one which the Government had given so far; and he was sorry that it was proposed that the Opposition should not support the Bill, and so show that they were not afraid of supporting measures for suppressing agrarian discontent. He was sorry that it was proposed that the Bill should be thrown out at the first reading. Besides, he held that this measure was practically doing the work of the Opposition and was paving the way for Home Rule. Whenever the time came for setting up an Irish Parliament what would be needed more than anything else would be Irish credit; and this would not be obtained unless the Irish Parliament were known to be supported by numbers of men in the country who had everything to lose and nothing to gain by political disturbance. Ireland had developed great political activity, which would need large elements of substance and stability whenever Home Rule was passed. He thought that those who believed that an Irish Parliament was coming, and would be successful, were bound to support such a measure, which paved the way for a permanent settlement of Irish agrarian discontent. But why, if he was in favour of land purchase, did he speak now as he had done? He held very strongly that they ought not to oppose this Bill. They could afford to support it, because they would have many other opportunities of opposing the policy of the Government. There was not the slightest danger, by supporting this Bill, of their policy becoming confused in the mind of the constituencies. Though he understood from the course of the debate that the collective opinion of the Opposition Front Bench was in favour of land purchase, he was afraid he held a different opinion from them as to the action which ought to be taken by the rank and file on this Amendment. There were Members, like the right hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), whose reputation was so secure for courage and honesty that he might take any opportunity he pleased for enforcing his views. But that was not the case with other hon. Members. This was a question on which the constituencies would not lead, but would follow. He was afraid there were some Members who were watching the constituencies on this question, while the constituencies were watching them. The result would be that when the crisis came there might be a collapse. His difference with his Leaders was one not of principle, but of degree, and it in no way abated his desire to follow them on other occasions. It had been said there would be a struggle on this question which would be sharp and severe for Members, like himself, who were advocates of land purchase. But now was the time to speak. At the present moment they were free. There was no immediate prospect of an appeal to the country. [Mr. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne) Hear, hear! *and laughter from the Opposition.*] Some hon. Member opposite seemed in considerable doubt about his seat. There was, as he had said, no immediate appeal in prospect; therefore he and others who thought with him could not be accused of creating differences in the ranks of their Party on the eve of a General Election. They could not be accused now of ruining a Home Rule Bill, or seriously postponing the question of Irish self-government. But the time might come when they might be so accused, and then it would be said they ought to have spoken now

or not at all. He, and those who held similar opinions upon this question, ought not to reserve an expression of their opinions until their Party were in Office, because then Party pressure would be brought to bear upon them, and they would be told that they had concealed their opinions too long, or, at any rate, concealed the length to which they were prepared to go in support of them.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): I have listened with the greatest possible interest to the speech of the hon. Member who has just spoken (Sir Edward Grey), but I think he was in error as regards our position and as regards the true policy of his own Party. I shall, of course, later endeavour to define what is the position of the Irish Party, at least as far as I can understand it, on this question of Land Purchase in Ireland. It seems to me that the hon. Member who has just spoken, and the hon. and learned Member for Haddington (Mr. Haldane), who support the principle of Land Purchase, on that account consider that they are bound to separate themselves from their Party upon this occasion, are greatly and unfortunately mistaken. Although I gladly and willingly recognize in these two hon. Members the consistent, courageous, and generous support that they have always given to the cause of Irish nationality—and which I know they will willingly continue to give to it until the cause is won, as it will be in spite of what hon. Members opposite may think—yet I think they are in error for this reason, that I understood in the speeches delivered from the Front Opposition Bench in this debate no hon. Members representing the Liberal Party pledged themselves against the principle of Land Purchase. On the contrary, some of the hon. Members who did speak spoke rather in favour of the principle of Land Purchase, and some of them did consider it to be a principal element in the final settlement of the Irish Land Question. What they did say, however, was this—that they considered that the time had come when this question was to be looked upon from a broad and general point of view, and that the taxpayers of this country were to consider what was to be the final policy upon which this great question of Irish Land Purchase was to be eventually settled, and that it was right, and only just to the taxpayers of England, to bring before them the fact that the Ashbourne Act was now going forward with a rapidity which was increasing from day to day and from month to month, and which would, in all probability, as soon as some new phase took place in the Irish Question, owing to coercion or to some other disturbing influence, would bring this question from being a question of £5,000,000 to being a question of £20,000,000 or £30,000,000, and that being so they hold, and from the point of view of the British taxpayer they hold rightly, that it was time that the British taxpayer should consider what was the nature of the security which he had in Ireland for the vast millions of money which he was called upon to advance. That was, I understand, the position of the Front Bench of the Liberal Party, and while, of course, everyone will recognize the perfect right at a time like this of the two hon. Members to whom I have referred to criticize the Amendment moved from the Front Bench, I think they were in error. There were two things in the course of this debate which I confess have filled me with infinite amusement, and the first of these is to see the Gentlemen of the Tory Party of this House, with the most extraordinary fervour, throwing themselves into the cause of the creation of peasant proprietors in Ireland, and denouncing me, and the men who sit with me, for obstructing them in the great work. Why, Sir, did any man who sits on the opposite Benches, or in any part of the House, ever chance to come across a certain document called a card of the Irish National Land League, which was issued in hundreds of thousands all over Ireland in 1880, when the hon. Gentlemen opposite were not so very anxious to create a peasant proprietary in Ireland? And what was one of the first principles of the Land League, banned and put down as it was as being a dangerous association? It was—

> "To procure such an alteration in the law"—I can repeat the words now, for I drew them up with my own hand—"as will enable every occupier in Ireland to become, on reasonable terms, the owner of the land he occupies."

While you who sit opposite were engaged in denouncing and scouting out

of this House every proposal to enable the occupier to become the owner, we were struggling—aye, and suffering—in Ireland for that cause, and yet we are told now by the Tory Gentlemen whose memory of Irish history, if they ever knew anything at all about it, is exceedingly short, that we are to be denounced for obstructing the creation of a peasant proprietary in Ireland. But we are denounced by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) for a totally different reason, and I would ask the House to listen for a moment to that opposite reason which is published under the authority of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. What does he say?

"But the question is becoming more urgent, because pressure is now being put upon the Government on the one side by the Irish landlords, and on the other side by the Irish Nationalists, to apply to Parliament for another advance of £5,000,000 to continue the Ashbourne Act."

So the right hon. Gentleman says, for selfish motives, we are putting pressure on the Government for another advance under the Ashbourne Act, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) denounces us because, for our selfish motives, we are obstructing the Government in their benevolent design of creating peasant proprietors in Ireland. It is really very difficult for the Irish Members, whatever they do, to please or satisfy any section of the Unionist Party in this House. We are, it would seem from the speeches of hon. Members opposite, engaged in eating our principles on this question, in going back from the very object which we put in the forefront of the agitation which we started in 1879. We are accused at one and the same time of being engaged in an attempt, from purely selfish motives, to obstruct the creation of a peasant proprietary in Ireland, while the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Chamberlain) warns the Government against our putting pressure upon them for the advance of another £5,000,000 for the continuance of the Ashbourne Act. It is hard for the Irish Members, under these circumstances, to fulfil their duties to their constituents in this House. But let me direct the attention of the House before I go into the question why it is that I propose to vote for this Amendment and against the proposal to advance another £5,000,000—let me direct the attention of the House for a few moments to the opinions of that exceedingly wise and prudent statesman who retired upon Washington when this question came to be decided. It is a very remarkable fact that the right hon. Gentleman, who has undertaken to settle the whole Irish Question in a 1*s.* pamphlet published only two months ago, when he saw that this exceedingly important and vital question was coming on for decision, happens to be engaged in a very much pleasanter task in Washington. What is the view of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the object of the landlords and the effect of this Bill on the landlords' interests? We have been scoffed at when we suggested that this Bill, in the present circumstances of Ireland, could be more correctly described as a Landlords' Relief Bill. I say, mind, under the present circumstances, and I shall point out presently the reason of the reservation. What does the right hon. Gentleman say? He says—

"They will vote for this proposal because they believe that under the present system of administration in Ireland they can obtain higher prices for their land, and consequently they will prolong that system so to enable them to sell their estates and leave the country with the proceeds of these sales safely invested."

This, then, according to the right hon. Gentleman, is the measure of the patriotism and devotion to the Union exhibited by the Irish landlords, and the reason that they support the Coercion Act in Ireland and desire to prolong its operation under the guise of law and order and the integrity of the Empire is, in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman, because they think that under the administration of the Coercion Act they will get higher prices for their land, and will then be able, with advantage to themselves, to clear out of the country, leaving it charged with a debt to the British taxpayer. I believe the right hon. Gentleman correctly describes the situation, and if it be true, as I dare say it is true, that on all previous occasions when I have spoken with approval of this Ashbourne Act—with certain reservations—I spoke when there was no Coercion Act in Ireland, and when we

had good reason to believe that we were within reasonable distance of having an Executive Government in Ireland which would rule according to the will of the majority of the Irish people; and I say here that if we had such a Government in Ireland to-morrow I would be one of the most eager supporters of a proposal of Land Purchase which would transfer the land to the Irish tenant. But I object to these advances now, because I think that the landlords are endeavouring to artificially raise the price of their land with the help of the Coercion Act, owing to the fact that that coercive law is not impartially used as between landlord and tenant, but is used by the Government which now rules in Ireland for the purpose of breaking up the combinations of the tenants, and thereby artificially raising the price of the landlord's land. That is the only motive I have in objecting to any advance at present under the Ashbourne Act. I may say at once, lest there should be any mistake about it, that the point of view from which I look is the point of view of the interest of the Irish occupier. It is not my business, but the business of other Members of this House, to look after the interests of the British taxpayer, for we in Ireland pay a very small proportion of this money; that is your business, and sooner or later you will be called to an account by your constituents on that matter. I may say, in reference to this question, that in the course of the debate last night, or in the Public Press, a statement was made charging me with inciting tenants in Ireland to repudiate their obligations under this Act. I never did anything of the sort, nor did I propose to do anything of the sort. What I did was this —I conceived it to be my duty as an honourable man to state, as I have stated over and over again in Ireland, that I thought the tenants who bought freely under Ashbourne's Act were honourably bound to pay back the money advanced. I have made that statement publicly over and over again; but I thought that when the circumstances were so altered that in my opinion their promises were no longer freely made, and that they were no longer honourably bound to pay, then I ought to come before the taxpayers of Great Britain and warn them—speaking as I do with special knowledge of the people of Ireland—that I thought they were lending their money on a rotten security, and that it was not unlikely that at no distant date a National Party might spring into existence on the basis and with the programme of repudiating these transactions and these liabilities, on the ground that they had been forced on the Irish people at the point of the bayonet. Will anyone stand up in this House and say that I did a dishonourable act in giving that warning? I can see no dishonour in it, and I repeat it here to-day that it is my deliberate conviction that wherever the Irish people, the poor peasants, have willingly and freely entered into any obligations they have discharged it infinitely better than the landlords. I say that in these cases, however, they will not be entering into it freely and willingly, and that, therefore, you are lending the money of the taxpayers on a very rotten and dangerous security. Let me quote again from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham. I am very sorry that he is away now, because these opinions would come from him a great deal more forcibly. He ought to be here to defend the interests of the taxpayers who sent him here. What does he say in this pamphlet?

> "If the extent of these transactions is greatly increased, and if the number of debtors to the State becomes very large, nothing will be easier than for the agitators at some favourable time or after a bad harvest to bring about a strike against the payment of the interest, just as they brought about a strike against the payment of rent."

That is the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman; he thinks it would be as easy for us, or for those who succeed us, to bring about a strike against the payment of these instalments as against the payment of rent, and that what we have effected in the way of reductions in the case of rent we might also effect in the case of the repayment of these advances. I want to know now on what ground you say that your security is a good security? As I have been dealing with this question of security, I shall say another word on that point. We heard from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) and from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of

the Exchequer a good deal yesterday on the question of the security of this loan. I may say at once that in my opinion the chief security which a State should look to in this matter, and the best security which the Government should look to in Ireland, would be in a contented and peaceful and prosperous condition of the country. In lending these large sums of money to the occupiers of the land you can have no security whatever, unless you are absolutely certain of having the people satisfied with the Government under which they live. In a disturbed and discontented Ireland there is no security, and when I spoke in favour of the Ashbourne Act, I spoke in the hope that we were then within measurable distance of the time when the Executive Government of Ireland would enjoy the confidence of the country. But let us examine some of the securities that have been pointed out to us. The hon. and learned Solicitor General said that we had the interest of the tenant, which, he said, was in many instances larger than the interest of the landlord; and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, rising up afterwards in his place, said he utterly failed to imagine why it was that we laughed jeeringly on these Benches at such a statement. The reason of our laughter was this—that we remember the days when no Conservative Member would admit that the Irish tenant had any interest in his holding at all, and when we heard the Law Officer of the Tory Party in Ireland standing up in this House and declaring that the interest of the tenant in his holding in Ireland was frequently greater than that of the landlord, no wonder we laughed scornfully. It is only a few years ago when, if anyone of us made such a statement, he would be denounced as the apostle of robbery, and be told that the only interest in the holding was that of the landlord. But it will be noticed that the hon. and learned Solicitor General stated afterwards that the Purchase Commissioners in Dublin had refused the applications of, I think, over 1,100 tenants who signed their agreements to buy on the ground that there was no sufficient security. And you would be surprised to hear that when the Commissioners sent down their examiners to look at the farm they did not divide the security—they took the farm as it stood with everything on it. And yet we have the statement that although the sum to be advanced was only the purchase money of the landlord's interest, the examiners found that the tenant's and landlord's interest together was not sufficient security for the sum which the tenant had consented, being a free agent, of course, to pay for the landlord's interest alone. That statement is itself proof positive that there is pressure being put upon the tenants. We have it proved by these refusals that there is coercion used against the tenants even if we went no further to look for it, and, further, that there is no sufficient security. The Commissioners have by these refusals shown a careful interest for the British taxpayer. Would it surprise the hon. and learned Gentleman to learn that there is at the present moment a conspiracy among the landlords of Ireland to force out Mr. M'Carthy from the Commission simply and solely because he would not be a party to their scandalous attempts to pocket the money of the English Treasury, and he holds his position at the will of the Lord Lieutenant, who is at the present moment engaged in trying to force his tenantry to buy their land. It is a scandal that the man who stands between the tenantry of Ireland and the landlords should hold his position at the pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant, who is trying to get 24 years' purchase from his tenants in the County Down, and is going to kick Mr. M'Carthy out as soon as he gets a chance. The men who are endeavouring to protect the interests of the tenants are going to be got rid of at the very moment these £5,000,000 are voted to the Irish landlords, and Mr. Wrench, who would scoop the British Treasury to the bottom, and his friends, the landlords, would be the masters of the situation in the Kingdom.

MR. W. P. SINCLAIR (Falkirk, &c.): There is more than one Commissioner.

MR. DILLON: Mr. Wrench is the man whom I have accused of trying to get rid of Mr. M'Carthy, and every honest man in the Commission.

MR. W. P. SINCLAIR: I am sorry to interrupt the hon. Gentleman. My remarks were in reference to Mr. Lynch and Mr. M'Carthy. I did not understand that Mr. Wrench had anything to do with it.

MR. DILLON: The hon. Member need not instruct me on the constitution of the Commission; probably I understand the matter as well as he does, perhaps infinitely better. Now, Sir, I only mention this as one of the objections which I take to the Treasury making these advances. They have not satisfied the House as to who is to administer this act—a difficulty that could have been removed by inserting a clause in their Land Commission Act, which ought to have been passed before we are asked to vote these £5,000,000. We ought to know what is the tenure of the Commission who will administer this Act. Mr. M'Carthy, who has done something at least to check the frauds of the landlords in Ireland, ought to have had his position independent of the will of the Lord Lieutenant, the same as a Judge. That is, of course, a minor but an important objection. I will now deal for a moment with a question which is a very much larger question and of infinitely greater importance—that is the question of the coercion of the tenants. I divide that question into two heads. The first is the use of arrears of which we heard a good deal last night, and of ejectment proceedings under the law. Secondly, I shall have a word to say about the operation of the Coercion Act in raising the price of land in Ireland. It is quite preposterous to say that arrears are not used for the purpose of forcing tenants to buy their land. To quote illustrations for anyone who is acquainted with Ireland is totally unnecessary. We heard one example mentioned the other day by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) which remains unanswered. That case was typical. It is an estate on which at the present moment 2,000 people are either subject to eviction or are threatened with similar pressure. The agent in the case is, no doubt, the agent of other landlords, and what is done to one tenant will be done to any tenant who is in his power. I have got here a couple of cases. I have here the case of the estate of Mr. Pentony O'Kelly, of Clondoney, in the County Kildare. On this estate the tenants were served with ejectments last spring, and at the same time they served notices to have a fair rent fixed. They offered the landlord to purchase their farms at 18 years' purchase of the Government valuation. If we are to judge by the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer last evening, that was a fair and most reasonable offer on the part of the tenants. What was the answer? That the landlord would take 22 years' purchase; but ultimately he offered to take 20 years' purchase, all costs to be paid by the tenants, and when the case came before the County Court Judge, who was to decide at the same time the question of fair rents and the ejectments, the solicitor for the tenants said that the tenants had made a generous offer, and they were willing to abide by it, and he wished for an answer to that offer. Mr. White, the landlord's attorney, said, "Well, you will get our answer now that we withdraw all offers to sell to the tenant. That is our offer." When the solicitor for the tenants said, "What is the use of your fixing a fair rent when you are going to eject the tenants? The object of the Act is to keep the tenants on the soil." Mr. Darling, this fair specimen of the County Court Judges, said, "What is the good of having a pauper in a holding? That is not what the Act was passed for." That is the language of this impartial Judge. That was not the kind of language which a Judge should have used to these people, and I believe that was a gross and wanton insult to the tenants. What has been the consequence? The tenants have declined to pay, the neighbourhood has been thrown into a state of turmoil, crops have been seized, evictions have taken place—and yet we are told that these tenants are not subjected to any pressure to buy their farms at a high price. Well, as a last resource, these tenants have joined the Plan of Campaign, and I am very glad that they have done so. It is deplorable that persons should be driven into such courses. But it is preposterous that we should be deliberately told that no such pressure was going on. It has been going on without question all over the country, and it is absurd for any man to suppose that it would not go on. If you put a weapon so powerful into the hands of a bad landlord, it is absurd to say that he would not use it just as he rack-rented the tenants in the past. But for the Coercion Act, I would not, perhaps, feel bound to oppose this Bill; because if it were

not for the Coercion Act we could meet and deal with every one of these individual cases if we were allowed the same rights as the landlords. The only way in which the tenants can make themselves equal in dealing with the landlords is by combining. Yet, when they combine, their leaders are arrested and the people are marked down for imprisonment by those Stipendiary Magistrates, who are in most parts of Ireland the agents of the landlords as well as of the Chief Secretary. The combinations of the landlords, which are just as illegal as those of the tenants, are encouraged in every possible way, and are stimulated when they show any signs of flagging. I say, speaking as a Representative of the farmers in Ireland, I oppose this Bill in every way. I think I would be false to my duty as a Representative of the people of Ireland, and false to the trust of the people of England—for, in spite of the calumnies with which we have been assailed from the Treasury Bench, full as many of the people of England trust in our honour as in theirs—I say we should be false to our friends in England if we did not warn them against this operation, and that the time may come when the tenants of Ireland may use this weapon to strike at their foes. The Resident Magistrates in Ireland think it is not their special duty to deal with ordinary crime, but to protect and facilitate landlords; and to such a pitch has this want of partiality, this one-sidedness in the administration of the law, gone, that we see a man who possesses a power unknown to the law of England over the counties of Clare and Kerry. I speak of Colonel Turner, who, without any sense of shame, takes up his residence in the house of one of the most disliked of the landlords or agents in Clare. He dines at his table, he drives all over the country in his carriages, and expects the people of Clare to look to him for impartiality, protection, ond justice. His conduct is nothing short of a public scandal, which, in England, would not be tolerated for one hour. But he only exhibits the spirit which animates all these magistrates from top to bottom, and therefore his conduct is not regarded as anything extraordinary or peculiar. The effect of the operation of the Coercion Act has unquestionably been—and it tended to become much more so in the future—to raise the price of land in Ireland. The landlords know this well, and it is the real source of their enthusiasm for the Union. Their object in supporting Coercion is simply and solely to raise the price of land. The landlords care as little for the Union as we do. Their great object, now that they know we are bound to win, is to clear out with as much as they can, and leave the Union to go where it likes. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer boasted—and the landlords will not thank him for it—that the landlords are only getting 17½ years' purchase for their rents; but I think we have had a good deal to say to that, and we have pulled down the price of the land by many years' purchase. The letter of an agent who lives down in the County Kilkenny—and he wrote with a kind of a naïve innocence, and, in a boyish way, saying that he had just got a batch of tenants to sign agreements for the purchase of 20 years' purchase of the rental, and, he added, "the very air seems purified by the Coercion Act." What an amazing letter! An agent's idea of the air being purified is that the price of land should go up from 17½ to 20 years'. It is perfectly true that by agitation we have succeeded in pulling down the price of Irish land to something like a reasonable figure. It is true that by years of toil we have freed the Irish tenants from the terrorism that made him little better than a bond slave, and, to some extent, we have elevated him into the position of a man making a bargain with an equal. The business to which the Government set themselves is to bring back the Irish tenant to the condition in which he was found in 1879 and 1880, and he was held down, bound hand and foot, by the Coercion Act. I protest against the cruel, mean, and dastardly conduct on the part of the Government in Ireland. I am not opposed, indeed, to any proposition that the land should pass back to the people who have for so many years been despoiled and robbed of the fruit of their own soil. I have struggled and run great risk in striving for an object which I was denounced for endeavouring to obstruct. I am prepared to run further risk in standing by the people; I am not willing, while they are bound down and trampled upon by armed

agents, that they should purchase their land; but I am willing that, as free agents, they shall be able to make free bargains. These are the reasons why I feel called upon to vote against this particular measure. I have no objection to the abstract principle of Land Purchase; indeed, I have always advocated it, although some of my Irish Friends do not agree with me. I have always held—as the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) has held—that the people of Ireland have got to fight for their land or to pay for it. I believe they are not able to fight for it; and it is cheaper in the end to pay for it. Because the effect of coercion has been artificially to raise the price of land, and because liberty does not exist in Ireland under the present *régime* to enable tenants to make free bargains, I shall oppose this Bill. There has appeared in *The Times* a remarkable series of articles on the working of the Ashbourne Act, and the arguments of the Government in support of this Bill has been taken almost verbatim from these articles. I have noticed that when proposals are about to be made by a Tory Government, *The Times* is generally got to write them up in advance. *The Times* once rejoiced over the prospect of the extermination of small holders in Ireland, and it is refreshing to find it gushing over the fact that they are being increased in number by the operation of this Act. There was an impression at one time that the people of England were anxious to see the small farmers of Ireland turned out of their holdings, and to get rid of them altogether. There are several passages in the articles of *The Times* that are most instructive, and there is one, referring to the Sherlock estate in the county of Waterford, which is typical of a good many cases. The tenants demanded a reduction of 30 per cent, which the landlord would not give. The tenants acted in combination, and refused to pay, long before the Plan of Campaign had been promulgated. The landlord proceeded to the eviction of five or six tenants, but he got nobody to take the evicted farms. After some time, he was obliged to put back the tenants he had evicted, and with them and others he arranged for the purchase of their holdings on terms which involved a reduction of their rents by 60 per cent, a result which clearly showed that the tenants had been rack-rented, and that they were just in their demands. If there had been no combination, if the vacant farms had been promptly taken by others, the tenants would have had to buy their farms, if at all, on such terms that by-and-by they must have broken down, and their obligations must have been met by the British Exchequer. If it had not been for the combinations of tenants reducing the terms of purchase, the English Exchequer would have been saddled with bad debts, which humanity would have compelled the Government to forgive. I once heard of a Kerry landlord who wanted his tenants to buy at 20 years' purchase, and who said to one who objected to the terms—

"What a fool you are. Sign the agreement. The British Government is a good deal richer than I am, and they will not see you starve."

I am sure that that argument is being used over and over again—that as the Land League has got reductions from the landlords it will get a great deal more reductions from the British Government, which is richer and more merciful. The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, in his speech, said the Bright Clauses of the Land Act of 1870 had not succeeded for many reasons. I will tell the House a couple of reasons. In that day men were infinitely more eager for land than they are to-day. There was one vacant farm in that day where there are 5,000 to-day. And why is it the Bright Clauses did not succeed when Lord Ashbourne's Act is now succeeding? Because in the day of the Bright Clauses there were 10 or 15 applicants for a vacant farm, there being no combination amongst the tenants, the terms were so ruinous that tenants were terrified, and refused to buy; and then, to my own knowledge, the landlords were not so anxious for peasant proprietorship as they are to-day. Why, in those days, when an estate was to be sold, they clubbed together to buy it over the heads of the tenants, so as to preserve their political power. Where the Bright Clauses succeeded they did so to the ruin of purchasers who paid 25, 27, and 30 years' purchase, besides being saddled with enormous law costs. I challenge any man to give a more satisfactory answer than I will give myself, and that is, that the difference in the

condition of Ireland to-day is owing to the lessons we have taught the people. It is the lessons we have taught the people that have raised them from slavery to power. To-day the Irish tenants have two enormous advantages which no amount of persuasion from the Benches opposite will induce them to forego. The first is that by combination and agitation we have removed from their path all competition for their lands, and if they do not choose to buy their farms, all they have to do is to wait till next year or the year after, for no one will buy over their heads. But that is not the only advantage. I hold in my hand a Return, from which I can reply to the Lord Lieutenant's statement that there are only 539 farms in Ireland which the landlords cannot let. I have made inquiries, and I have ascertained that there are to-day in Ireland between 5,000 and 6,000 farms which cannot be let, and will not be let as long as the present system lasts, and I tell the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland that his statement in the North of Ireland was absolutely and entirely false—based, no doubt, on the false information supplied by his subservient police officers. At present the combination against the taking of evicted farms is stronger than ever. These 5,000 or 6,000 vacant farms are the bulwarks of the tenants of Ireland, and if you could succeed in letting them to new tenants the price of land in Ireland would jump up to 23 or 24 years' purchase. But you will not do it. The farmers of Ireland know their lesson now.

An hon. MEMBER: It took a long time to teach it.

MR. DILLON: It did take a long time to teach them, but they know it now. The old policy was that each farmer should cut his neighbour's throat in order that the pockets of the landlords might be filled. But there will be no more of that. The vacant farms going to waste and to ruin are the bulwarks of the tenants of Ireland. A vacant farm in a parish is the best security that the rents will not be raised, that reductions will be given, and that the prices of farms will remain the same. Yes; I shall vote against any more money being voted to work Lord Ashbourne's Act as long as you have coercion in Ireland. Remove coercion and allow tenants to combine as freely as landlords, and then I will not object. It is for the British taxpayers to consider what their position is. For my part I have always stated that I should rather, on the whole, see some scheme of Land Purchase carried out; but believe me that the landlords are perfectly convinced by this time that Home Rule cannot long be deferred in Ireland. They would not be so anxious for Lord Ashbourne's Act if they thought Home Rule would be deferred. If they thought they could hold Ireland they would not part with their lands, and certainly they would not part with them for 17½ years' purchase. The landlords are eager to get out of the way, leaving us and the people of Ireland the whole country. They are only eager to get out with as much money as possible. I say here to-day, in answer to the charge that we are meeting purchase with obstruction for selfish motives, because we fear that if the Irish tenants were once satisfied our trade would be done—I say that if I thought so for a single moment, not another hour of my life would be given to a business which is certainly neither pleasant nor profitable. I say that I entered into this movement in the full conviction that the heart and soul of the Irish people were centred in liberty, and that they were ready to make sacrifices to achieve it; that they would never submit quietly to an Executive Government which is not responsible to themselves, and that by being made independent and freeholders in their own country their nationality would be strengthened rather than decreased. If I did not believe so I should do very little further in this Irish movement, for if in the course of my political life in Ireland I have been touched and spurred to great exertions by the misery and suffering and serfdom of the tenants of Ireland, a far more powerful motive with me has always been the desire to emancipate our people from the political slavery in which they have been so long enthralled.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): The hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) has indulged in a number of charges against certain classes and persons, and in accordance with his usual practice he has adduced no evidence in support of those charges. He has also imputed to those who are

opposed to him the lowest and most sinister motives, while he has, in an equal measure, eulogized himself. But all can agree with the hon. Gentleman's statement that there has been a great change in Ireland during the past year. There is a great change in Ireland since last year, and there will be a greater change next year. The landlords may have sat heavily on the people of Ireland, but the landlords have been nothing to the weight of the Land League. On all sides there are signs of returning prosperity and of a desire to abandon the work of which the hon. Member for East Mayo is the mainspring, and it was the consciousness and knowledge of this that forced the hon. Member for East Mayo and his Friends to oppose all extension of a measure which has done so much for the pacification of Ireland. The hon. Member said he had been at his work for seven years—[*Cries of* "Oh, oh!"]—well, he had been in Parliament seven years—and he was proud of the results he had obtained. What were those results? They were that the purchase price of land had been reduced, and that the 5,000 or 6,000 farms were derelict. It was not necessary for the hon. Member to make a long speech to show that he would preach repudiation, and would use any weapon that came to his hand to strike at a political opponent. But the hon. Member knows that land purchase will diminish his power to carry out his threats; and that is why he must oppose this Bill. He, therefore, professes to be solicitous about the interests of the British taxpayer. But, approving of the policy, why should he obstruct it in 1888, when the conditions are so much more favourable than they were seven years ago? If purchase would have been good seven years ago, why should it be bad now? In June, 1883, I accomplished an almost unprecedented feat. I brought forward a Motion on the Irish Land Question, and secured absolute unanimity; and it was on this very question of land purchase. The hon. Member for Cork spoke at length on that Motion, and I think it was the ablest as well as the most moderate speech he ever made on the Land Question. The Motion was to the effect that a revision of the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act was necessary in order to give effect to the intentions of Parliament. The hon. Member for Cork supported the Motion, and on this very question of repudiation he made use of language which is an effective and conclusive answer to the hon. Member who has just spoken. The hon. Member for Cork said—

> "He thought that all careful students of the 'no-rent' movement must be persuaded that it was exceedingly unlikely, if not perfectly impossible, that if the change were made as suggested by the noble Lord, and the tenants were asked to pay a reduced rentcharge, less than the present judicial rents, and the tenants felt they were dragging a lessening instead of a lengthening chain behind them, that there would be refusals to pay, or that any agitation or any political Party would be able to do that which they were not able to do under more advantageous circumstances in the period from 1879 to 1883—namely, to induce them to refuse paying the annual amount which was necessary for the purpose of keeping a roof over their heads."—(3 *Hansard*, [280] 439.)

Therefore, we start on this discussion with the clear and emphatic statement of the hon. Member for Cork that if the land purchase system in Ireland be developed, even though there may be men wicked enough to try to induce tenants to repudiate their obligations, yet the tenants will not be such fools as to hear them. We have only to discuss two questions to-night. First, is this principle of purchase advantageous in itself; and, if it be, is it too much to ask the State to incur the extra risk which this Bill may impose? Two Gentlemen have spoken from the other side in support of this Bill. One bears an historic name—the name of those who have long taken a distinguished place in the discussions of the House, and have maintained its best traditions; and we see with pleasure that the family is still worthily represented by a Gentleman who has made a speech of remarkable ability and moderation, the more noteworthy because it was delivered under the difficulties of not entire consonance with his own Party. Hon. Gentlemen opposite believe in the *bona fides* of the national movement in Ireland. They believe that the national instincts are so strong that Ireland can in no way be restored to prosperity unless the national aspirations are satisfied. But I believe that the backbone of the movement is agrarian, and is not national or political. Can anyone of common sense believe that if the hon. Member for East Mayo

was certain that the movement was purely political, and not agrarian, he would have made that speech to which the House has listened? Would anything increase the power of a national movement more than the creation of a large number of landowners—than the training of a large number of tenants in the principles of local self-government, the first step to a National Parliament? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) stated that he would prove a number of propositions. He told us there was gross and wholesale intimidation, exercised partly by arrears and partly by coercion. He gave us one solitary instance of a man who came, not before the Land Commission, but before the County Court. The persons who advocate and praise this measure the most strongly are the supporters of the tenants and the tenants themselves. In Ulster the demand is, in fact, that the purchase shall be made compulsory. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin wrote an article the other day in *The Contemporary Review*, and he expressed himself in the strongest way possible as to the necessity of carrying an Act of this kind. Is it likely that Dr. Walsh, who is in constant communication with members of the organization which is represented by the hon. Member for East Mayo, would advocate a measure which had the effect the late Prime Minister pretended it to have—namely, that of enabling the landlord to obtain unjust arrears of rent? But I find that there are indications in many parts of Ireland that the tenants themselves are withholding rent in order that they may force the landlords to go into the Land Court, and to enable them to purchase their holdings. If we have this concurrence of evidence coming from all sides it is quite clear that the supposition with which the hon. Member started, and in support of which he produced no evidence—that this Act would operate deleteriously for the tenant and favourably for the landlord—is wholly unfounded. This question of arrears is one upon which we are ready to make the same offer this year as we were last year. We are prepared to free tenants from indebtedness, provided that all debts stand alike. The hon. Gentleman who spoke last night drew a comparison between the condition of Ulster—loyal Ulster—and disloyal Munster; and he went on to show that there was a far larger number of ejectment decrees issued in loyal Ulster than in disloyal Munster. It is not the first time that this argument has been advanced; but the House is probably not aware that there happen to be two Ulsters. [*Loud Home Rule cheers.*] Before hon. Gentlemen opposite cheer me they must recollect what is my point. The hon. Gentleman who spoke last night wished to point out the great advantage which disloyalty conferred upon a district; but there are two Ulsters. There is a loyal Ulster, and outside of that there is a very densely inhabited fringe of territory mainly national or disloyal. It is in that portion, and not in the loyal portion, that the evictions take place; and when Gentlemen talk of the efficiency and power of their organization in preventing ejections and stopping evictions they should remember this—that in the Ulster where a comparison can be made it is in the loyal part, where the National League doctrines are not listened to, that the ejectments are least numerous, and it is in those parts under the sway of the League that ejectments multiply and evictions take place. The hon. Member for East Mayo is in the habit of making violent attacks upon Members of this House without Notice. Last year he informed the House, speaking on the Crimes Bill, that he knew that the Hamilton family were strongly in favour of a Coercion Bill, because without it they could not exact the unjust rents from their rack-rented tenants. Yet the hon. Gentleman the Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien) commenced his observations by saying that the result of this land purchase scheme was that the rich and flourishing tenants on the Abercorn estate would be feathering their nests. How can it be that the tenants who were last year rack-rented can this year be rich and flourishing? It is a great misfortune that the hon. Member for East Mayo, in his eagerness and excitement, allows himself to launch charges which are wholly unsustained and unproved. He said to-night that there was a base intrigue going on to get rid of a Commissioner whom the landlords did not like. He did not produce one scrap of evidence in support of that gross charge,

and the Solicitor General says that that charge is wholly imaginary. It seems to me that if the hon. Gentleman wished to put his Party and his cause on a high level, he would use weapons more in accordance with English Parliamentary traditions and customs. The hon. Member for North-East Cork seemed to be of opinion that it was his Association that had protected tenants in other parts of Ireland; but one fact that no one who knows the West of Ireland will deny is that most of the small tenants there are largely indebted to the gombeen man, and the average rate of interest which in Donegal belongs to the gombeen man's charges is over 90 per cent per annum. But when the price of an article has been fixed by the State you call that unjust. Can anything more futile be proposed than to deal with arrears in the way which Gentlemen opposite advocate? But we are ready to renew our proposal of last year, because we know it is the only possible way of giving those poor tenants a fresh and independent start in life. What is the reason why we should try to increase the number of proprietors? It is not because the Land Laws are unjust. There is no country in the world in which the Land Laws are so favourable to the tenants. The real difficulty is that you have 35 on the side of the tenant to one on the side of the landowner. That would be a danger to any State, and it is a danger which everyone who takes an interest in Ireland should endeavour to diminish. In good times there is a great pressure to get land; in bad times there is great pressure on the landlord to reduce the rent. Whenever a question arising between landlord and tenant is brought into this House, the mere fact that there are 35 persons on the side of the tenant to one on the side of the landlord creates friction and difficulty. There has been a great agitation in this House to reduce the rents of the tenants. That agitation is based on the reduction of prices, though the author of the Land Act contemplated that the rents should remain unchanged for 15 years. If there was a rise in prices, would there be any agitation in this House to increase the rents? Not at all. Therefore I contend that the present state of affairs is dangerous to the stability of the community. Towards the close of 1880 I was coming over from Ireland, and I found myself in company with a most distinguished Indian officer. It was the time when the Land League was most active and had largely disorganized several counties in the South of Ireland. This officer had spent a large portion of his time in dealing with land in India, and he told me there were two things he had seen in Ireland which had made a great impression upon him; they were that the land in a particular part of the South of Ireland was the richest he had ever seen in any part of the world, and that the society was more disorganized than in any part of India, except at the time of the Indian Mutiny. There was the richest land in the world, and yet, because of the disproportion between the owners of the land and those who occupied it, the society of the country was reduced to chaos. The late Prime Minister and the hon. Member for East Mayo called attention, not unfairly, to the Bill of 1886. I and my hon. Friends took part in the opposition to that Bill, and I think in that course we were perfectly justified. I have always maintained that the land scheme of the right hon. Gentleman in 1886, which was associated with the Home Rule Bill, was most dangerous. In the first place, the security offered by the Land Bill was an absolute fraud. There were two Bills. The first Bill dealt with the creation of a new Government for Ireland, and the great difficulty of the right hon. Gentleman was to establish a financial equilibrium for that new Government. He could obtain a surplus only by assuming that the consumption of spirits would remain as before, and that the Home Rule Party would be able to carry on the government as cheaply as it was now conducted. These two assumptions were, I think, somewhat rash. The whole of the revenues of Ireland were hypothecated once, and then in his Land Purchase Bill the right hon. Gentleman laid hands on the hypothecated revenues a second time. The late Prime Minister said last night that no Land Purchase Bill ought to be supported unless there was a moral certainty of the annuities being paid. Under the Land Bill of the right hon. Gentleman it was highly probable that the securities would be repudiated. Parliament would have repudiated its political and moral obliga-

tions to the Unionist and Loyalist farmers in the North of Ireland and elsewhere, and it was highly probable that these men, smarting under the sense of their injuries, and knowing that the political and moral obligations which the Imperial Parliament had undertaken were repudiated in their regard, might have repudiated the financial obligations forced on them, and if they had there would be throughout Ireland a unanimous repudiation. It was for these reasons that many of my hon. Friends who are strongly in favour of land purchase were unable to support the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Member for the Stirling Burghs (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) objected to piecemeal dealing with this question. But anyone who considered it would see that the risk would be not in piecemeal but in wholesale dealing with the question. No one can tell whether in a few years prices may be higher or lower, and if you enter upon a wholesale scheme of purchase you will have to base your actuarial calculations upon present prices. But in the proposal now before the House the conditions and circumstances of the farms will be separately considered, and as the transactions will extend over a length of time the prices may be different and the conditions also. The hon. Member for East Mayo says that the bargain is so bad that the tenants will not purchase; but Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench say that the terms are so good that the purchases will be too rapid. It is most desirable that the small occupiers should be induced to come forward and convert themselves into owners. The Solicitor General for Ireland was able to show last night that that was the case last year. Therefore, if the progress of this Act were at this moment arrested, it would not only put a stop to those beneficent negotiations, but would cut out the class for whom this Bill is especially designed. I think I have answered almost all the objections to the extension of Lord Ashbourne's Act. It is a measure which has worked extraordinarily well in every part of the country in which it has been tried. No argument can be advanced against it, except that it is knocking the bottom out of the present land agitation in Ireland. Therefore Her Majesty's Government note with great satisfaction the strong opinion in favour of this measure which has come from almost every section of the House. We support this measure because, although we believe it to be good for the landlords, we know it to be better for the tenants, and best of all for the peace of a community in which for centuries past the antagonism of landlord and tenant has been a cause of constant injury and retrogression.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE (Bradford, Central) said, the noble Lord who had just spoken was not open to the same charge of inconsistency on that subject as many of the right hon. Gentlemen sitting near him. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) thought he was entitled to speak on this subject, as he was one of those who in 1885 pointed out the objections to Lord Ashbourne's Act, and the difficulties which might be apprehended from it. Time had not removed his objection to the measure, but had rather increased it. For some years past he had taken an active part in promoting all measures for increasing the number of peasant proprietors in Ireland, and the principle on which he had always urged that extension was that it was most important that the tenants should advance some of the purchase-money themselves, and thus show that they were willing to make some sacrifices. That was the principle of all the Acts up to Lord Ashbourne's Act in 1885, when the Government agreed to advance the whole of the purchase-money to the tenants. He held that to be a dangerous principle, inasmuch as it drew a distinction between them and other tenants. He admitted that Lord Ashbourne's Act conferred an enormous boon on the tenants. In fact, he had always looked upon it as a bribe to them to become owners. His right hon. Friend had pointed out that at 18 years' purchase the tenants would be paying 20 per cent less than their previous rent; and at 16 years' purchase 30 per cent less. But one-quarter of those instalments was repayment of capital, and if that were taken into account the saving would be on an 18 years' purchase 30 per cent, and on a 16 years' purchase nearly 50 per cent. His conviction was that that boon was so great that whenever Ireland was again in an ordinary state, when coercion was no longer in force, and other difficulties

were removed, there would be a demand on the part of the tenants of a universal and an irresistible character and discontent on the part of those who were unable to avail themselves of the Act. It appeared to him that by dealing with the question in that piecemeal way they were opening up a prospect of having to advance from time to time sums of £5,000,000 as they were demanded. To take a case that was mentioned in an article in *The Times* of a farm of 250 acres, let at a rent of £229 a few years ago. That was reduced to £169. The tenant purchased at 17 years' purchase. His future payment was reduced to £122, of which £25 consisted of repayment of capital. That reduced his real payment to £97, therefore that fortunate man who three years ago was paying £229, would in future only have to pay £97 for his farm. On what principle could they justify paying English money to reduce rents in Ireland and refuse the same benefit to English tenants? There were men who considered that plan should be extended to English tenants; among others, Sir James Caird. He said that all the economic advantages which might be derived in Ireland equally applied to the case of England, and, for his own part, he would say that all the economic and political advantages to be derived in Ireland from that plan applied also to England. He fully admitted there were many political reasons in favour of increasing peasant proprietors in Ireland, and if the Government had introduced a scheme of a final character, and confined it to tenants of small holdings, he should still be prepared to support it. He supported his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Gladstone's) land purchase proposal when connected with Home Rule. At the same time, he felt bound to say it was of too extensive a character, and if it had gone to Committee he should have felt bound to propose an Amendment to limit its scope. If Home Rule should be again in the field he would still find it his duty to support a measure of purchase limited to small tenancies. Out of the 600,000 tenant-farmers in Ireland, 400,000 were below £30 a-year, so that, for a sum of about £40,000,000, all those tenants could be converted into owners on the plan suggested by his right hon. Friend. It was in that direction they would ultimately have to move, for he very much doubted that they would find the country willing to advance £150,000,000 for the purpose of converting all the tenant-farmers into owners. He opposed the Bill in the main, because it was a piecemeal operation; because these grants of £5,000,000 would go on, and in a short time it would be impossible to put a limit upon the money. He, therefore, held it was not desirable to proceed further in the present direction, but, on the other hand, he believed it was most desirable to deal with the question of arrears. The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave as one of the grounds for defending this measure that it would lead to the pacification of Ireland by destroying the Land League. If he were to adopt the right hon. Gentleman's view of this measure he could not adopt his opinion that it would have the effect of destroying the Land League. It certainly would not have the effect of destroying the influence of the Irish Members. If they were to convert nine-tenths of the Irish tenants into owners they would still find among them the national feeling and sympathy with others who remained tenants. The idea that they could settle this question by depriving a portion of the Irish tenants of the opportunity of becoming owners was a mistaken idea. If they wished to pacify Ireland, in the sense of getting rid of the agrarian difficulty, the question of arrears ought to be dealt with, and it ought to be dealt with at once and speedily. He would most frankly admit that there had been a great improvement in Ireland in the course of the last two years. He should be no patriot if he did not rejoice at that improvement. But the Government flattered themselves that it was due to the operation of coercion. He believed himself that that was an entire mistake, and that coercion had retarded improvement. The improvement which had taken place was due rather to this—that many disputes which existed between landlord and tenant, and which had their origin for the most part in the fall of prices in 1885, had to a large extent been settled. They had been settled for two reasons. First, on account of the Act of last year, which admitted a large class of people hitherto excluded to the benefits of the Land Court, and enabled them to get a reduction of rent, and permitted the re-opening of judicial rents. Another reason

was the combination of tenants, which during the last two years had compelled a very large number of landlords to come to terms with their tenants. Wherever these disputes had been settled, and agreements had been come to with regard to arrears of rent, it would be found that peace had been brought about; there was no longer the slightest necessity for coercion, and all the evils known in agrarian disturbances had disappeared. Unfortunately there still remained a very large number of disputes in different parts of Ireland with regard to arrears, and these disputes were the whole cause of any agrarian difficulty which now existed in that country. He ventured to say that if these disputes were brought to an end Ireland, from an agrarian point of view, would be completely pacified. He had carefully examined the greater number of the 1,800 cases which had occurred under the Coercion Act. Out of that number there had been 1,400 convictions, and 19 out of 20 of them could be traced directly or indirectly to some great dispute between landlords and tenants with regard to arrears. He thought the House would be surprised to find how many prosecutions and convictions had arisen out of a single dispute between a landlord and his tenant. He would take the Clanricarde case. There had already been about 40 evictions on the Clanricarde estate, and no fewer than 170 people had been prosecuted in connection with that single case, while 150 had been sent to prison. Out of the 150, 100 had been sent to prison for resisting eviction, and others for acts intimately connected with this matter. On the Massereene estate there had been 50 prosecutions, and 35 people had been sent to prison, about 12 of them for resisting eviction. On the Vandeleur estate 40 persons had been prosecuted and 30 sent to prison. These cases had arisen in respect of arrears which had accumulated between 1885-6 and the present time in consequence of the great fall in prices which led to the dispute between these landlords and their tenants. He repeated that, if the Government would deal with the question of arrears, the disputes in these cases would be settled. How long was this state of things to go on? In the course of a few days they would probably see the forces of the Crown again used for the support of Lord Clanricarde in carrying out harsh and unjust evictions, and no doubt they would hear of numbers of persons being sent to prison for resisting evictions, and also for taking part in demonstrations arising out of such evictions. He implored the Government to deal with these cases. He himself had not dealt with them from a Party point of view. He had been on the spot and had seen these unfortunate tenants who had been evicted, and he knew the position of things, in the districts where they resided, and anyone who had seen such things and who did not endeavour to promote a measure for putting an end to them, would not be worthy of a seat in the House. A measure merely dealing with arrears would, however, not be enough. If this question was to be settled and peace was to be restored provision must be made for the reinstatement of tenants who had been evicted for what were generally regarded as unjust rents. His visits to the Clanricarde estate had convinced him of this. The noble Lord said that the Government abided by their offer of last year with regard to arrears, but Her Majesty's Government might rest assured that that offer was not enough. If accepted it would not settle the question, for it was absolutely necessary that the case of the evicted tenants should be dealt with. He was, however, glad to find that Her Majesty's Government were still of the opinion that the question of arrears required to be dealt with. A remedial measure such as this was surely one in which the opinion of the Irish Members ought to be taken, but instead of accepting suggestions from the Irish Representatives Her Majesty's Government went to the Liberal Unionists for advice. To the success of any remedial measure of this nature the public feeling and opinion was most important, and one would, therefore, have expected to find the Government consulting the Irish Representatives as to the best means of carrying out their object. But the Government, instead of endeavouring to meet the wishes of the Irish Representatives, appeared to have set before itself as its object to pass a measure which would be agreeable to the Irish landlords. The true principle on which to deal with these matters was to endeavour to act in accordance with the

views of the Representatives of Ireland. It was because Parliament had proceeded upon this principle in regard to Scotland for two centuries that there was now contentment in that country. There was no case on record of a measure being passed for Scotland since the Union contrary to the wishes of the majority of its Members, but, unfortunately, this could not be said in regard to Ireland. During the last 86 years Parliament had denied to Irish Members the measures they asked for until outrage and disorder, almost amounting to rebellion, had arisen, and then Parliament had given way; but not till then. Now a further step was being taken, and for the first time a remedial measure was being forced on Ireland against the wish of its Members. That was a dangerous course and one full of difficulty. He and his Friends opposed this measure for this reason, and also because they believed that, while it left untouched the real pressing question which was at the root of peace and happiness in Ireland, it was itself based upon unsound economical principles.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH (Inverness-shire) said, he desired to make a few observations owing to the reference in the Amendment to recent legislation for the crofters, which was a subject he knew something about. The Bill of the Government proceeded upon lines which of late years had been agreeable to the general feeling both of the country and of Parliament, and of which he highly approved—it attempted to increase the number of those who, tilling the soil, also owned it. It proposed to set apart a further sum of £5,000,000 for the benefit of the Irish tenants in this direction, and, being a well-wisher of the tenantry of Ireland, he should certainly support this measure, which he believed would be of great benefit to them. Terms were here given which, he believed, would promote an equitable transference of ownership. In the Highlands of Scotland, if a sum, not of £5,000,000, but of £500,000, were offered them upon the same terms as the Ashbourne Act laid down, they would be only too happy to accept it. In his Amendment, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) spoke of legislation beneficially applied to the crofters' holdings in Scotland. That, he thought, was not a correct statement of the case in connection with the Crofters' Act of 1886, brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman. Those who were returned in the crofting interest made a severe fight in Committee against many of the clauses in the Bill. They were defeated, and they divided over 30 times; and, finally, on the third reading they divided against the Bill as a protest against its inadequacy to meet the requirements of the case, and he objected to the reference in the Amendment to this Act as beneficial.

MR. W. E. GLADSTONE (Edinburgh, Mid Lothian): Perhaps my hon. Friend will permit me to say that there is no assertion in the Amendment as to the beneficial effect of the Crofters Act in general. What is asserted is, that the legislation for the admission of arrears to be treated as well as rent was recently beneficially applied.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH said, he would come to that point immediately. Power was given under the Crofters Act to the Commissioners to deal with arrears, but these arrears were not judicial arrears, but arrears which had accumulated, in ordinary circumstances, for many years preceding. He would not say whether the decisions of the Commissioners were right or wrong. But on the question of fair rents, and more particularly on the question of arrears, there had not been a meeting of crofters held in any part of the Highlands of Scotland at which the action of the Commissioners had not been denounced. Therefore, he objected to this Amendment putting forward Scotland as an example which Ireland should follow in regard to the arrears question. They had complained over and over again of the Crofters Act. They had brought in Bills for the purpose of of amending that Act. In the course of their discussions one of the most important provisions of the Act—namely, that which gave facilities for the extension of holdings—was admitted by the Colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian to have entirely failed. All he had now to say was that the Irish tenants would be very foolish indeed to refuse the liberal allowance which the Government offered them, and to adopt this Amendment, which proposed to deal with the question of arrears in a manner which the right hon. Gentleman said had been

done beneficially in the case of the Highland crofters, but which the result showed was by no means relished or accepted by them.

MR. NEVILLE (Liverpool, Exchange) said, he thought it right to explain the reason why he intended to vote in favour of the Amendment and against the Bill. He thought it was almost exclusively a question for the English taxpayer. He did not consider it was a proposal in which the question of Home Rule arose. In considering this question they must take Ireland as they found it—Ireland under the present Government—and they were not entitled to take account of what might or might not occur under a system of Home Rule. Taking Ireland as it was, he ventured to say that the security of Irish land, which was what was offered as security for this proposed £5,000,000, was about the worst that could be conceived. There was not a respectable solicitor in this country who would for one moment advise any client of his to advance sixpence on such security, for the proposal practically amounted to an advance of the whole purchase-money. It was true that certain provision was made for a guarantee fund, consisting of 20 per cent of the purchase-money, but this guarantee fund was only to last for nine years, and for the remaining 20 or 30 years there would be no guarantee fund at all, and if during the first nine years any instalments were not paid, and were, as they would have to be, made good out of the guarantee fund, these would become a first charge upon the land. The existence of this guarantee fund was therefore by no means very valuable as a piece of security. The idea of advancing the whole of the purchase money upon property was not a novel one. It was adopted by building societies, and they protected themselves very much more efficiently than was done in Lord Ashbourne's Act; but this was a very dangerous kind of business, and he knew well that in the north of England many building societies had to be wound up, to the great distress, and sometimes to the ruin, of those who had embarked their money in the enterprise. That was not the only way in which they could show that this security was a bad one. Supposing that hereafter the State, on the purchaser failing to pay his instalments, attempted to realize the security. The only alternatives would be either to sell or evict the tenant; but they had heard from the opposite side of the House that in the present temper of the Irish people, it was extremely difficulty to get anybody to take a farm from which another man had been evicted or to buy a farm which was in the market on account of non-payment of rent. Consequently when the British taxpayer attempted to realize his security he would find himself with this land on his hands—a white elephant which nobody would have anything to do with. The hon. Member for Haddingtonshire (Mr. Haldane) founded his arguments in support of this Bill and the adequacy of the security on the assumption that agricultural depression had touched bottom. That was a bold statement, which the experience of the next 20 or 30 years might very seriously contradict. The hon. Member also referred to the case of some gentleman in Scotland who had broken up his estate and sold it to his tenants with very satisfactory results. That might be so, and the Ashbourne Act might be satisfactory as far as the landlords were concerned, but this House had not merely the interests of landlords to consider. They had to consider whether this proposal afforded such security as would justify them in advancing the taxpayers' money upon it, having regard to the fact that the British taxpayer had never yet been consulted on this matter. However, he did not think that the case against the proposal altogether rested on the considerations as to security. He should like to ask the Liberal Members who intended to vote for the Bill, how far they were committing themselves? It was not a question of whether land purchase was right or wrong, but it was a question of whether Lord Ashbourne's Act provided the best and wisest scheme for land purchase. And those who voted in favour of the Government proposals were committing themselves to the opinion that Lord Ashbourne's Act was a proper and satisfactory solution of the question of land purchase in Ireland. At the beginning of the present Parliament Her Majesty's Government undertook to deal with this question of land purchase in Ireland. They did not pretend that this Bill was a redemption of their pledge. If the Government had

merely asked for such a sum of money as would keep the Act in operation until next Session, when they could adequately deal with this important question, they would probably have met with no opposition; but they now asked for a substantial sum that would enable them to shelve the question during the whole of the life of the present Parliament. Why should hon. Members not take their stand on pledges given by the Government themselves, and say, "You must deal with land purchase in Ireland, and we will not by this side wind enable you to put aside the question during the whole life of the present Parliament"? The Government had taken the House by the throat, saying, "We will keep you here until we have forced you to give up these £5,000,000." This money, he contended, would be very much misapplied if applied to landlords under Lord Ashbourne's Act. The tendency under that Act would be to make sales in those cases where the relations between landlord and tenant were thoroughly unsatisfactory, so that when the State stepped in under the Act they could tolerably well guess that the State undertook the duty of becoming the landlord of people who were discontented or who had failed in paying their rents. They had heard what an enormous boon this Act would be to the Irish tenants. But the Irish tenants did not appear to have been very eager to avail themselves of the Ashbourne Act, judging by the figures that had been quoted and the time that had elapsed since its passing; and this he attributed to the fact that the landlords had been asking exorbitant terms. If this Bill were passed the landlords, he feared, would be enabled to effect many sales at unduly high prices. For these reasons he considered this Bill as a species of brigandage on the public purse which ought to be resisted. If the British taxpayer, in return for this advance of money, were promised the certainity of good order in Ireland, a settlement of the agrarian question, and improved relations between the two countries, he would be slow to oppose the application of public money for so excellent a purpose; but there was no prospect of any such results flowing from this measure. It was not suggested that this was a real settlement of the agrarian question, and so far as it might be a partial settlement it was a settlement on extravagant and unsatisfactory terms, and he therefore would oppose it.

MR. HEATH (Lincoln, Louth) said, that as one who had opposed the Land Purchase scheme of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian during the General Election of 1886, he desired to express his approval of this Bill. In his opinion the Amendment was really dealt with by the Bill as it now stood. Under Lord Ashbourne's Act the question of arrears was dealt with. The landlord had to satisfy the Commissioners that the purchase price was not too high, and the very fact that they were only dealing with a comparatively small sum offered a premium to the landlord to take the lowest price possible, and in this price the arrears were included. Therefore, under the Act the tenant really got his land at the lowest possible price, and that added greatly to the security of the English taxpayer. One reason which weighed heavily with hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite in opposing the present scheme was that the moment a tenant was converted into a proprietor he tore up his National League card and became a loyal and law-abiding citizen. He would support the present scheme, because it was limited; because the security was better, and the terms of purchase were more equitable, and the collection of the money would be made by a united Parliament.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) said, he was of opinion that the method of spending the money of the British taxpayer proposed by this Bill was one which would not commend itself to them at the next General Election. He objected to the Bill because it blocked the way of other reforms in connection with the Estimates. There were still 100 Votes to be taken in Supply, and it might well be said that Parliament had largely lost its hold upon the expenditure of the country. He objected also to the security on which the money was to be advanced as being not a real, but a sham security. He had this year witnessed with his own eyes the turning out of several families from their homes in Ireland for the non-payment of rents which the Land Courts had pronounced to be unjust. He saw the poor man Dunne, whose case had been referred to in the debate, evicted, and the cry of distress that went up when that cruel

act was committed still rang in his ears. He contended that it was scenes such as were enacted at Dunne's eviction that made Ireland what it was, and if the Government wanted to meet the difficulties of Ireland they must settle the question of arrears. The evictions were going on by the thousand, and if they were allowed to continue, inconceivable trouble and misery would result. He felt confident that at the next election the people of this country would put a stop to these wrongs. He should support with all heartiness the Amendment of the right hon. Member for Midlothian.

MR. FISHER (Fulham) said, he could not help feeling immensely struck with the attitude of the Opposition. There was scarcely a single Member of the Opposition who had had the courage to stand up in his place and say that, as a matter of principle, he objected to the Bill. He did not believe the question of arrears was the real question with which they had to deal. The aim should be the multiplication of occupying owners. The hon. Member for East Mayo had boasted that, owing to the action of the organization with which he was connected, there were 5,000 or 6,000 farms vacant in Ireland. What was the meaning of that? It meant that in over 5,000 farms in Ireland there was neither seed time nor harvest, there was no employment for the 15,000 or 20,000 men who would otherwise have been employed on them, and there was no trade in districts in which trade flourished before the agitation commenced, and that there was widespread devastation and ruin wherever that injurious system had penetrated. That was not much to boast of. But he disputed the accuracy of the hon. Gentleman's figures. Every week the Irish Office heard of derelict farms being taken up. Instead of there being 5,000 farms vacant, the number was much nearer 1,100; and instead of the majority of the farms lately taken being, as had been asserted, situated in Ulster, the fact was that the majority of those farms was in the other provinces. Not very many weeks ago he visited one of the estates where the Plan of Campaign was put in force two years ago—Lord Lansdowne's estate, in the Queen's County. In 1886 two farmers were evicted, one of them holding about 1,000 acres. In the case of some 36 tenants Lord Lansdowne refused to have the evictions carried out. They held on ever since, and now they owed three years' rent. The agent was bound to serve ejectment notices, which were taken out a few months ago, and would become actual evictions next March, unless something was done in the meantime. Lord Lansdowne was willing to take one year's rent. He went over the estate. The property was good, the houses were in thoroughly substantial repair, the rents were not high, and the landlord offered fair and adequate reductions. He would undertake to say if hon. Members went among the tenants they would tell them, as they told him, they could pay the rent three times over if they dared, and that if they paid they would be boycotted. They were willing to pay if there were not some power standing behind them of which they were afraid. He, from his place in the House, denounced that organization as one of the most cruel and iniquitous that ever interfered with contracts between man and man. It was to that organization more than anything else that these horrible scenes of eviction were due, and if the Land League only interfered to put a stop to evictions they would have a very different state of thing in Ireland from what they had at the present time. The case of Dunne had been referred to by an hon. Member. He (Mr. Fisher) would ask how it was, if, as it had been asserted, the National League had nothing to do with him, that Mr. J. Kelly, of the League, was at the inquest, and that the solicitor instructed a barrister usually employed by the League. On the day of his eviction he owed £680 for rent and arrears. The agent offered to take £108, and to make him a present of £572, to give him time to make up the £108, and to allow him to sell his crops to make up the money. The tenant refused, and what was the agent to do? The tenant's wife was informed that if she wished to save her husband from eviction she must get a doctor's certificate. She swore at the inquest she was not aware that her husband was in a dangerous state. What the Chief Secretary said with respect to this case was that the man died from exposure to cold because his relations would not take care that shelter was provided for him. They had full and adequate notice, and could have provided

him with shelter; they did not do so in order to add one more to the list of Irish martyrs. It appeared, from a statement in *The Dundalk Democrat* of February, 1888, taken from the Drogheda correspondent of *The Freeman's Journal*, that within a few days Captain Singleton, Dunne's landlord, wiped off £574 due by his tenants, and, in addition, gave a reduction of 25 per cent. And now he would give one or two reasons why he supported this policy of Her Majesty's Government. They were often taunted on that side of the House with not opposing absenteeism. This policy of the Government was very much directed to getting rid of absentee landlords in Ireland. If they looked at the figures they would see that the Ashbourne Act had been largely applied to estates on which the landlords never live at all—the estates of the London companies, and of large English landowners. The right hon. Member for Mid Lothian said that if he had land in Ireland he would live on it, and he expressed a desire that Irish landlords should live in Ireland. The Government were taking one step for securing that very desirable result. Again, hon. Members on that side were taunted with having broken their pledges because they were unwilling to confer Local Government on Ireland at present. He always entertained the hope that Parliament might be able at no very distant time to give Ireland a measure of Local Government. But, in his opinion, long before that time you must absolutely and of necessity multiply the number of owners. The one thing to be feared was robbery by rating; but when you multiplied the owners and secured that representation and taxation went together, that those who made the rate were to pay it, and that if they mismanaged the business they would themselves be the sufferers, then it would be safe to proceed with a measure of Local Government. It was for these reasons that he supported the policy of the Bill.

Mr. S. SMITH (Flintshire) said, that he was in favour of the Motion and also the Amendment, and if by possibility the two could be rolled into one he should be happy to vote for them together. But he felt a difficulty in voting either for the one or for the other, because he might be supposed to exclude the one by voting for the other, and, therefore, he intended to adopt the somewhat cowardly course of not voting at all. He held that a large creation of peasant proprietorships was the only solution of the Irish Land Question; and he thought that Lord Ashbourne's Act had, on the whole, worked very well. Previous Acts on that subject, although no doubt safer for the British taxpayer, had proved for the most part nugatory, but Lord Ashbourne's Act was coming rapidly into operation and was producing excellent results. It was urged that any scheme of that kind should be vast, universal, and not of a piecemeal character; but in his opinion a piecemeal operation was, on the whole, the safest and the wisest, because in that way they proceeded cautiously, dealing with each case on its merits. He believed that the risk of loss by the present measure was infinitesimal. It was said that if they adopted such a system for Ireland they must also do something for Great Britain. Well, he thought that they ought to have a scheme of land purchase for the benefit of small occupiers in England, Scotland, and especially Wales. The central Powers of Europe had consolidated themselves by introducing such a system of peasant proprietorships, and in Germany in particular the State had lost next to nothing by the operation, while it had created a strong nation of over 40,000,000 of contented people. It was high time that not only in Ireland but in Great Britain they should follow that course; and in doing so they would be solving some of the most difficult questions of the time. The article of Archbishop Walsh in this month's *Contemporary Review* supported his argument. They would never have a better opportunity than was now afforded for carrying out a scheme of land purchase, because he greatly doubted whether land was ever cheaper in the present century than it was at this moment; and he believed that in 50 years, instead of declining, land would probably double its present price if they had a good system of peasant proprietorship. The great evil of this country was that they had so very few small owners of land; and, therefore, in the interest of the British taxpayer, if the scheme was to be accomplished by British credit, now was the

time to do it, and to do it with great safety. While he said that, he was also entirely in favour of the Amendment, holding that the question of arrears most urgently required settlement. He entreated the Government to deal with the subject of arrears, and he suggested that it was in their power that night to declare themselves in favour of the principle of the Amendment, and to secure in that House a practically unanimous approval of their measure. No more patriotic course could be taken than that which would show that they placed country before Party.

SIR WILLIAM EWART (Belfast, N.): I feel bound to oppose the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. It is, as the course of the debate has shown, an unhappy Amendment. It is certainly a clumsy and unstatesmanlike, not to speak more harshly, proposal, and I have no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman is by this time most heartily sorry that he ever made such a proposal to the House. It is hardly needful to offer any arguments against it. Indeed, the remarks that were made by some of the most devoted of his usual followers must have convinced the right hon. Gentleman and the House of that; but as an Irish Member I wish to express my own opposition to that Amendment and my strong approval of the Government's proposal, which extends Lord Ashbourne's Act. That Act has been admittedly of great benefit to Ireland, and the present proposal is another step in the right direction. I oppose the Amendment as one of a most mischievous character, and if it were adopted it would be another very great step downward in our legislation. Notwithstanding the statements of the right hon. Gentleman that the Irish tenants are the best rent-payers in the world, I would not throw the temptation of an Arrears Bill in their way. The Arrears Bill, which would follow if this Amendment were carried, would be a direct incentive to the tenants to withhold their rents in the hope that time after time Bills would be passed clearing off arrears on forced terms. Again, it would be a gross injustice to the hard-working tenants who pay their rents, and the results in the end would be to demoralize the tenantry of Ireland. Nor is an Arrears Act needed, and in this I differ with my hon. Friend who has just spoken (Mr. S. Smith), for the landlords are willing enough to come to terms with their tenants as to arrears. Eviction, as I know, is a very painful process, but it is impossible that, as regards these holdings, evictions can be avoided; any more than they can as regards those engaged in any other occupation in life. To allow a tenant to hold his land and not pay rent would be analogous to a shopkeeper obliging the merchant with whom he deals to supply him with goods year by year without receiving payment. There are tenants in Ireland who are unsuccessful because they are idle and do not work their land properly. There are tenants who want skill and means to cultivate and develop the resources of the land. There are tenants who are intemperate, and spend more in drink than would pay the rent, and they are a very considerable number, I am sorry to say. And there is still another numerous class of tenants who live beyond their means; and if you take hundreds of thousands of tenants you will find that their gross produce from the land does not produce £50,000 a-year. How was it possible for them to keep their families and to keep on living in the wretched condition in which many of them do? For my part, I am sure I wish to see all classes of the people live in comfort if the thing were possible, but really the farms are too small, and with such tenants on the land it is not made half so productive as it should be. Such tenants are a positive injury to the community, and they should make way for those who have the power to extract from the land all that it is capable of producing. Then, this fact should be borne in mind: that if one Irish tenant is evicted it makes room for another Irishman, and you remove from the land those who are not doing their duty for those who most probably will. I deplore as much as any hon. Gentleman below the Gangway that evictions in certain cases are unavoidable, but we cannot afford to banish economic laws to Saturn. If in the working of these laws there are hardships, let us do all we can — all that is in our power as philanthropists and statesmen—to remedy them. Doubtless there are remedies; but the remedy is certainly not to be found in an Arrears Bill. The Amendment which is now before the

House would not effect a remedy. It would merely block and stop the way of the Government proposal to continue the operation of Lord Ashbourne's Act. It is admitted all round that the operations of that Act have been most beneficial and advantageous to the tenants. Statesmen, high ecclesiastics, and mercantile bodies bear witness to the fact, and it is nothing short of a monstrous proposal to obstruct or delay the extension of the Act. The Chambers of Commerce of the City of Dublin and the City of Belfast have passed resolutions in favour of the Bill; and these are Bodies which are in full sympathy with the tenants, and are composed of men whose views are of great value, because they know that if the tenant suffer the rest of the commerce of the country must suffer. These two bodies are of the highest intelligence and independence, and represent not only one-eighth of the whole population of the country, but the whole of the mercantile and manufacturing community. I speak as an Irishman on this question, and as an Irish merchant I am deeply interested in the prosperity of Ireland. I own no agricultural land, and in holding the balance between landlord and tenant, I would rather incline towards the tenantry as a class, but I believe that the landlords will do their duty reasonably and generously towards their tenantry; and as for the tenantry, I believe that they would cheerfully meet their engagements if they were not deluded by those who have a direct interest in keeping up discontent in Ireland, and pay their rents as well as their other obligations; and I have no doubt that they will rejoice when they find that the Bill of the Government has been carried. I have no doubt that if the tenants were freed from the disturbing elements to which they have been subjected for eight or 10 years past, they would also do their duty fairly and reasonably, and pay their rents as well as Englishmen or Irishmen elsewhere.

MR. EDWARD HARRINGTON (Kerry, W.) said, he desired to explain that, while hon. Members might be able to support the general policy of an extension of the Purchase Act, and to hope that a large measure of that sort might be introduced, it was perfectly consistent in them to oppose the present measure, which was only a dole to the landlords to keep them on their legs. The Members of that House had been gratuitously presented with a printed circular containing much information bearing on this measure from the landlord point of view. But while these parties had evidently known the intention of the Government, and while the supporters of the Government were prepared with their arguments, the opponents of the measure had not had time to bring before the House the circumstances and facts which they thought would influence the judgment of the House, possibly to the extent of rejecting the Bill. Stress had been laid on the fact that the instalments due under Lord Ashbourne's Act had, with trifling exceptions, been paid up. He could, however, show the fallacy of that contention. It was true that hundreds of tenants in the County Kerry had purchased; but he could not put his hand on five solvent tenants in that county who had purchased. The tenants who had purchased were the evicted tenants, the broken tenants, and the tenants who had been long under arrears; but he might be met with the argument that if the broken tenants were able to pay their instalments, how much better able to carry out their contracts with the Government would be the more solvent tenants. But the Government have been chiselled in this, and had been willingly chiselled, while the British public have been unknowingly chiselled. He would give a very common case in Kerry of the farms which had been purchased under the Ashbourne Act. A tenant had been evicted for nonpayment of rent, owing three and a-half years. That tenant was induced by the landlord to come to a settlement, urged on by the prospect of cold and wet and hunger, and he made an agreement for 20 years' purchase. The landlord would say to him—"If you sign for 20 years, it will be in reality only 17, for I will wipe out three years, and keep in hand the rent to pay the first two instalments." The real transaction, in many cases, under the Ashbourne Act was that the landlord nominally received 22½ years' purchase; but, being glad to receive 19 or 20 years', paid the tenants two and a-half years' rent in order to enable him to pay the first two or three instalments. Then there was mountain

land in the county of Kerry which was worth not more than 10 or 12 years' purchase, but 20 years' purchase was exacted, and the tenant assisted in this way to meet the earlier instalments. This was the secret of the payment of the instalments up to the present. They were actually being paid by the money which the State had left for the purchase. It might be said that that was a very good arrangement for the tenant; but hereafter, when he had to pay the instalments out of the land, he would be a broken man, and would not be able to carry out his contract with the State. He declared positively his belief that before very long the Purchase Commission would have a great portion of the County Kerry on their hands for sale, and was it probable that any man would go in and undertake to make instalments out of the land on which another man had been broken? Acting on a desire for the peace of the County Kerry, he had, when men had come to ask his advice upon the question of purchasing under the Ashbourne Act, said to them that if they were getting a bargain that they could keep they ought to purchase, but if their only object was to gain time and to stave off the evil day by entering into a bargain which they could not keep ultimately, he recommended them not to purchase. Men had actually come to him and told him that they were purchasing for the purpose of saving their families from the roadside, and if they could do so it mattered very little to them if they had to break the bargain afterwards; and he could only warn the Government to expect a general breakdown in County Kerry as the later instalments became due. He would sincerely hope to see the whole question taken up, even in the spirit of Lord Ashbourne's Act, with this exception—that they could not send down a Commissioner merely as a banker's man to see whether the security was good, but to go into the whole merits of the case to see that there was no compulsion, to see how the arrears accrued, and that the tenant was not buying his own property in the shape of his own improvements. He approved the general principle of the Ashbourne Act, but he objected to its being worked in conjunction with the Coercion Act as an engine of destruction against the tenants. It was generally represented that the landlords and the tenants entered into a voluntary bargain, and that if the bargain were not just, it was corrected by the State. But in the estimate of the value of a farm, that which the tenant himself had erected—his house, the drains, barns, and permanent improvements—were included, so that the tenant was obliged to pay for his own property. He impressed upon the Government, if they carried this Bill in spite of the opposition given to it, the necessity of expanding it next Session. The first thing they had to do was to open the door of the Land Court to all the tenants in Ireland, and the Irish Party were determined to knock and knock and knock till the door was open to perpetuity leaseholders. He wished to refer to a statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer last night, and though it was not very pertinent to the subject of debate, it was a good instance of official accuracy. The right hon. Gentleman said the influence of the National League was waning in Tralee. If it were waning, why in the name of goodness did not the Government allow it to wane? It was a strange thing that this so-called Unionist Government would not let it wane. That very day he had been served in the Hall of the High Court of Justice by a constable from Tralee with three summonses for attending three meetings of the National League in Tralee. Why not let the League wane? He made no appeal *ad misericordiam*. Let them do what they liked; he did not care. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated as a proof of his assertion that the National League was waning in Tralee, that a ukase issued by the League in regard to the election of Poor Law Guardians had been ignored and several Unionists elected. Why, the fact was that all the nominees of the League had been elected on the Board, and the elected seats of the entire Board —42 in all—were in the possession of the Nationalists. If the League was waning, how was it all the Members of the Board of Guardians in Kerry who had been elected were Nationalists, and how was it that Mr. Latchford, the Protestant Nationalist, was at the head of the poll? But perhaps the right hon. Gentleman referred to the recent election of Town Commissioners. [Mr. T. W. RUSSELL: "Hear, hear!"] The hon.

Member for South Tyrone thinks he has got a plum. I will give it to him to suck very soon. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer finds a Unionist among the Town Commissioners recently elected I will resign my seat in favour of that Unionist, and, if necessary, work in his behalf. This was a specimen of the sort of political facts which were made the factors in the promotion of crime and outrage in this country. Notwithstanding that the Government forced these £5,000,000 down their throats, the Nationalists were not frightened at the prospect. So long as the people looked to those who had advised them before, and followed their own instincts of manliness and right, they would steer clear of the dangers and temptations that were thrown around them. They would be able to do what would be the best for them in the future. The Government was throwing their sum of £5,000,000 as a sop to the landlords, and the landlords ought to be ashamed of themselves for allowing the Government to palter with this country in this way. The Government should have thrown open the door to every tenant to put him in a position to make a free and fair settlement on equal terms with the landlord before they proposed the extension of Land Purchase. If that were done, and if the Government then advanced, on its own security, or on local security, as much money as would enable all the peasantry of Ireland to become proprietors of the land they occupied, they would be doing a wise and salutary thing.

Mr. W. P. SINCLAIR (Falkirk, &c.) said, he could not but regret that the Bill proposed by Her Majesty's Government had been met by the Amendment moved by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). The Amendment proposed to deal with the question of arrears, and no doubt that was a question which ought to be dealt with. It would have been dealt with, however, in the Bill introduced by the Government last year had it not been for the opposition of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) and the other hon. Gentlemen who were associated with him in opposing such a settlement. Lord Ashbourne's Act, when first brought in, was certainly sanctioned by the chiefs of the Liberal Party; the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian was present when it was introduced, and he said not one word against it. The hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) spoke in favour of the Bill, and said it would be a misfortune if such a Bill, subject to certain Amendments, were not passed into law this Session, while the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Aberdeen (Mr. Bryce), who was opposed to the Bill, observed that—

"There was no use in opposing the Bill at that stage, especially when it had not only the support of the Government, but that of the Chiefs of the Opposition and of the Leaders of the Irish Party."—(3 *Hansard* [300], 1635.)

The hopes entertained of the Bill had been amply justified. It was very remarkable that the conditions laid down by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, when he introduced his Land Purchase Bill, were peculiarly applicable to the Bill now before the House. He said—

"I conceive it is quite right, under an arrangement of this kind"—

He only proposed £50,000,000, and not the entire amount which he estimated would be required—

"That we should secure to Parliament the opportunity of exercising its judgment afresh on the subject we now submit to it."

In the working of Lord Ashbourne's Act he ventured to say, in the words of the right hon. Gentleman, that the public credit had been duly maintained, the repayments duly met, and the whole complex machinery so well oiled that the Act deserved to be continued in working order. The conditions were not onerous to the tenant. Had the Act worked well, and did the experience of its working justify the hopes expressed by many speakers that a further grant of money would be necessary? He ventured to say that in the working of Lord Ashbourne's Act it would be found that the public credit had been duly maintained, the payments duly made, and the complex machinery by which it was worked kept well oiled. The principle of the Act was the mutual agreement of the price between landlord and tenant, which had to be approved by the Commissioners before the advance was made. Then, again, the sale could only be to a person who was at the time occupying the land, and not an outsider. The securities the Government had were the security of the tenant-right, of the im-

provements which would be made, the 20 per cent advanced by the State, and the great security that there was no other debt to be met by the tenant. Another great advantage was the gradual removal from pauperism, and the tendency to keep rates down. That was an important point, because in a great many places the rates had been scandalously increased in consequence of the mismanagement of the Nationalist Boards of Guardians. The purchasers of farms would also spend their money in the future on the improvement of the farms instead of putting it in the savings bank, because the work they did would be for themselves and not for the landlord. That would make the police duties easier, and tend to keep down agitation. Something had been said with reference to the Crimes Act. It was, however, no detriment to the working of Lord Ashbourne's Act. One of his constituents from Antrim was present when that Act was passed. He asked him what the people in Antrim were saying about the Act, and the reply was, "We are not saying much about it up there. We are a law-abiding people, and it will hurt us." That was the way the Act should be looked at. It would help the working of Lord Ashbourne's Act, by preventing intimidation and the growth of the desire to put an end to law and order. He believed a great number would become owners, and a considerable body of Conservative opinion would spring up. The whole evidence would show that the working of the Act in the past had been valuable, and was tending to settle the country, and the belief was that the further advance of £5,000,000 would greatly increase that effect. With regard to the two Commissioners—Mr. Lynch and Mr. M'Carthy—they were both servants of the State, and would do their duty as such. They would ascertain whether the security offered under the Bill was sufficient, and if it was not they would refuse the advance. He was sorry to hear the remarks made by the hon. Member for East Mayo with regard to Mr. Wrench; and if there was any conspiracy to take away Mr. M'Carthy—and he did not think that there could be—they might be quite sure that so long as he did his duty, as he had done in the past, in the interests of the tenants and also of the State, there would be a very considerable desire in the House of Commons to keep him in his present position. He believed that the Bill would have a very wholesome, Conservative influence in making the tenants more contented in the future than they had been in the past. The evidence of those who had arranged to purchase under the Act proved this to be so. In making the advances to the Irish people the Government were in a very safe position, because the security which they had in the tenant-right was of great value. He knew of one case where the farm was bought by the tenant for £530 and sold for £1,230. On an estate in Tipperary, with a rental of £436, the value of the tenants' interests amounted to £10,500, which was over 24 years' purchase of the holdings. In making this advance to the Irish people he believed Her Majesty's Government had a most safe security, because he believed it was the wish of the Irish people to pay their just rents. The voluntary action of the people in taking advantage of the provisions of the Act showed that they were willing to incur this debt, which they believed was a just one. There was one important point to which he wished to draw the attention of the House, a point which, he was sorry to say, had not been sufficiently kept in view by hon. Members who discussed the subject on both sides of the House. It was the very great and important difference between rent and the instalments of purchase-money and interest which were paid under this Act. A very valuable Return had been printed in August, 1887. It was a Return which he had asked for, and which gave the amount paid under this head during each year of the 49 years over which the instalments ran, both in principal and interest. He felt convinced that if these calculations were brought under the notice of the tenants to a large extent, they would admirably serve the purpose of bringing home to their minds the great distinction between the payment of rent and the payment of instalments; and he trusted that steps would be taken to bring this distinction clearly before the minds of tenants who might become purchasers under this Act, and, indeed, before the country at large, which required to be informed on this subject. It would be well, too, to show the very moderate expense of the working of the Act. He

found that the whole expense of working the Act only amounted to some £15,000 to £20,000, which was a very small sum indeed for the amount of work done and the amount of money advanced. He ventured most earnestly to hope that not only would this Resolution be carried, but that the Bill would be passed into law; and, as its working in the past had been so favourable, he hoped the Government, when the £5,000,000 now asked for was expended, would be able to come to the House with an equally satisfactory statement of the working of this Supplementary Act, and that they would thereby be encouraged to come again in the same laudable spirit with a scheme which would in the end enable them to secure the peace, happiness, and prosperity of Ireland.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE (Kensington, N.) said, that a sufficient condemnation of the Amendment was that it did not offer either a negative to the Motion of the Government or an alternative; and the Amendment certainly involved more contentious matter than the Bill. Up to the moment that the Bill was announced it was not understood that there was anything contentious about the Ashbourne Act. He did not believe that the Bill would burden the British taxpayer or relieve the Irish landlord to the detriment of the Irish tenant; and it was clear that the Irish tenants would gain largely indeed. He looked forward to the time when in Ireland there would be a large number of occupiers cultivating their own properties, and that in this way an end would be put to the distressing evictions out of which so much political capital had been made by Gentlemen opposite. The British Exchequer would hold ample security, and the risk to the British taxpayer would be infinitesimal; while there could be no doubt of the benefits to be conferred on the poor tenants of Ireland.

MR. FLYNN (Cork, N.) said, that the Members who knew Ireland could not ignore the fact that it was really the arrears that lay most heavily on the energies of the country, and that these accumulations were the most pressing grievance, and constituted a question of the greatest urgency. Until there was some effort made to meet the case that had been laid before the House by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, they were entitled to say that there was no answer to it. They adhered to the doctrine of the Land League that every effort should be made to multiply occupying ownerships; but there must be free bargaining between landlord and tenant, and purchases must not be forced at the point of the policeman's baton. A comprehensive measure dealing with arrears would do far more good than £10,000,000 or £20,000,000 advanced under the Ashbourne Act. Its operation must necessarily be confined to comparatively few individuals in few districts, whereas remission of arrears would embrace a large number in all parts of the country. Most of these arrears had not arisen under judicial rents; and there were 300,000 holdings the rents of which had not been fixed judicially; they had been fixed out of Court, for fear of what the landlord could do, and the terms were more disadvantageous than the tenants would have obtained in the Land Court. In many instances, before their cases could be heard in the Land Court, the landlord, taking advantage of the power which the arrears gave him over his tenants, evicted them, and deprived them of their holdings. In a recent case, a tenant on the Downshire estate had his rent fixed by the Commissioners; but the landlord appealed, and, pending the hearing of the appeal, evicted the tenant for arrears of rent. Incidents were daily occurring in Ireland of this nature, which showed the dire nature of the burden of arrears. Men were being turned out of their holdings, their improvements being confiscated, and they themselves being reduced to beggary because they were unable to wipe off the arrears of unjust rent. They were entitled to say that there was a distinct blot in their legislation, and it was the duty of the Government to deal with it. He had recommended the tenants to enter into combination for their own protection against the rapacity of their landlords, and for this he had been sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment. This was a landlords' Bill, introduced in the landlords' interests, as was, indeed, indicated by the jubilant chorus that was raised in a certain quarter of the House when the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) explained the nature of the proposal—a chorus that reminded one of the hounds in full pursuit of their quarry. He and his Friends were not

opposed to a well-devised scheme of land purchase. On the contrary, this had always been placed in the forefront of their programme. But no scheme—and certainly not this scheme—could work smoothly and fairly and for the benefit of the Irish tenant so long as he was fettered by the scourge of unjust arrears.

COLONEL SAUNDERSON (Armagh, N.) said, he had looked forward with great interest to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) on the present occasion, and, after listening to him, he might be allowed to lay an offering of admiration at his feet. His unparalleled powers as an orator were never more conspicuously manifested than when he was making the best of a bad case. In skating lightly over thin ice he was unequalled. In regard to the present Bill, the right hon. Gentleman had a difficult part to play. While posing before the public with his supporters below the Gangway as the friends of the Irish tenants, he had to oppose a measure which in Ireland was one of the most popular proposals ever made in that House. The right hon. Gentleman displayed immense ingenuity, but there was one great defect in his speech, he avoided arguing in favour of his own Amendment. He had read his speech—from beginning to end, and he had failed to discover that the right hon. Gentleman attempted to show the House that this proposition of his could be looked upon as a substitute in any shape for the proposal of the Government. The proposal of the right hon. Gentleman dealt simply with arrears, and that of Her Majesty's Government was not one which was meant to deal with the question of arrears. Her Majesty's Government had made a proposal to the House which was meant to establish in Ireland an independent and law-abiding class, to encourage that class which any statesman or man who loved his country would wish to encourage—the thrifty and industrious class. The right hon. Gentleman had devoted his attention simply to those tenants and their relief who happened to be in arrears in rent. He thought it was hardly fair of the right hon. Gentleman to advocate the extinction of arrears in Ireland without informing the House how and when those arrears had accrued. That point was of immense importance—that the House and the country should bear in mind how it was, why it was, and when it was, that those arrears of rent which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to deal with had accrued in Ireland. The House would remember that a Bill had been passed in 1882 dealing with arrears and sweeping them away. The present arrears had accrued since 1882 under the Land Bill which had been passed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian himself. When the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) had introduced his Arrears Bill he had not complained that the rents which had been established by the Commissioners in Ireland up to 1885 were excessive rents; because if anyone took the trouble of examining the percentage of rent bated by the Commissioners up to 1885, they would see that the percentage decreased up to 1885, and that it was not until 1886, when the great agricultural depression occurred, the arrears of rent could be or were looked upon by the hon. Member for Cork himself as arrears of excessive rents. But the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian had not spoken a word about this; he had spoken of the arrears as though they were unjust arrears which were sought to be extorted by the Irish landlords for rents which they themselves had imposed on the tenants, whereas the rents had been fixed under the Bill which the right hon. Gentleman had said was to be a final settlement of the Irish Land Question. The right hon. Gentleman had gone on to give instances of the injustice that was occurring in Ireland. But before he proceeded with that he would make one remark about the right hon. Gentleman's speech. It was not, however able, an argumentative speech. It had not been meant for argument; it had been meant only for reference on a future occasion. He would explain to the House what that implied. It was possible—such things had happened before—that in the course of a short time the right hon. Gentleman might change his mind. And, if in the course of the next year or two the right hon. Gentleman should be subjected to that change, which had occurred on former occasions, he might refer to that speech and might take any line he pleased. He might say, "Why, I approved of

the Ashbourne Act, because at the outset of my speech I commended it." Or he might take the opposite view and might say, "I entirely disapproved of the principle of the Act, because at the latter part of my speech I condemned it." Or he might, in a short time, believe, as he had believed in former times, that the Irish tenants were men whose probity and solvency might be absolutely depended upon, and he would prove it by referring to the speech, and would say, "I pointed out in the House of Commons that in all the world you cannot find such good rentpayers as the Irish tenants." Or he might say, "I believe that the Irish are neither honest nor solvent, for did I not point out in the House of Commons that they were covered and crippled with arrears?" Then the right hon. Gentleman had proceeded to deal with the question of arrears. He (Colonel Saunderson) had never been more astonished than he was when he listened to the right hon. Gentleman on this question. The right hon. Gentleman had said that the Irish landlords were the victims of a vicious system, and had pointed out what the great vice was in the following words:—

"I doubt very much whether there are many Members in this House who are unaware of the great use arrears can be put to by those who understand how to manage them judiciously."

He (Colonel Saunderson) knew that the right hon. Gentleman was a great financial authority, and as he himself never had yet learnt what the use of arrears was in Ireland, he had hoped to gain some light on the subject. Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say, "You can evict upon arrears." Ah! there the right hon. Gentleman had discovered the great use that an Irish landlord could make of arrears. Of course they could evict upon arrears; but if the right hon. Gentleman disapproves of the Irish landlords and the system under which they lived in Ireland, because they could evict on arrears, was the right hon. Gentleman ready to give effect to legislation in the right direction—to pass a law that no Irish landlord should evict upon arrears. When the right hon. Gentleman had made that statement he had heard on the other side of the House a sort of sigh of horror and commiseration arising, especially from the Scotch Radicals. He should like to ask any Scotch Separatist—[*Cries of* "Order!"]—any Scotch Member who supported the Leader of the Separatist Party—how he himself dealt with men who owed him money? He would like to ask any candid man on the other side of the House—the right hon. Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley), for instance—to say, for the sake of information, what course he would suggest to the Irish landlord whose tenant absolutely refused to pay anything whatever. Then the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, after having drawn that fearful picture, had said that the Irish landlords weighed their tenants down with a weight of arrears. According to the right hon. Gentleman Irish landlords seemed to love arrears. The right hon. Gentleman had gone on to say—

"You can evict upon the rent last due men who had been so crippled by arrears that on that account they had not been able to meet their current rent."

He should like to know how landlords were to meet their current expenses upon arrears. Could the right hon. Gentleman believe such a monstrous absurdity as that? What good did it do an Irish landlord to have his tenants in arrears? Did it give him pleasure that an agent should meet him after rent-day and say, "We have had such a splendid time in the office; no rent, but plenty of arrears." Why, absurdity was stamped on the face of such a proposition. Irish landlords were like other landlords, they liked rent. Yes, he pleaded guilty to the soft impeachment. But he never heard of a landlord in any country who liked arrears. Then the right hon. Gentleman had given a desperately hard case which had occurred on a property in Ireland—the case of a Mary Connetan, and had shown how terribly hard it was. And this had really been the only case that the right hon. Gentleman had given. Fancy! the right hon. Gentleman, with the possession, as he had, of an immense fund of information from the lynx-eyed Gentlemen below the Gangway, who were able to pop on anything occurring in the country, had been unable to back his proposition in the House last night with any better illustration than that one which he had taken. The case was that of a woman who had seven acres and a house

for which she paid the enormous rent of £3 12*s.* in the year. How terrific was that rent! He would like to call the attention of the working-men in the large cities in this country to the position of the Irish tenant who owned seven acres and a house, and paid for them the sum of 2¼*d.* a day. Why the paradise of working-men, three acres and a cow, was a fool beside it. With seven acres they could keep a bull as well. The right hon. Gentleman had not informed the House who the happy landlord of this lady was; but the right hon. Gentleman had given geographical indications by which hon. Members might find the person out. It reminded him of Nottingham and those geographical indications by which they had been enabled to find out Dopping. There was a flavour of Dopping in all that, as well as of the candid well-informed friend. He said to himself, "Has the professor been on the warpath again?" He ventured to prophesy that when further inquiries were made it would be found that there was some hiatus in the story of Mary Connetan as there had been in the story of Colonel Dopping. So much for the case that the right hon. Gentleman made out on the arrears question. In point of fact he made out no case at all. He said there were arrears. Nobody denied that. He never informed the House how those arrears arose, but he simply said—"There are arrears, let us deal with them, and let that be in lieu of the proposal of the Government." He heard the speech of the right hon. Gentleman last night, and he read it, but he could discover no more arguments in favour of an Arrears Bill than he (Colonel Saunderson) had stated to the House. But he had read other speeches, notably the speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), who devoted a great part to the defence of the British taxpayer—a novel position for hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway to occupy. The hon. Member for East Mayo apparently agreed absolutely with that part of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian that the security would be bad. Now he (Colonel Saunderson) did not profess to be a great financial authority, but the speech of the right hon. Gentleman struck him as most remarkable with respect to the great defect he thought there was in the security to the British taxpayer. The right hon. Gentleman said—

"It is simply this—the State is to lend 80 per cent of the money for the purpose of enabling the landlord and the tenant to settle their transactions together, and is further to advance 20 per cent of its own money as security."

That was to say, that the 20 per cent added to the indebtedness of the British Government, so that if the British Government kept 50 per cent or 100 per cent its indebtedness would be greater still. [*Laughter.*] There was laughter below the Gangway from the Chancellors of the Exchequer of the Irish Parliament. The hon. Member for East Mayo had spoken in a more practical tone, and the hon. Member, if no one else, had more than justified the objections urged by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) and others as to the insecurity of the advance of £100,000,000 or £150,000,000 proposed by the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian. The hon. Member for East Mayo said—

"Speaking as an honest man, I feel it my duty to declare to this House that if this loan is granted I shall use the payment of the instalments as a lever in Ireland so long as the coercive policy of the Government is maintained."

That meant that the hon. Member and his friends intended to use the doctrine of repudiation unless their demands were complied with by the British Parliament. What then would have been the position of this country had Parliament, in a moment of incredible insanity, consented to adopt the measure of 1886? They would have had the hon. Member for East Mayo, in furthering the object which he had so openly avowed—namely, the establishment of Ireland as a separate Kingdom—using the payment of far greater instalments as a lever to force and constrain this Parliament to comply with his wishes. That was to say, the hon. Member would go through the country advising the tenants—the House knew what his advice meant; they called it threatening—as he had done before that—

"If any man back down in the fight now that coercion is passed I warn the Government that I shall denounce him by name on public platforms, and his life will not be a happy one in Ireland or beyond the sea."

That was called giving advice to the

Irish tenants. But, if the hon. Member chose to use this lever and went about Ireland advising the people not to discharge their legal obligations, he would probably have to go into temporary retirement in Tullamore or elsewhere. The hon. Member had got to confront the law passed by this Parliament, which would prevent him from intimidating the poorest and meanest of his countrymen. It was because the Government had been armed by that House with powers to frustrate such an attempt that he believed the security that was offered to the State was ample, and that the obligations into which the Irish people would enter to the State would be loyally and honestly fulfilled. There were two policies presented to the House and the couutry; they on that (the Ministerial) side held one policy; hon. Gentlemen opposite held the other. It would be conceded as fair and rational that every Act of legislation which that House adopted by the advice of Her Majesty's Government would be framed and directed with a view of furthering the great policy which Her Majesty's Government maintained. On the other hand, every proposal emanating from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian would very naturally partake of the character of the policy which he believed in, and of which he was the head. The right hon. Gentleman on a recent occasion stated clearly his views on that subject. He said—

"Gentlemen, what I wish to state to you is this—that the Irish people cannot, and the Irish people ought not, to acquiesce in a Government which is against them, and is a Government of unequal laws."

Yet these laws had been passed by this Parliament; they were the laws of the land. They did not cease to be laws because hon. Gentlemen opposite objected to them. They remained upon the Statute Book until that authority which created should repeal them. And, therefore, when the right hon. Gentleman said, as he did the other day, that the Irish people ought not, and could not, obey the Government and the law; and that by proving to the House and the country that the Government were incapable of maintaining the law they must give up Ireland as a bad job, it was very natural that every effort which he and his Party made with regard to purchase should be made with a view to show that the law would not be, and could not be, carried out in Ireland. No measure could be devised by the wit of man better calculated to carry out that purpose than the Arrears Bill which he had recommended. It was a premium on national dishonesty. It mulcted the good and merciful landlord who had been so ill-advised as to allow arrears to accrue, while it exonerated the hard landlord who made his tenants pay up to the day. He had heard Lord Clanricarde abused in most unmeasured terms because he forced his tenants not to be in arrears. He was not arguing whether Lord Clanricarde was a bad landlord, but he maintained that the Arrears Bill and the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman exonerated Lord Clanricarde, because he had not, at any rate, the pernicious habit of allowing arrears to accumulate. It deterred the honest tenant from fulfilling his obligation. Then he did not know anything which caused more heartburning among honest Irish tenants than seeing that, whereas they had always paid their just debts, their neighbours, who had gone scot free, and had not paid, because they had been ordered not to pay, were getting whitewashed by Act of Parliament. Could anyone conceive any more powerful lever that could be placed in the hands of hon. Gentlemen opposite—especially the hon. Member for East Mayo and those like him—who go about the country telling the tenants to hold on to the money and to pay no rent, and that an Arrears Bill would be brought in? If they did not desire continued agitation and further misfortunes they ought to reject the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman. He saw the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby (Sir William Harcourt) was present. He (Colonel Saunderson) hoped they might hear him on that occasion. The other day the right hon. Gentleman said at Birmingham that "while the sun shone the stars did not appear." The right hon. Gentleman added that he intended on another occasion "to twinkle his best." He was very anxious to see the right hon. Gentleman "twinkle" on this occasion. He would like to hear from so great an authority on Irish land an answer to some of the objections he had ventured to urge. The proposal of the Government, hon. Gentlemen below the Gang-

way opposite knew well, would have the effect of knocking the very bottom out of the organization to which they belonged. He knew in his neighbourhood an estate had been sold, and one of the tenants said to a friend of his—"Now that I have got the land, sorra a ha'porth of money they'll get from me." That was the spirit which it was thought desirable to establish in various parts of Ireland. No one was more opposed than he was to a great, violent, and heroic measure of Land Purchase. No one in that House would have opposed it more strenuously than he himself would do. He should look on it as bad for the State and an absolute misfortune to Ireland; but he believed that the gradual making of Irish tenants owners of the land they tilled would be the best way of solving the Irish Question. They had now two roads along which they could tread. They had the experience of the past to teach them that the arrears road had been a lamentable failure. They had, on the other hand, the Ashbourne Act road, which had been pre-eminently successful. With anticipations of further success from travelling in the same direction, in the name of Ireland and of its best interests, he besought the House to reject the way proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian, and to tread the way which he believed led to peace, happiness, and prosperity.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON (Lancashire, Rossendale): Mr. Speaker, I am anxious to say a few words upon this question, but I have no intention of trespassing at any length on the attention of the House, and for this reason among others—the issue which we have to decide to-night appears to be one of a very limited character, and I do not think that we, who are prepared to support the policy proposed by Her Majesty's Government, would assist them by saying anything which would tend to unduly protract this debate, considering that the only obstacle that I can see that is likely in the slightest degree to endanger the success of their policy is the obstacle, not of argument, but of time. I shall, therefore, endeavour to confine what I have to say within a moderate and reasonable limit. We have listened this evening to a very remarkable speech from the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), on which I should like to be allowed to say one or two words. That speech did not appear to me to be a very cogent argument either against the Land Purchase Bill or in favour of the Amendment of my right hon. Friend; but I think it was one of the most cogent arguments I have ever heard in favour of the policy of what the hon. Member and his Friends call the policy of coercion. When we have said, as we often have said, that there existed in Ireland a combination, or, as we frequently termed it, a conspiracy, for the purpose of depreciating the value of the property of one class for the benefit of another—if we said that the method by which that combination was carried out was the method of intimidation, and of organized intimidation, we should be contradicted, as we frequently have been contradicted. But that is precisely what the hon. Member for East Mayo has, I will not say confessed, but boasted to-night that he and his Friends have done, and have done successfully. He says that, to the great advantage of the British taxpayer, and to the still greater advantage of the Irish farmer, he and his friends have succeeded in reducing the value of the fee-simple of the land in Ireland from over 20 years' purchase to something like 17 years' purchase, and he tells us how this has been accomplished. He says they have destroyed the competition by which the tenants were in former times cutting each other's throats. And how has that competition been destroyed? He has not told us that the hunger for land has diminished in Ireland, or that there are a smaller number of persons who desire to become possessed of land. He tells us that the process in which he exults has been accomplished simply by the action of the National League—by the action of himself and his friends—which has rendered it impossible for any farm from which, from any cause, a tenant has been evicted to be occupied safely by any other tenant.

MR. DILLON: Will the noble Lord allow me? I am watching closely what he has said, and as this is a matter of considerable importance it is only fair to me that he should be accurate, because he professes to give my exact words. I never used the word "safely," nor was there a single syllable in my speech from beginning to end in which I

indicated that the result was to be, or had been, achieved by intimidation.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I was not professing to give the exact words of the hon. Member for East Mayo. I have never been fortunate enough myself, nor have I heard of anyone else who was fortunate enough, in referring to a speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo, to avoid a contradiction from him.

MR. DILLON: Do I understand the noble Lord to mean that I am in the habit of telling falsehoods and of repudiating the words that I have used? ["Hear, hear!" *from the Ministerial side of the House.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite cheer that. All I can say is that it is not the treatment due to a Member of this House, or the usual custom of this House.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No, Sir; I do not intend to make any imputation whatever against the hon. Member. I only say that the hon Member requires an exactitude in interpreting and reproducing what he conceives to have been his argument, to which it is very difficult, indeed, for anyone to attain. The hon. Member told us what, in his opinion, was the cause of the depreciation in the value of the fee-simple of Irish land. He said the cause which led to that depreciation has been the existence of 5,000 unlet farms in Ireland, and he said, as I understood, that he and his hon. Friends in this House, and the National League, of which they are Members and Representatives, will not permit any of those farms to be re-let to any other tenants. The hon. Member says he never referred to intimidation as the means by which this admirable result has been arrived at; but I want to know what he means by intimidation, or by what other means than intimidation he and his friends will take care that those farms will not be let again? Does he assert—can he assert for a moment—that there are not thousands of honest and industrious men in Ireland who are willing and prepared to take those farms? Can he assert of such men that they would be guilty of any moral offence if they were to take that step? But the hon. Member says that he and his friends will take care that they shall not; and I ask him, if he asserts now that in his speech he meant no reference to intimidation, what other means there are, except the intimidation which exists, by which this prohibition is to be enforced? I maintain that this confession and exultation in the existence of a combination—which we on this side of the House are justified in calling a conspiracy—for an illegal purpose justify everything that we have said, and, more than that, justify everything that we have done to oppose resistance in the name of law and order against a system which works by such means. I have said that I do not want to touch upon a great variety of subjects, and I shall say very few words indeed on the Amendment of my right hon. Friend, as far as relates to the question of arrears. I think we are justified in passing by that Amendment without much discussion, because I do not admit that it is a legitimate Amendment. I do not say, for a moment, that it is not legitimate from my right hon. Friend's point of view; that it is not a piece of legitimate Party tactics; but the sense in which I contend that it is not a legitimate Amendment is this—that I altogether deny that the subject brought forward in the Amendment in competition with the proposal of the Government is in the least connected with the original subject matter of the Motion. The arrears question and the purchase question are not subjects which are connected. They are subjects which are completely separate and distinct, and may be dealt with in a great variety of ways. An Arrears Act may be right and a Purchase Act may be right; they may both be wrong, or one of them may be right and the other wrong; but whatever they may be in this respect the one is certainly not an alternative to the other. If you reject this Bill and pass this Amendment, you will not advance one single step nearer towards the settlement of the arrears question. If, in the opinion of my right hon. Friend and of hon. Gentlemen sitting on this side, as it seemed to be the opinion last night of the hon. Member for North-East Cork (Mr. W. O'Brien), the two questions can be properly dealt with in the compass of a single measure, you would not have taken the course which has been taken of moving the rejection of this Bill. You would have waited until we arrived at the stage of Committee, and would then have moved clauses dealing with

the arrears question; or if that would not have been within the scope of the Bill, you would have moved an Instruction to enable the Committee to deal with the arrears question as well as the purchase question. But by the rejection of this Bill and passing this Resolution you will not, as I have said, advance a single step nearer to the settlement of the arrears question, which is to be the substitute for a Purchase Bill. It is not necessary for me to argue that the arrears question is not a very important or a very urgent one, although my own opinion is, and it may be taken for what it is worth, that the urgency and importance of the arrears question have been very much exaggerated, and that the relief which could be given to tenants of Ireland by passing an Arrears Act has been immensely overrated. But whether it be an extremely important or urgent one or not, I contend it has not, in the slightest degree, been forwarded or brought nearer to solution by arguments such as have been addressed to us last night and to-night. My right hon. Friend, in moving the Amendment, did not touch upon a subject upon which he is generally very apt to deal—upon the statistics relating to evictions, or to the manner in which the question of arrears bears upon those statistics. My right hon. Friend preferred last night to deal with the question of arrears from what I may call an *à priori* point of view, and gave an opinion upon the subject of arrears which appears to have been mainly evolved from his own inner consciousness. As has been pointed out by my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson), who has just sat down, he did not support the views which he put forward upon this subject by any facts whatever, except one single instance. My hon. and gallant Friend has dealt with that matter, and has relieved me from the necessity of saying much upon it. I think the solitary case which he brought forward was one which requires very accurate investigation. It is certainly a very remarkable case, for which, I think, if my right hon. Friend has been rightly informed, it would be very difficult to find a parallel, either in Ireland or in any other country. For what appears to have taken place, if the right hon. Gentleman has been accurately informed, is that an Irish landlord has refused to accept the current years' rent with two years' arrears and a certain amount of law costs, for the sole purpose of obtaining a right in future to extort a rack-rent for seven acres of bad land, with a cottage upon it, which was valued by himself at the rate of £3 12*s.*, and by the Land Commissioners at £1 15*s.* per annum. I do not say that the facts may not have been as they have been reported to my right hon. Friend; but I say it is a very peculiar and a very remarkable case, and I do not think he will find a great many Irish landlords who would have taken a similar course, under similar circumstances. My right hon. Friend has indulged in a disquisition on the uses of arrears, and he appears to think that, for some reason or other, an Irish landlord absolutely delights in arrears, and uses them as a means by which he may defraud his tenantry of the benefits which were designed to be conferred upon them by the Land Act of 1881. My hon. and gallant Friend has dealt with this question also, and upon it I need, therefore, only say a very few words. My right hon. Friend said that tenants may be evicted for arrears, and again, that tenants may be evicted for the rent just due; that they may have been so crippled by arrears that they are unable to meet their engagements for the rent just due. Now, I want my right hon. Friend or some of his Friends to explain for him how a tenant is crippled in the payment of a rent now due by the existence of arrears? What are arrears? They are instalments of rent due in former years which have not been paid. How is the tenant crippled in the payment of last year's rent now due by the fact that he has failed to pay the instalments of rent due in several previous years? That is the way in which my right hon. Friend has dealt with the question of arrears. He has avoided the principle, and he has avoided special cases except this remarkable one, and he has dealt with it from what I venture again to call an *à priori* point of view. The hon. Member for North-East Cork, who spoke last night, and dealt with this question in a different manner, also refused to go into any cases of actual evictions which have taken place on account of arrears. He preferred to deal with the

notices of eviction given under the 7th section of the Act of last year, and to dwell upon the hardship and the deprivation of rights which followed from these notices to a great number of Irish tenants. But the hon. Member altogether forgot to inform the House that those notices of eviction could not be served upon the tenant until the landlord had obtained a decree of the Court. He forgot to inform the House that the Act gave the Court the power of taking the arrears into consideration and postponing their payment, and of ordering their payment by such instalments as to the Court seemed just. Until we know how far this power has been invoked, and how far it has been exercised, and until we know how far those decrees of eviction have been caused by an absolute refusal on the part of tenants to offer any reasonable settlement, or by the refusal on the part of the landlord to accept reasonable offers, it is quite impossible to draw any sound conclusion from the statistics presented to us by the hon. Member last night. I maintain that nothing has been presented to us in the course of the debate which has, in the slightest degree, made it easier to the House to deal with this question of arrears, however important or urgent it may be. The Government and the Unionist Party have never refused to deal with the question of arrears. They have made a proposal upon the question, and the difficulty which has been found has not been an indisposition on the part of either side of the House to face the question; but it has been found in the failure to agree upon the mode in which this question should be dealt with. We failed last year to come to any agreement upon the question. We failed equally in the present year to come to any agreement upon it. It may be deplored that the subject should remain an unsettled question; but surely the whole responsibility does not rest upon one side of the House or the other. The responsibility, if responsibility there is, does not rest solely upon the Government which proposed its own plan, but it must be shared in some degree, at all events, by hon. Members representing Irish constituencies below the Gangway, and by other Gentlemen sitting in this House, who refuse to deal with the question upon any lines except those which commend themselves to their own judgment. I have to ask whether this failure—perhaps unfortunate failure—on the part of the House to arrive at an agreement as to the manner in which the subject of arrears ought to be dealt with ought to constitute a reason why we should refuse to give an answer to the simple question whether the operation of the Land Purchase Act of 1885 should be continued or should be abandoned. Now, Sir, it appears to me that it is a question rather more of administration than of policy. The principle of the Act has already been approved by Parliament. An organization has been created for carrying out the principle proposed by the Government and approved by Parliament. Transactions have been entered into between landlords who are ready to sell and tenants who are anxious to buy. Those transactions are temporarily suspended owing to the want of funds to carry on further operations. Surely the parties to those transactions have a right to know whether the policy which dictated the passing of this Act in 1885 is to be continued, or is to be abandoned? For what reason is it to be abandoned? Has it proved a failure? On the contrary, it is the only experiment—the only successful experiment—which has been tried in the direction of creating a peasant proprietary in Ireland, and of increasing and multiplying the number of occupying owners in Ireland. The policy has formed a part of the legislation of a number of years. It formed a part of the policy of the Irish Church Act. It formed a part of the policy of the Land Act of 1870, and again of 1881; but not one of the proposals contained in those Acts has been fully successful. They have all been more or less, up to the present time, failures. The hon. Member for East Mayo said that those previous experiments had been failures, because the price of land at that time was too high; but there have been other causes for the failure of the experiments. The policy of those Acts required that a considerable portion of money should be found by the tenants, and it was found in practice that this proportion of the money could only be raised at usurious rates, which crippled those who raised them. They have also failed, in part, from the want

of any organization, such as now exists, entirely devoted to carrying out the principle of the Act. They have failed, in part, I believe, through the laudable anxiety of the Treasury, the Board of Works, and other Departments, which have been entrusted with their execution, to take care that no loss should accrue to the Exchequer. But the present Act has been, up to the present time, a success. If that success had been purchased at the cost of any risk to the Exchequer, I should be the last to say that the experiment ought to be continued any further. I should have been the first to say that it ought at once to be abandoned. But it has not been contended, for a moment, in the course of these two nights' discussion, that there is any sensible risk in regard to any portion of the £5,000,000 which have already been advanced, or that there is any prospect of a loss accruing of the £5,000,000 now proposed to be advanced by the House. I should like to ask the House what is the use of trying an experiment if, when it is found to be successful, it is to be abandoned? It ought to be abandoned if it had proved to be an unsuccessful experiment, but what is the use of a successful experiment if it is not prosecuted further? I do not say, for a moment, that the success of this experiment has been such as would warrant the House consenting to its extension to an unlimited extent. I do not say that experience would warrant the House granting £50,000,000, £100,000,000, or £200,000,000 for its further prosecution. My right hon. Friend argued last night that he was debating this question on the assumption that it is to be made the foundation for a great, complete, and final measure, I altogether deny that position. I say that by the continuance, to a limited extent, of the experiment already commenced, the House is committed to no such liability. What may be claimed for the operation of the Act is that it has, to a limited extent, had a beneficial effect: that it has enabled, with mutual satisfaction to both parties, tenants to become the owners of their holdings; that it has elicited the approval of a great number of persons of very different political opinions and differing almost upon every question. It may be claimed for it that it has done this without injustice to anyone, without risk or injury to the British taxpayers or to the British Exchequer. Something more has been accomplished. By the experiment now being carried out experience has been gained and is being gained which cannot fail to be of value in the further consideration by Parliament of this subject. We want to know something more in relation to this question of Irish land purchase than the security and the immunity of the British Exchequer. My right hon. Friend contended last night that under the plan which he proposed in 1886 the security of the British Exchequer would have been completely guarded. But does my right hon. Friend altogether ignore or neglect the consideration of the position of the Irish Exchequer or the Irish taxpayer? If it is probable, as he contended yesterday, that under a great extension of this scheme, either through inability or unwillingness to pay, the British taxpayer might ultimately become involved in very great loss, would not that same risk have been incurred under the plan of my right hon. Friend by the Irish Exchequer and by the Irish taxpayers? Under his own plan, no doubt, it is open to him to contend that the English Exchequer and the English taxpayer would have been secured; but does he think that he is justified in imposing on the Irish Exchequer and the Irish taxpayer a liability which, according to his own showing, is so great and so extremely risky? What is being done under the operation of this Act? The experience we are gaining under the operation of this Act is this. We are gaining experience and information as to the capacity of Irish tenants to make punctual payment of the instalments due from them, and to continue the payment of those instalments. We are gaining information as to the capacity of the Irish tenant to be converted into a prosperous occupying owner. We are gaining information as to whether the beneficial results arising from a process of this description are of a character which warrant Parliament either in imposing some financial risk upon the Imperial Exchequer or upon local resources for the purpose of furthering this policy. We are obtaining in a safe, in a satisfactory, and in a complete manner, experience on all those questions

which cannot fail to be of value to us before we have ventured to embark on any scheme of a more ambitious character, whether such a scheme involves a great extension of the use of Imperial credit, or whether it is based on the use of more limited local credit. I say that that experience which is being gained under the continued operation of this Act is invaluable for all those purposes. It is being gained at no risk, at no loss to any British interests whatever. It is, so far as it has gone, an experiment which has been tried with satisfaction to all parties and all classes in Ireland. It has, to a limited extent, as far as its operations have gone, been attended with pacifying and peaceful influences; and I say that no ground has been shown why this experiment, successful to the extent I have indicated, should be abandoned and should not be further prosecuted. It appears to me that Parliament could be guilty of no more wanton, and I believe of no more mischievous, act, than that in consideration of some end which experience has shown we are, at all events, at present unable to attain, we should abandon the prosecution of a policy which, as far as it has gone, has been attended with unmixed success.

MR. JOHN MORLEY (Newcastle-on-Tyne): Mr. Speaker, I cannot but regret that my noble Friend should have commenced his speech with what—I do not wish to call it an attack—is a series of innuendoes against my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon). Sir, I think that the position of my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo, in point of truthfulness and in point of honour, stands as high as that of any hon. Gentleman in this House. As regards the language which my hon. Friend is charged with using, and which the noble Lord has thought, apparently, to be of so guilty a character—I heard what my hon. Friend said, and I declare I cannot see that he used a single phrase or a single expression which I have not myself heard, in years gone by, used again and again by the leaders of English Trade Unions. I presume, and I have a right to presume, that my hon. Friend the Member for East Mayo meant what the leaders of Trade Unions used to mean—namely, that they would bring to bear *esprit de corps.* [*Laughter on the Ministerial side of the House.*] Well, I cannot see why you should laugh at the notion of tenants having *esprit de corps.* Landlords have enough *esprit de corps.* I will, however, pass on from that episode with the repetition of my regret that the noble Lord should have thought fit to make an insinuation of that kind against the veracity of my hon. Friend. Then, Sir, the noble Lord came to my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), and he made a series of criticisms, the force of which I do not at all wish to disparage, on the position taken up by my right hon. Friend; and he fell upon an expression used by my right hon. Friend last night, to the effect that tenants were crippled by arrears; and the noble Lord said he could not understand how a tenant could be crippled by arrears. How, the noble Lord asked, could he be crippled by not having made a payment that was due? Well, my right hon. Friend, of course, did not mean that he was crippled by the want of the money which he had not paid, but by the fact which, I suppose, even hon. Gentlemen in this House may be able to understand, that a man may owe a debt which he cannot pay, and which he does not pay, and yet which may weigh upon him and hang like a millstone round his neck. If I owe a man £1,000 which he may recover, I am crippled in that respect. In Ireland this expression has a peculiar force and appropriateness, for in Ireland there has long prevailed a vicious habit of keeping alive and piling up arrears, and my right hon. Friend meant, of course, what I presume my noble Friend might have understood, that arrears hung round the tenant's neck and to a very fatal extent crippled his freedom of action. Then the noble Lord came to rather closer quarters and said that this Amendment was, in his view, not a legitimate Amendment to the original Motion. He said that the proposition of the Amendment about arrears might be right or might be wrong, but that the two propositions to deal with arrears or to deal with purchase were not true alternatives. It is quite true that in one sense they are not alternatives, but I submit that they are alternatives in the sense in which my right hon. Friend meant them. They are alternatives in point of time. It is a question, according to the

Amendment of my right hon. Friend, whether the Government should take up arrears, or whether they should take up purchase; and our position is, and the position of my right hon. Friend's Amendment is, that the more urgent question is the question of arrears, and that, therefore, the more urgent question ought not to have been shirked and avoided. The hon. Member for Southport (Mr. Curzon) last night said that he and his Friends did not grudge the time given to this debate. That is a very fine landlord sentiment, but we do grudge the time that is not devoted to dealing with the most urgent grievance that now exists in Ireland. My noble Friend says that he thinks the urgency of arrears has been greatly exaggerated. He, along with the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson), maintained that my right hon. Friend had made no case in support of there being a grievance in connection with arrears. They both said that my right hon. Friend had relied upon an illustration, and upon that illustration they cast some doubt. Sir, it is not in the least necessary to rely upon illustrations. It is not necessary to go one inch behind the position taken up, and the admissions made, by the Government themselves. The Government admitted, in the beginning of this year, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not deny it last night, that there is a question of arrears, and that there is a grievance in connection with arrears that ought to be dealt with; and he goes so far as to say that the Government have a remedy for it. If there were no evil the right hon. Gentleman would not have proposed a remedy. But the noble Lord says—"Oh, you have to share the responsibility for the remedy not having been accepted." What can the noble Lord mean by such an argument? Are you so tender of our feelings that you will pass no measure for Ireland unless you have our sympathy? You are in this position, and it is a most fatal position; you admit the grievance; you admit that arrears are a grievance and a dangerous mischief; you propose a remedy. Then why not insist on your remedy? You have a majority, and the sense of responsibility is wholly and solely yours. I will turn for a moment to the speech of the hon. and gallant Member who preceded the noble Lord in the debate. I was very much surprised and very much pleased to hear the remarks of the hon. and gallant Gentleman upon the line alleged to have been taken by my hon. Friends below the Gangway. He said—it was quite edifying to hear him—"How long were they to submit to non-acquiescence in the law?" The law had been passed, he said, by this Parliament, and yet they made light of it. Why, how many a time has the hon. and gallant Member told the House and the country that he and his Friends will not acquiesce in a particular law, though it should be made by this Parliament? Then the hon. and gallant Member referred, upon the question of land purchase, to the opinion of the right hon. Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain). I shall have occasion to refer to that by and by. He will find that the opinion of that right hon. Gentleman does not make so much in favour of his argument as he supposes. But about the arrears our position is this. It is an urgent question. I am not going to labour the point. But as reference has been made, in the course of this debate, very often to an article by Archbishop Walsh, I should like, as the First Lord of the Admiralty read a passage from that article, to read a passage from it also. If the authority of the Archbishop is given upon one part of the subject, I think we may claim that it is equally good on another. The Archbishop says—

"The arrears incubus is for the moment the essence of the Irish Land Question."

Then he says—

"No one acquainted with the circumstances of this country and anxious for the maintenance of peace within its borders can fail to feel the deepest misgivings as to the perils by which the existence of social order in many districts in Ireland is now seriously threatened—perils which can be averted only by the prompt application of some legislative remedy for the protection of thousands of tenants now helplessly overweighted by excessive rents which they cannot pay, and living from day to day under the terror of evictions impending for non-payment of rent."

If the authority of the Archbishop is to be taken in favour of Lord Ashbourne's Act, we have a right equally to appeal to it in favour of proceeding first of all with arrears before you deal with land purchase. Now, I turn to

the question of land purchase. The noble Lord said truly enough that the Act has been an experiment. But I submit that there has not been anything like length of time enough to test the force and worth of that experiment. I say more than that. I say that the Irish Government themselves—I will show it in a moment—do not know, have not taken the trouble to inform themselves, of facts which are most important to our minds to test this experiment. The other night—about four nights ago—I asked the Chief Secretary if he would give us a Return showing two points—points to which I attached very great importance. Those two points were—first, what was the average number of years' purchase for certain classes of holdings when the rents were under £10, from £10 to £30, and of holdings from £30 to £50? Then I wanted to know what sum had been advanced under each of these heads? The Chief Secretary told me he believed there would be no difficulty in procuring that information for me. I now find—I do not make any complaint of the right hon. Gentleman—that that information cannot be got. But what does that show? It shows that the Irish Government themselves, and the Chief Secretary, when they sat down to frame and devise a land policy for Ireland, came to the conclusion that the true land policy is the extension of Lord Ashbourne's Act; and they came to that conclusion without knowing two particulars of that kind, which anybody acquainted with the Irish Land Question at all will agree are vital to the elucidation of the problem. I hear every day from Ireland various accounts of the artifices and devices which are pursued in the working of this Act. I hear of tenancies being created for the purpose of making the basis of transactions of sale and purchase—and there is now a case pending in the Courts of Dublin, or elsewhere, in which a man is sued for rent, and pleads that the tenancy was a sham one, which was entered into in order to facilitate a purchase and sale. There are plenty of other devices. I was surprised to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer say there was no connection between arrears and land purchase. Why, Sir, the other day, during this month, a Land Commissioner expressly called attention to the fact that the Commissioners had been obliged to make a new rule. And why? Because they had found out that in one case the landlord had taken proceedings to recover one-and-a-half year's rent after an agreement for the sale of an estate. In another case they discovered that negotiations for the sale of an estate were delayed so that a decree might be obtained for arrears of rent. The effect of—I do not know whether to call them fraudulent, but I will say equivocal—transactions of this kind is to depreciate the security upon which the Chancellor of the Exchequer laid so great stress. I do not wish to go into further details. I am submitting to the House that you are going to vote for an extension of this Act upon the basis of an experiment having been successful, when you do not know, and the Government does not know, what the real conditions of the operations have been. There is another point to which I wish to call the noble Lord's attention. He talks of the success of the experiment. Now, the object of the Government in pressing forward land purchase at this moment is what? As I understand it, it is twofold. It is, first of all, to avoid difficulties in the collection of rents; the second is to build up a bulwark of thrifty, prosperous, saving men against future agitations. Well, I want to call the attention of the House to one fact alone which has been given to us as to the distribution of the fund. We have only the figures for the expenditure of £3,294,000. Now, remember that of this sum only £521,000 has been expended in what I call the West of Ireland—that is Connaught; Donegal, in the Province of Ulster, and Kerry and Clare in the Province of Munster. You have, therefore, one-sixth of that fund only expended in the West of Ireland. Now the rural population of the West of Ireland—I call rural population that which dwells outside of places containing 2,000 inhabitants—is 1,270,000, and the rural population of the East of Ireland is 2,658,000. Therefore you have this result,—that twice the population takes five times the amount out of the Ashbourne fund. Of course, I know why that is. It is because the mean value of the land per statute acre is much lower in the West than in the East of Ireland. I know that; but I wish the House to observe what a test this furnishes of the

impression produced by this Act, and of the success of the experiment my noble Friend is contented with. It shows the small impression this Act is producing on the most wretched and the most turbulent part of Ireland, and that part of Ireland which stands most in need of social improvement. I call that a most important fact, and I will quote the evidence of Mr. Lynch, who was examined by Sir James Caird—

"Then you would have the State to buy what is a bad bargain for anybody else?—I do not say it would be a bad bargain. But you must have regard to the state of these districts, which are reservoirs of agitation. As long as you have them, so long will you have Ireland disturbed. It is from these reservoirs that the stream of discontent is carried into the more favoured districts in Ireland, and you must apply some remedy to this state of things."

I submit, Sir, that as far as the evidence goes I have now proved that the experiment is making no real or effective mark in that part of Ireland which gives the Government of Ireland the most concern. When, therefore, the success of the Act is spoken of, I hope that will not be forgotten. It is assumed that because the Act has been maintained for a year or two the experiment must be regarded as a success. Why, the instalments under the Irish Church Act were for a considerable time paid with as much regularity as I have been glad to see the instalments under the Purchase Act have been paid. But the time has been far too short, and you must anticipate the operation of causes which have been constantly foreseen, and they have been foreseen by nobody more clearly than by leading Gentlemen of the two Parties who will go into the Lobby to-night in favour of the Motion for the introduction of the Bill and against the Amendment of my right hon. Friend. To-night the noble Lord opposite the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) referred to a speech and a Motion which he made in 1883. I remember that speech very well. It was made a short time after I got into the House, and I used then to listen to speeches with a simplicity which I have found it difficult to maintain. The noble Lord brought forward a scheme which contained many admirable features, but he prefaced that scheme by these remarks—

"It might, with equal truth, be asserted that few conditions could be more dangerous to Governments than that they should be the creditors of a large portion of their subjects, especially if those so indebted were also politically disaffected towards them. This was the great objection which had hitherto existed against a rapid conversion of tenants into proprietors in Ireland through State agency. To bring the State face to face with hundreds of thousands of tenants to whom the doctrine of repudiation of contract was too familiar would be a perilous condition for all concerned."—(3 *Hansard*, [280] 415.)

The noble Lord has there put, in better language than I could, the very idea in my mind in resisting the proposal to extend Lord Asbourne's Act. The noble Lord was seconded—after founding his Resolution on the proposition that it was a dangerous and perilous state of things to bring the State into immediate contact with hundreds of thousands of disaffected tenants—the noble Lord was seconded by the right hon. Gentleman who is now Chief Secretary for Ireland. As I have already said, the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) referred to the opinions of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain). I heard both to-night and last night lively cheers from my hon. Friend the Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) whenever remarks were made in favour of the Ministerial proposal. Now, I am sure that my hon. Friend is acquainted with *The Birmingham Daily Post*. An article appeared in that paper of distinguished parentage, and what does the writer of the article, or the well-known inspirer of the articles in the paper to which I refer, say? He says—

"A growing expansion of the Ashbourne system of purchase might lead ultimately to a financial transaction, not less extensive, and certainly not less dangerous to security than the scheme embodied in Mr. Gladstone's Bill."

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley): Ultimately.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Then we have the whole machinery of the Unionist mind laid bare in another passage which is very short, and therefore I will venture to read it for the benefit of my hon. Friend and others who agree with him. It says—

"If, yielding to pressure from landowners and Nationalists, the Government decide upon asking Parliament to expend further grants under Lord Ashbourne's Act, the Unionist majority would probably support Ministers in their

proposal, rather than see their position endangered; but such support would be given with reluctance, and with grave apprehensions that there would be little security for the ultimate repayment of the advances, or that purchases so carried out would really aid in establishing the pacification of Ireland."

I do not know how these Gentlemen are going to vote. They are going, I suspect, to support the proposal which they believe to be more dangerous and more expensive and ruinous than the proposal of my right hon. Friend. Yes, Sir; and this is the Party who go about the country and say that there is a great moral gulf which divides them from us. There is a gulf, and their political morality lies at the bottom of it.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS was understood to express dissent.

MR. HALLEY STEWART (Lincolnshire, Spalding): If you wish to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman, go to the other side. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: Do not address me, Sir.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I regret if I have said anything to irritate my hon. Friend.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: Not at all.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: Now, Sir, I should like to say a word in reference to some remarks which fell to-night from my hon. Friend the Member for Northumberland (Sir Edward Grey). I listened to the speech of my hon. Friend with almost as much admiration, I think, as if it had been delivered in favour of our own proposal. It was marked with such excellent taste, and altogether was so honourable a performance, that I regret that there should be, even for a moment, a division between my hon. Friend and myself. I feel pretty sure that it is the last division that there will ever be between us. My hon. Friend, in a perfectly friendly way, challenged me to say whether I still hold that Land Purchase is part of the true policy of dealing with Ireland. Sir, I have no hesitation in answering the question of my hon. Friend. My position on that subject is exactly what it has always been. I have always said that it would be unfair and inexpedient to throw upon an Irish Parliament a question of such deep interests, and so involved with such old passions and with such bitter roots in old historic memories. I am there where I have always been. But although I am for Land Purchase, I am not for Land Purchase at any price, and that is the difference between me and my hon. Friend the Member for Haddingtonshire (Mr. Haldane) who spoke last night. I, at least, dissent—we all dissent—from the method in which it is proposed in Lord Ashbourne's Act to carry out Land Purchase. We object to it because it is dangerous, and I object to it for some other reasons which I hope the House will excuse me for mentioning. I beg the attention of my hon. Friend the Member for Haddingtonshire especially to this point, and perhaps the Chancellor of the Exchequer may possibly consider a question I will venture to put to him. In the Bill of 1886, which throughout this debate has been most persistently misrepresented—in every respect, almost, it has been misrepresented—in the Bill of 1886 there was one particular provision which I desire to call attention to, and that was that the price paid to the landlord was 20 years of the net rental, whereas the price paid by the tenant was 4 per cent of the gross rental. The meaning of that was that the Irish authority received 4 per cent on the gross and it paid 4 per cent on the net, and it pocketed the difference. What is the meaning of that? I am sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer will not be slow to see the meaning of it, and a great principle to which I feel bound to adhere was embodied in that provision. The principle was this—that if you are going, as you are in this measure to-night to resort on a great or moderate scale either to the use of Imperial credit, you are bound to see that though the Irish tenant gets the main benefit, and the larger benefit, yet that that benefit shall not be exclusive, but shall be shared by the whole of the taxpayers of Ireland. It might have been wiser to reserve permanently a portion of the annuity. I will not argue that question now, but I say that your improvident and unreflecting plan resorts abundantly to British credit, without the wholesome and salutary principle which was embodied in our Bill of 1886 that some portion of that great boon should be distributed among the Irish taxpayers at large. I do not approve of the policy of the advances under Lord Ashbourne's Act, because I do not approve of any resort to British credit

which does not contain the principle I have laid down, and I think my two hon. Friends the Members for Northumberland and Haddingtonshire, with whom I so much agree, have failed to notice that a principle of that kind, and so important, is entirely absent from the proposal which they are going to support. It is said that it is only £5,000,000 after all, but it is impossible for anybody to believe for one moment that this can be the end of it. I do not like to say that it cannot be even the intention of the Government that it should be the end of it. I do not think it is any great breach of charity to believe that the Government, in bringing forward this proposal for the extension of Lord Ashbourne's Act, are animated simply and solely by the desire, not of settling the Irish Land Question, but of getting for themselves three smooth years in which coercion may work its perfect way. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said last night, as he very often says—"We do not regard this proposal as the redemption of the pledges we made to Parliament and to the country." But I want to know what the Government, then, are waiting for? Why do they wait? We have heard that for two years and nearly a half they have been preparing —sometimes that they have already prepared—a scheme for the comprehensive settlement of the Land Question. Why do not they produce it? If they do not produce it now, we may depend upon it if they get these £5,000,000 to carry them on for three years to come, we shall never see their land scheme, and, without suspecting too much, I myself do not believe that that land scheme is in existence, even in the minds of right hon. Gentlemen opposite. That is one reason why I vote against this measure; and by voting for it you are voting for the indefinite postponement of the real settlement of the Irish Land Question; you are embarking upon an experiment most hazardous in itself; you are committing Parliament to an indefinite expenditure on utterly false and erroneous principles, and, in order to do that, you are neglecting the one thing it is important you should do in the interests both of justice and of social order—namely, the grievance connected with arrears. For these reasons, Mr. Speaker, I for one shall, without the slightest hesitation, go into the Lobby as a means of indicating two things—first, that arrears ought to be dealt with; and, secondly, that I can never be a party to the expenditure of £1,000,000, £2,000,000, or £3,000,000. Of course, I might, for a moment, have assented to £1,000,000 or £2,000,000. [*A laugh.*] There is no inconsistency in that. I would have assented with my right hon. Friend to a temporary extension of the Act to enable the Government to bring in their scheme, if they had any scheme; and, as they have no scheme, I, for one, wish to protest, in the most strenuous manner of which I am capable, against persistence in a policy which is full of hazard to the English taxpayer, and which will not conduce by one atom to the real pacification of Ireland.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): Mr. Speaker, I have no intention, Sir, of continuing the debate by attempting to answer the right hon. Gentleman who has claimed the right to reply upon the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. I shall not attempt to follow him in the remarks he has made. But there is one remark which fell from the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian which calls for a few observations from me which I trust the House will allow me to make. The right hon. Gentleman made a pointed reference to me in regard to the discussion which took place when it was my duty on the 10th of July to ask for the whole time of the House in order that its Business might be properly transacted. I was told yesterday by the right hon. Gentleman that I then made no reference to the proposal which the Government have now made to the House for the extension of the Land Purchase Act, commonly known as Lord Ashbourne's Act. I was told that I had broken a pledge and a Parliamentary obligation. Now, there is nothing I regard as more binding upon any hon. Member of this House than any Parliamentary obligation he may make. It is necessary that these obligations should be most strictly and honourably observed by all, and especially by those who are responsible for the conduct of the Business of the House. But I am sure that the right hon. Gentleman, when he made the charge, was himself forgetful of the fact that on the 10th of July,

when I made the statement, I referred particularly to the Land Purchase Act as a proposal which would require the consideration of this House. I will refer to the words which I then used, and which are reported in *Hansard*. I stated that it would be the duty of the House, in regard to the Land Purchase Act, to deal with it in the Autumn Session. On the 12th of July, when I was challenged by the right hon. Gentleman with not having made an explicit statement with regard to the Land Purchase Act, I again repeated the statement that it would be the duty of the Government to invite the House to consider this proposal in the Autumn. I make these observations in order to make the matter quite clear. But I am told by the right hon. Gentleman that the Opposition is now prepared to grant a further extention—a limited extension—of funds for the purposes of the Land Purchase Act if that had only been asked. My right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated to the House yesterday that I had taken the usual course to ascertain what the views of the Opposition were with regard to such limited extension of the Ashbourne Act as might be sufficient to carry us over to the next Session of Parliament. I had taken that course with the earnest desire of obtaining from the House the facilities necessary for keeping alive the Act and to give us the amount necessary to ride over the interval, so that Parliament might be able to consider the question in the early part of next Session. But I was told, in reply, by those who were capable of conveying to me the opinion of the Opposition, that, consistently with the views they entertained, they could not agree to any further grant, however limited, during the remainder of the present Session. That communication was made to me on the 13th of July; therefore there was no alternative open to us but to continue in the course we then indicated, and which we are now forced to take—namely, to ask the House to provide a sufficient sum to enable the operation of the Act to continue. I have thought it desirable to make this statement, in order to put myself right with the House. I refrain from entering into a defence of the Act until we come to another stage of the Bill; but I am quite satisfied of this—that we shall be able to give abundant reasons for the continuance of a course which has been, I believe, beneficial to the best interests of Ireland, which has given hope to a large number of tenant occupiers in that country, and which will, I have no doubt, result in advantage to the United Kingdom.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 330; Noes 246: Majority 84.

AYES.

Addison, J. E. W.
Agg-Gardner, J. T.
Aird, J.
Allsopp, hon. G.
Allsopp, hon. P.
Ambrose, W.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Anstruther, Colonel R. H. L.
Anstruther, H. T.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Baden-Powell, Sir G. S.
Bailey, Sir J. R.
Baird, J. G. A.
Balfour, G. W.
Banes, Major G. E.
Barclay, J. W.
Baring, Viscount
Baring, T. C.
Barnes, A.
Barry, A. H. S.
Bartley, G. C. T.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bass, H.
Bates, Sir E.
Baumann, A. A.
Bazley-White, J.
Beach, W. W. B.
Beadel, W. J.
Beaumont, H. F.
Beckett, E. W.
Beckett, W.
Bective, Earl of
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Bentinck, Lord H. C.
Beresford, Lord C. W. de la Poer
Bethell, Commander G. R.
Biddulph, M.
Bigwood, J.
Birkbeck, Sir E.
Blundell, Col. H. B. H.
Bolitho, T. B.
Bond, G. H.
Bonsor, H. C. O.
Boord, T. W.
Borthwick, Sir A.
Bristowe, T. L.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brookfield, A. M.
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, Lord H.
Burdett-Coutts, W. L. Ash.-B.
Burghley, Lord
Caldwell, J.
Campbell, Sir A.
Campbell, J. A.
Carmarthen, Marq. of
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, R.
Chaplin, right hon. H.
Charrington, S.
Churchill, rt. hn. Lord R. H. S.
Clarke, Sir E. G.
Cochrane-Baillie, hon. C. W. A. N.
Coddington, W.
Coghill, D. H.
Collings, J.
Colomb, Sir J. C. R.
Compton, F.
Cooke, C. W. R.
Corbett, A. C.
Corbett, J.
Corry, Sir J. P.
Cotton, Capt. E. T. D.
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, H. S.
Cross, W. H.
Crossley, Sir S. B.
Crossman, Gen. Sir W.
Cubitt, right hon. G.
Currie, Sir D.
Curzon, Viscount
Curzon, hon. G. N.
Dalrymple, Sir C.
Darling, C. J.
Darling, M. T. S.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
De Lisle, E. J. L. M. P.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dimsdale, Baron R.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Dugdale, J. S.
Duncombe, A.
Dyke, right hon. Sir W. H.
Ebrington, Viscount
Egerton, hon. A. J. F.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, Sir G.
Elliot, hon. H. F. H.
Elliot, G. W.
Ellis, Sir J. W.
Elton, C. I.
Ewart, Sir W.

Ewing, Sir A. O.
Eyre, Colonel H.
Farquharson, H. R.
Feilden, Lt.-Gen. R. J.
Fellowes, A. E.
Fergusson, right hon. Sir J.
Field, Admiral E.
Fielden, T.
Finch, G. H.
Finlay, R. B.
Fisher, W. H.
Fitzgerald, R. U. P.
Fitzwilliam, hon. W. H. W.
Fitzwilliam, hon. W. J. W.
Fitz-Wygram, General Sir F. W.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Folkestone, right hon. Viscount
Forwood, A. B.
Fowler, Sir R. N.
Fraser, General C. C.
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. A. E.
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. J. S.
Gedge, S.
Giles, A.
Gilliat, J. S.
Godson, A. F.
Goldsmid, Sir J.
Goldsworthy, Major General W. T.
Gorst, Sir J. E.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Granby, Marquess of
Gray, C. W.
Green, Sir E.
Greenall, Sir G.
Greene, E.
Grey, Sir E.
Grimston, Viscount
Grotrian, F. B.
Gunter, Colonel R.
Haldane, R. B.
Hall, A. W.
Hall, C.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G. F.
Hamilton, Lord E.
Hamilton, Col. C. E.
Hamley, Gen. Sir E. B.
Hanbury, R. W.
Hankey, F. A.
Hardcastle, E.
Hardcastle, F.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Havelock-Allan, Sir H. M.
Heath, A. R.
Heathcote, Capt. J. H. Edwards-
Heaton, J. H.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hermon-Hodge, R. T.
Hervey, Lord F.
Hill, right hon. Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Hoare, E. B.
Hoare, S.
Hobhouse, H.
Holloway, G.
Houldsworth, Sir W. H.
Howard, J.
Howorth, H. H.
Hozier, J. H. C.
Hubbard, hon. E.
Hughes, Colonel E.
Hunt, F. S.
Hunter, Sir W. G.
Isaacs, L. H.
Isaacson, F. W.
Jackson, W. L.
James, rt. hon. Sir H.
Jardine, Sir R.
Jarvis, A. W.
Jennings, L. J.
Johnston, W.
Kelly, J. R.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenrick, W.
Kenyon, hon. G. T.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.
Ker, R. W. B.
Kerans, F. H.
Kimber, H.
King, H. S.
Knatchbull-Hugessen, H. T.
Knightley, Sir R.
Knowles, L.
Lafone, A.
Lambert, C.
Laurie, Colonel R. P.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir J. J. T.
Lawrence, W. F.
Lea, T.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Legh, T. W.
Leighton, S.
Lennox, Lord W. C. Gordon-
Lethbridge, Sir R.
Lewisham, right hon. Viscount
Llewellyn, E. H.
Long, W. H.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lymington, Viscount
Macartney, W. G. E.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Maclean, F. W.
Maclean, J. M.
Maclure, J. W.
M'Calmont, Captain J.
Madden, D. H.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Malcolm, Col. J. W.
Mallock, R.
Maple, J. B.
Marriott, rt. hon. Sir W. T.
Maskelyne, M. H. N. Story-
Matthews, rt. hon. H.
Mattinson, M. W.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mayne, Admiral R. C.
Mildmay, F. B.
Mills, hon. C. W.
Milvain, T.
More, R. J.
Morgan, hon. F.
Morrison, W.
Moss, R.
Mount, W. G.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Mowbray, R. G. C.
Mulholland, H. L.
Muncaster, Lord
Muntz, P. A.
Murdoch, C. T.
Newark, Viscount
Noble, W.
Norris, E. S.
Northcote, hon. Sir H. S.
Norton, R.
O'Neill, hon. R. T.
Paget, Sir R. H.
Parker, hon. F.
Pelly, Sir L.
Penton, Captain F. T.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Plunkett, hon. J. W.
Pomfret, W. P.
Powell, F. S.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, Sir J. H.
Quilter, W. C.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Rasch, Major F. C.
Richardson, T.
Ritchie, rt. hn. C. T.
Robertson, Sir W. T.
Robertson, J. P. B.
Robinson, B.
Rollit, Sir A. K.
Ross, A. H.
Rothschild, Baron F. J. de
Round, J.
Royden, T. B.
Russell, Sir G.
Russell, T. W.
Salt, T.
Sandys, Lt.-Col. T. M.
Saunderson, Col. E. J.
Selwin-Ibbetson, rt. hon. Sir H. J.
Seton-Karr, H.
Shaw-Stewart, M. H.
Sidebotham, J. W.
Sidebottom, T. H.
Sidebottom, W.
Sinclair, W. P.
Smith, right hon. W. H.
Smith, A.
Spencer, J. E.
Stanhope, rt. hon. E.
Stanley, E. J.
Stephens, H. C.
Stewart, M. J.
Stokes, G. G.
Talbot, J. G.
Tapling, T. K.
Taylor, F.
Temple, Sir R.
Theobald, J.
Thorburn, W.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Townsend, F.
Tyler, Sir H. W.
Vincent, C. E. H.
Walsh, hon. A. H. J.
Waring, Colonel T.
Watson, J.
Webster, Sir R. E.
Webster, R. G.
West, Colonel W. C.
Weymouth, Viscount
Wharton, J. L.
Whitley, E.
Whitmore, C. A.
Wiggin, H.
Williams, J. Powell-
Wilson, Sir S.
Winn, hon. R.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Wood, N.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wright, H. S.
Wroughton, P.
Yerburgh, R. A.
Young, C. E. B.

TELLERS.

Douglas, A. Akers-
Walrond, Col. W. H.

NOES.

Abraham, W. (Glam.)
Abraham, W. (Limerick, W.)
Acland, A. H. D.
Acland, C. T. D.
Allison, R. A.
Anderson, C. H.
Asher, A.
Asquith, H. H.
Atherley-Jones, L.
Austin, J.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Balfour, Sir G.
Ballantine, W. H. W.
Barbour, W. B.
Barran, J.
Biggar, J. G.
Bolton, J. C.
Bolton, T. D.
Bradlaugh, C.
Bright, Jacob
Bright, W. L.
Broadhurst, H.
Brown, A. L.
Brunner, J. T.
Burt, T.
Buxton, S. C.
Byrne, G. M.
Cameron, C.
Cameron, J. M.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, H.
Campbell-Bannerman, right hon. H.

Carew, J. L.
Causton, R. K.
Channing, F. A.
Childers, right hon. H. C. E.
Clancy, J. J.
Clark, Dr. G. B.
Cobb, H. P.
Coleridge, hon. B.
Colman, J. J.
Commins, A.
Condon, T. J.
Conway, M.
Conybeare, C. A. V
Corbet, W. J.
Cossham, H.
Cox, J. R.
Cozens-Hardy, H. H.
Craig, J.
Craven, J.
Crawford, D.
Cremer, W. R.
Crilly, D.
Crossley, E.
Davies, W.
Deasy, J.
Dickson, T. A.
Dillon, J.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Duff, R. W.
Ellis, J. E.
Ellis, T. E.
Esmonde, Sir T. H. G.
Esslemont, P.
Evans, F. H.
Evershed, S.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fenwick, C.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro-
Finucane, J.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzgerald, J. G.
Flower, C.
Flynn, J. C.
Foley, P. J.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Foster, Sir W. B.
Fowler, rt. hon. H. H.
Fox, Dr. J. F.
Fry, T.
Gardner, H.
Gaskell, C. G. Milnes-
Gilhooly, J.
Gill, T. P.
Gladstone, right hon. W. E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gourley, E. T.
Graham, R. C.
Grove, Sir T. F.
Gully, W. C.
Hanbury-Tracy, hon. F. S. A.
Harcourt, rt. hon. Sir W. G. V. V.
Harrington, E.
Harrington, T. C.
Harris, M.
Hayden, L. P.
Hayne, C. Seale-
Holden, I.
Hooper, J.
Howell, G.
Hoyle, I.
Hunter, W. A.
Illingworth, A.
Jacoby, J. A.
James, hon. W. H.
Joicey, J.
Jordan, J.
Kay-Shuttleworth, rt. hon. Sir U. J.
Kenny, C. S.
Kenny, J. E.
Kenny, M. J.
Kilbride, D.
Labouchere, H.
Lalor, R.
Lane, W. J.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lawson, H. L. W.
Leahy, J.
Leake, R.
Leamy, E.
Lefevre, right hon. G. J. S.
Lewis, T. P.
Lockwood, F.
Lyell, L.
Macdonald, W. A.
MacInnes, M.
Mac Neill, J. G. S.
M'Arthur, A.
M'Arthur, W. A.
M'Cartan, M.
M'Carthy, J.
M'Donald, P.
M'Donald, Dr. R.
M'Ewan, W.
M'Lagan, P.
Mahony, P.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, Sir F. T.
Marum, E. M.
Mayne, T.
Menzies, R. S.
Molloy, B. C.
Montagu, S.
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morgan, O. V.
Morgan, W. P.
Morley, rt. hon. J.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
Murphy, W. M.
Neville, R.
Newnes, G.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
Nolan, J.
O'Brien, J. F. X.
O'Brien, P.
O'Brien, P. J.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, J.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Doherty, J. E.
O'Gorman Mahon, The
O'Hanlon, T.
O'Hea, P.
O'Keeffe, F. A.
Oldroyd, M.
Palmer, Sir C. M.
Parker, C. S.
Parnell, C. S.
Paulton, J. M.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Pease, A. E.
Pease, H. F.
Philipps, J. W.
Pickersgill, E. H.
Pinkerton, J.
Playfair, right hon. Sir L.
Plowden, Sir W. C.
Potter, T. B.
Power, P. J.
Power, R.
Price, T. P.
Priestley, B.
Provand, A. D.
Quinn, T.
Randell, D.
Redmond, J. E.
Redmond, W. H. K.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Rendel, S.
Reynolds, W. J.
Roberts, J.
Roberts, J. B.
Robertson, E.
Robinson, T.
Roe, T.
Roscoe, Sir H. E.
Rowlands, J.
Rowlands, W. B.
Rowntree, J.
Russell, Sir C.
Samuelson, G. B.
Schwann, C. E.
Sexton, T.
Shaw, T.
Sheehy, D.
Sheil, E.
Sinclair, J.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stack, J.
Stanhope, hon. P. J.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stepney - Cowell, Sir A. K.
Stevenson, F. S.
Stewart, H.
Stuart, J.
Sullivan, D.
Sullivan, T. D.
Summers, W.
Swinburne, Sir J.
Tanner, C. K.
Thomas, A.
Thomas, D. A.
Trevelyan, right hon. Sir G. O.
Tuite, J.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Waddy, S. D.
Wallace, R.
Wardle, H.
Warmington, C. M.
Wayman, T.
Whitbread, S.
Will, J. S.
Williams, A. J.
Williamson, J.
Williamson, S.
Wilson, C. H.
Wilson, H. J.
Wilson, I.
Winterbotham, A. B.
Woodall, W.
Woodhead, J.
Wright, C.

TELLERS.
Marjoribanks, rt. hon. E.
Morley, A.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill further to facilitate the Purchase of Land in Ireland by increasing the amount applicable for that purpose by the Land Commission *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, and Mr. Secretary Matthews.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 385.]

House adjourned at half after Twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 21st November, 1888.

MINUTES.] — New Writ Issued — *For* Finsbury (Holborn Division), *v.* Colonel Francis Duncan, deceased.

Public Bills—*Second Reading*—Land Purchase (Ireland) [385], *debate adjourned.*

Committee—Liquor Traffic (Local Veto) (Scotland) [106]—R.P.
Withdrawn—Legitim Law Amendment (Scotland)* [311].

QUESTIONS.

—o—

CRIMINAL LAW—ALLEGED OUTRAGE IN WHITECHAPEL.

MR. J. ROWLANDS (Finsbury, E.) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether there was any truth in a report in the evening papers that there had been another murder of a woman in Whitechapel?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. STUART-WORTLEY) (Sheffield, Hallam): I believe the Home Secretary will be in the House in a minute or two, and perhaps an opportunity may be found of repeating the Question at a later stage.

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

A POINT OF ORDER.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he would lay on the Table any precedents for the course he had pursued in ordering the Bill to be printed before it had been read a first time?

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): No, Sir; I do not think it necessary to do so.

MR. CONYBEARE: Then I shall move for a Return.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Cumberland, Cockermouth): It would be better to ask you, Sir, whether it is in Order to get a Bill printed before the first reading?

MR. SPEAKER: There is no breach of Order.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

LAND PURCHASE IRELAND BILL.

(Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Secretary Matthews.)

[BILL 382.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—*(Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.)*

MR. LABOUCHERE (Northampton) in rising to move that the Bill be read a second time that day three months, said, he thought the House had a right to complain of the precipitate way in which the Bill was being hurried through the House. Although there might be one or two precedents, it was not a usual thing to print a Bill before the assent of the House had been given, particularly as the Bill bore upon the face of it the statement that it had been printed by Order of the House. It was also not usual, except in cases of emergency, to insist upon all the stages of a Bill being taken without some intervals between them. He had not heard yet why this course was being pursued. There was no urgency; nobody could pretend that this haste was necessary, that there was any reason why the Bill should be passed this week instead of next. He supposed the sole reason for hurry was that the Ministry were anxious that the country should not have an opportunity of considering the Bill; they wanted to force it through before the country had had an opportunity of looking into it. It was true that some of the Opposition had been in favour of land purchase when the county cess stood between the individual purchaser and the Exchequer. It was also true that the Leader of the Opposition had proposed a large scheme, but in that the entire revenue of Ireland stood between the State and the Individual tenant. He and others had always been against the principle of land purchase with an Imperial guarantee. But his objections were not founded wholly on the demerits of this Bill. He denied that Parliament had the right to legislate on this question. In 1886 the Liberal Party lost the election simply because a Land Purchase Bill accompanied the Home Rule Bill. He verily believed they would have gained a majority in favour of Home Rule if to Home Rule had not been added the Land Bill, which the country could not be got sufficiently to understand. The Conservatives and Liberal Unionists knew this, and they were perpetually urging as a reason for electing them that they were opposed to this species of land purchase. On both sides they were almost all pledged against any land purchase by Parliament. But supposing the House had a mandate

from the country to deal with the question, he should still be against this proposal, on the broad and general principle that he was opposed to all Imperial guarantees in regard to purchase of land in Ireland which involved any species of liability, direct or indirect, on the part of the British taxpayer. It was said that the liability was merely nominal; but there was no such thing as a guarantee with nominal liability. A guarantee did involve liability; the landlords were perfectly aware of it; and they would not sell their land on the proposed terms to the tenants on the mere assurance of the tenants that the purchase-money would be paid off in 50 years. They knew perfectly well what the guarantee meant, and who would have to pay the money if the tenant did not. If 12 or 15 years ago a Bill like this had been proposed, a nice mess the country would have been in, for land would have been bought at a value which it did not now possess. And could we be certain that land would not fall in value as much during the next 15 years as it had fallen during the last 12 years; and might it not fall still lower in 50 years? If it continued to fall through a succession of bad years, it was obvious that we should not be able to get rent from the tenants—at least, not consistently with the general opinion of what rent ought to be. It was admitted that the first charge upon land was enough of its produce to enable the occupier to live and thrive, and that rent was only the margin over and above this first charge. Until a tenant could live and pay interest on improvements and buildings we could not ask him for a farthing of rent. The tenant-right was no additional security, because the State could not sell it without evicting the tenant; and he would not envy the person who bought the tenant-right under the conditions. It was impossible to get a tenant for a farm from which the tenant had been evicted; and if you were to evict a tenant for not being able to pay in bad times you would not be able to sell his tenant-right for anything. The tenant-right, therefore, was no security for the country. The tenant-right meant the value of the improvements made and the buildings erected by the tenant. What, he might ask, were they buying? They were buying the bare land, and, according to this principle, the value of Irish land was greater than that of English land. Even supposing that the tenant-right was good security, that there would be no bad times, and no falling in value, what would they do supposing there was a general combination against evictions in Ireland? Did they tell him they could evict the whole of Ireland? If they did, whom would they get to cultivate it? They would have to accept the circumstances and not get any rent. What did the Irish Members tell them? They said there might possibly be this combination. The Irish people might say they would stop the steady drain of money from their country to England, and he was not sure, if he were an Irish tenant, he would not take that view. One of the curses of Ireland had been a land hunger, which led the people to pay more than the land was worth. This land hunger existed in France, where to purchase land people borrowed at 7 and 8 per cent, the land itself only paying 3 per cent. But in Ireland, in addition to this land hunger, they had the tenants coerced and bullied into purchase. He wanted to know why the English taxpayer had to incur any great risk for any tenant or Irish landlord. Why was it not to be applied to English agriculture? Why limit it to agriculture? Why not apply it to mines? The whole thing was a gross injustice upon the English taxpayer. The plan must also be injurious to Ireland. What Ireland had long complained of was the great mass of absentee landlords—the country always being drained of its rent, which was taken elsewhere. But they were now inaugurating a gigantic system of absenteeism. The Consols would gravitate to London. If the Government carried out their own principles, if they obtained £5,000,000 after £5,000,000 and converted all the occupants of land into landowners, paying out all the existing Irish landowners, he defied Ireland to economically and financially exist under such circumstances. What would be the effect on England if money was in this way taken out of it and carried to France? It would be fatal. The Empire would be ruined. But Ireland was a poor country, and in a few years it must be utterly ruined. It was said, "Oh, it will only last for 50 years!"

Mr. Labouchere

but 50 years was a long time—quite long enough to ruin a country. He was a practical politician. Well, the Irish landlords were very practical politicians. It was sufficient for him if they could carry on during their own lives; he would leave posterity to care of themselves. The strongest advocates of this Bill, of this plan, were the strongest opponents of Home Rule; and one hon. Gentleman was kind enough to tell them that the plan was antagonistic to the National League. He perfectly understood that it was. But they were to be made under this plan the mortgagees of all Ireland. They were to be the man in possession. They would say—"We cannot give them Home Rule, because we must see that we get the money that is owing to us." If it were shown that the Irish people were in the position of friends of ours, who were in the hands of brigands, and had to be ransomed from the brigands, then he could understand that, looking to our numerous sins with regard to Ireland, we should be obliged to say—"The brigands will cut their throats. We must buy out these people, who only know one argument—their own dirty, sordid interests." That was the basis of the Land Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), who never pretended for a moment that he was in favour of land purchase. He regretted the offer that the right hon. Gentleman made to the landlords. He did not think it was necessary. He was convinced that Home Rule would be carried on its own merits. They should vote down the Irish landlords, and should not have to buy them out. Until Home Rule was carried, he did not wish to hear anything about land purchase. For his part, he thought that any scheme of Home Rule ought to include the right of the Irish Parliament to deal as it pleased with the Land Question, subject, as in the United States, to the proviso that existing contracts could not be altered without the assent of the contractors. It was said the Irish would not act fairly in regard to the land. He could understand that from those who had no confidence in local government; but if they acted fairly with regard to the Empire, surely it was a minor thing to suppose they would act fairly in regard to the landlords. The real thing at the bottom of the question was the old absurd notion that there was something specially sacred in regard to land which did not apply to any other kind of property. He held that this was unquestionably a landlords' Relief Bill. An hon. Friend the Member for one of the Divisions of Northumberland denied that this was a Bill for the particular advantage of the landlord, because he got a *quid pro quo;* but he (Mr. Labouchere) said it was because the *quo* was not equal to the *quid.* No one would buy land in Ireland, and the State stepped in to do so. He treated the cry about the mortgagees with absolute and utter contempt. He had seen a list of a very considerable number of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists who either had properties in Ireland or whose relatives had property in Ireland. It would have been infinitely more decent if these Gentlemen had walked out of the House and not voted last night. What did they see? The exponent of this policy was the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton), who was brother of the Duke of Abercorn, who was drawing £41,000 a-year from Irish estates; but the Duke of Abercorn had gained £200,000 of the original £5,000,000 voted. He presumed that he had gained in his income; but even if he had not, he had comfortably exchanged the somewhat risky income from Irish land, or a portion of it, for the sweet and comfortable simplicity of the Three per Cents. Then they had the Leader of the Liberal Unionists the noble Marquess the Member for Rossendale (the Marquess of Hartington), whose father, the Duke of Devonshire, got £90,000 a-year from Ireland. [An hon. MEMBER: And does not spend a penny of it there.] He dared say that was true. That sum, at 15 years' purchase, he estimated at £1,350,000. Perhaps he did not get it all at present, but say he got £30,000 a-year, and if the noble Marquess was to inherit it, would it not have been infinitely more decent if the noble Lord had declined to vote on this question? But it was thoroughly indecent on his part to get up and make a speech in favour of it. The Irish landlords were the last class in the whole world who had a right to claim that a sacrifice ought to be made for them by the taxpayer. Their greed

had been the primary cause of all the agrarian troubles in Ireland. They had the greed brought home to them by the Land Courts, and they had been convicted all over Ireland of exacting excessive rents. Why, the Irish tenants had paid time and again for their farms, and now because the landlords could no longer go on exacting unfair rents, they came sponging to the British taxpayer as if they had a natural, a sacred, and an inherent right to rob somebody. He opposed this Bill because he was against all Imperial guarantee involving any sort of liability on the British taxpayer, and he said it would be foolish and wrong to take this responsibility for the sake of the Irish landlords. The hon. Member concluded by moving that the Bill be read a second time that day three months.

Dr. CLARK (Caithness) seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question, to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. BRADLAUGH (Northampton) said, his chief objection to this Land Bill was that it was nothing more nor less than an attempt at avoidance, and he was afraid it might be a successful attempt at avoidance, by Her Majesty's Government of the propounding of any real scheme for the settlement of the land difficulty in Ireland. He would ask hon. Gentlemen opposite to consider whether it was wise to insist on such an avoidance by a measure which could only give satisfaction to comparatively few people, and give an excuse for the continuance in Ireland of a system of coercion which was demoralizing alike to those who enforced it and to those against whom it was enforced. How was it that Her Majesty's Government were now in office? It was because of the concessions, which many Radicals thought too large, but which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian deemed it his duty to make to the landlord class. It was because those concessions were made use of by men who declared themselves in favour of some scheme for solving the problem of a degrading misery, and yet with great vigour of vituperation and unscrupulousness, for the purpose of breaking up the Liberal and the Radical Party, attacked the right hon. Gentleman's land proposals, although the concessions were made for the purpose of uniting all classes of the House and the country in an experiment intended to produce peace and tranquillity in Ireland. No one could read the history of the transactions of the last few years, with any knowledge of what had taken place in the preceding century or half century, without seeing that a state of things had grown up in Ireland with which it was impossible to deal without wounding the feelings of many Liberals and Radicals, and without making concessions which they would not otherwise think it their duty to make. This short Bill could not be discussed without looking to the Act which it again brought to our notice. There were one or two points in connection with it which were so serious that he would ask the attention of the House to them. In an experiment affecting £5,000,000 we might well leave the Land Commission to do things—hoping they would do them honestly, justly, and wisely—which Parliament would never intrust to them if it were known that the £5,000,000 were to be swelled into £10,000,000, and that into £20,000,000, and that into £40,000,000 or £60,000,000. Here Parliament was intrusting to this Commission to give the landlords a price which no purchaser would pay under proper conditions, although the hunger for land might induce the tenant to pay it when the money came out of the pocket of some one else. The desire for land was shown in the struggles in France, but there, if a mistake was made, the consequence fell upon the purchaser. Here, if there should be a mistake upon a large scale, it was the country which would have to bear the loss, or you put the State in the position of an execution creditor against debtors, perhaps, numbering scores of thousands, if the experiment were to be of any real value, and thus you were provoking the possibility of a political struggle of immense magnitude. The security of the 20 per cent deposit might be utterly illusory. There might be a dishonest contrivance between the tenant and the landlord. Landlords were not all honest, and the landlords' Representatives urged in that House

that many of the Irish tenants were dishonest and entered into combinations and conspiracies not to pay what they owed. How, then, could Ministers come to that House and ask for facilities to enable men whom they themselves described as dishonest to make dishonest bargains? Since Lord Ashbourne's Act was passed, the amount which men could realize upon investments in Consolidated Stock had become less than what the State had agreed to pay. Why pay the British taxpayer less than you gave to the Irish landlord, who had lent you nothing? It was said that the success of the experiment justified Her Majesty's Government in asking the House for its extension. He held the reverse. He had always held it a most dangerous thing for any Government to teach the subjects of the State in ordinary cases to come to the State for relief. He agreed that the Government had done so much wrong in Ireland for so long a period that there was an obligation which did not belong to the ordinary relations between a Government and the subjects whom they controlled. But what would they say if the Scotch asked for aid too? There was pressure there, and danger there. What would they say if the English agricultural labourer asked for it too? If they would give equal treatment to the Scotch crofter, the English agricultural labourer, and the Irish agriculturist, he could understand their plea, but it was not for Scotch crofters, English agricultural labourers, or even Irish agriculturists that the Government were pleading; they were pleading that landlords should have a preferential claim over other classes in the country. One of the greatest dangers of modern politics was the idea that the State had a huge purse into which it might dip or a magic wand which it might wield. It had nothing of the kind; and if they were going to relieve these landlords out of the earnings of the Lancashire weavers, and those of the miners of Northumberland and Durham, and all classes of the United Kingdom, they should at least have the courage to say how far they would go. It would not be hard to raise a storm in the country which might move even Her Majesty's Government, if it were shown that, without any emergency, the State was opening its purse for the relief of a class, for this relief to the few would plunge into greater despair the hundreds of thousands who could have no share in those £10,000,000. He should be wanting in his duty to those for whom he had a right to speak, if he did not make a protest against that course. The Government did not pretend that they wanted the £5,000,000 which they now asked to enable them to get through the winter, or to apply to cases where the necessity was sharpest. As he understood it the money would go to those who needed it least, so that the Government intended to irritate those who were suffering most by helping those who were suffering least. Why should the Land Commission make the advance of the whole? If the advance were not too much it could be done by private enterprize. ["Oh!"] Some one said "Oh!" but it was done in this country over and over again. It was the ordinary procedure of building societies. It might be said that the operation was so great that ordinary combinations of a few men were not large enough to meet the present case; but that was no answer, because if the operation were safe they would have large societies, like assurance societies, ready to enter into it at once. The truth was that a small class of men had taken advantage of that land-hunger to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer and others had alluded, and had extorted from despair and misery a higher price for the right to struggle for life than any human beings could reasonably be expected to pay. Rents had so gone up that no sane man would advance money for purchase on the basis of the ordinary calculations that would apply to the bare purchase in such a case. The Government dare not quarrel with the landlords. They preferred to tax more a long-suffering people. Was it wise? In France, in Germany, in Italy—he would not speak of Russia—there were murmurings and claims that it would be difficult to withstand in this country unless the Government were wise when they could be. If they were to make a bankrupt landlord solvent, why not the poor wretches who met in Hyde Park, or anywhere else? In France it was found so easy to make a little concession now and then to appease the clamorous until the difficulty of the financial position became so great that no statesman could

grapple with it. In Germany it was being played with by those who thought they were strong enough to govern; but Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench were neither Bismarcks nor had they the genius or aptitude of statesmanship. They are only the accidents of a few Liberal and Radical deserters, and if they intended to bow in turn to every breath of wind against them, they would leave a legacy of huge difficulty for any reasonable statesman who might follow them, and who spoke with a desire to save his country.

MR. HOWORTH (Salford, S.) said, he thought it opportune that one who represented a great artizan constituency in the North of England should take part in this debate, not only because it was a question affecting the British taxpayer quite as much as it was an Irish question, but because many on that side of the House had exchanged views with their constituents on the subject. There were two phases of the debate which were exceedingly grateful. One was that a debate on an Irish question should be based so very largely on economical rather than on political grounds. The other was that in the course which had been adopted by the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian they had had a very large and welcome concession to those Members sitting on the Ministerial side of the House who were pledged, and who meant to keep their pledges, that as soon as might be Parliament should apply to Ireland other than merely negative remedies. Hitherto, the right hon. Gentleman in many of his speeches, echoed by his followers, had laid it down that that was not the proper tribunal for the discussion and passage of measures to remedy Irish grievances and Irish wrongs. That view seemed to him and to many others to be a hopeless view, when they considered that, whatever were the merits of Home Rule, it was at all events at present in the very distant horizon; and if they were to postpone adapting legislation to Irish needs until Home Rule was granted, they would virtually be postponing any remedial measures in Ireland to the Greek Kalends. He was exceedingly gratified to hear the right hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), in one sentence in his most temperate and welcome speech on Tuesday, marked by his usual courage and frankness, assert and emphasize the fact that it was the duty of this House, if possible, to remove from that Irish Parliament which he hoped to see founded, at least one of the great difficulties of the position, by passing some measure which should be at once fair to the tenants, and fair to a class which did not always receive fair treatment on the other side of the House—namely, the landlords. The main question before the House was, whether it would be wise or prudent to extend the operation of Lord Ashbourne's Act; and he could not conceive, whatever might be his views as to the wisdom or prudence of the proceeding, that any hon. Member could feel anything but hesitation when he saw the hazards and the possibilities that underlay this extension. This was a great deal more than a mere continuation Bill. The Bill, as originally passed, was an experiment; but by the Bill they were going to vote upon they were emphasizing their view, not merely that the experiment was wise, but were also pledging themselves and the House to the position that a peasant proprietary was a good thing in Ireland. The question whether a peasant proprietary in Ireland be a wise or an unwise subject for this Parliament to pledge itself to, seemed to him to be somewhat complicated by another question raised by an hon. Member on the other side—namely, whether it be possible to limit such a question to Ireland—whether it be not within the immediate reach of practical politics, if this Bill pass, that we should have in England within a very short time claims made for similar treatment — claims which might or might not involve us in very serious and very questionable difficulties. Putting this aside, he would rather limit his remarks to Ireland itself. Was it wise or unwise to contemplate a general adoption of peasant proprietary in Ireland, and not only to see it coming upon us by the operation of economic laws, but to assist it, and assist it very materially, by exceptional legislation such as that embodied in this Bill? It seemed to him that some of the arguments which had been used ought to be met on the Ministerial side. He referred to the arguments used by the hon. Member for Haddingtonshire (Mr. Haldane), whose vote was exceedingly welcome to them on that side of the House,

but whose arguments could not be accepted by them without involving themselves in a most suicidal position. His hon. Friend urged that a peasant proprietary in Ireland was an excellent thing, because it would inevitably lead to the eviction from Ireland of its gentry. Whatever men might hope in that House, he could not conceive a serious politician, having studied either history or politics, who could view the prospect of the eviction from Ireland, by the operation of any laws, of its gentry as a subject of anything but very great difficulty and very great doubt. He knew of no community which had ever prospered or made a mark in the world which was not officered and led by its gentry. Apart from this difficulty, there was another position taken by his hon. Friend to which they could not assent on that side of the House. The hon. Gentleman argued that the concession of this Bill would, in effect, lead most directly to the concession also of Home Rule. If he and others on the Ministerial side of the House thought that was likely to be the result of the Bill, they would be very loth indeed to go into the Lobby to support it. In his view the chief security for the Government in making that great loan was that it would retain in its own hands the power to enforce the huge debt that was being created, and that the State, which had granted it, would be able at all times and under all circumstances to enforce its claim against the debtor; whereas, if he thought that Home Rule was likely to be the consequence of such a measure, he would fear that a great scheme of repudiation might loom upon the horizon. He did not share the distrust expressed by some as to the Irish tenant fulfilling his obligations; he believed that both his interests and his instincts would lead him to fulfil them if left alone; but immoral politicians might hereafter seize any opportunity that arose to raise an agitation for the purpose of bringing about repudiation. Those on his side representing constituencies in the North of England, among whom there was a large Irish population, with whom they lived on very good terms, had voted for that Bill because we had reached an *impasse* and a deadlock out of which there was no possible escape. ["Hear, hear!" *from the Opposition.*] Hon. Gentlemen cheered, but the *impasse* and deadlock were just as great for the Nationalist as for the Tory, the only difference between them being as to whether the remedy should be applied by that Parliament or by some other Parliament. When the Roman Republic in old days re-distributed the public lands and passed Acts for the repudiation of debt, it was simply because a condition of things had been created by history and by circumstances from which there was no escape except by the breach of the great laws of political economy and political conduct. They had a similar case in Ireland, where, through the perverse operation of laws, they had created a double ownership of land on every estate. The seeds which had been thus sown had been watered and nurtured by the legislation of that House traversing economical laws, and they were reaping some of the fruits. There was no escape from the difficulty in which they were placed except by exceptional legislation; and it was on that ground, and on that ground alone, that he voted for this Bill. He urged upon the Government the prudence of avoiding any land purchase scheme on a large scale. In consenting to that Bill, and perhaps to another of the same kind, they would consent only to a very gradual adaptation of their remedy to the needs of the case. A wise Irishman—Lord Chancellor O'Hagan—once said that he wished very much to see a large extension of peasant proprietary in Ireland, but that he did not wish to see that system become the universal mode of holding land in that country. The enormous amount of money which that would involve would not only present a most perilous temptation, but would necessitate the buying out of all the landlords. It would be a great satisfaction to some Gentlemen on his side if there were a probability that that legislation would put an end to dual ownership, without the doing away of which he feared they would never get rid of their perpetual difficulty in Ireland. Again, as in France, and almost every other country where there was a large peasant proprietary, they would have the danger of substituting one class of landlords for another, and the money-lenders, the usurers, and the mortgagees might become the landlords of a great part of the land in Ireland; and he

feared that when it became a question of choosing between discharging their obligations to these, the worst form of landlords, and the great landlord of all, the State, that difficulties and friction might arise. In conclusion, he wished that Gentlemen on both sides of the House, on those questions with which they could deal apart from politics, would cease to exchange Party recriminations, and would all heartily join in an earnest endeavour to confer what might prove a permanent and invaluable boon upon Ireland.

MR. E. ROBERTSON (Dundee) said, he had a special reason for following the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Howorth). He at once acknowledged the perfectly unexceptionable tone in which his hon. Friend had on that, as on all other occasions, addressed the House. His hon. Friend had been strictly consistent in the speech he had delivered that day with the somewhat remarkable speech that he made in the House some two years ago, not on the same question, but on the same subject, when he said he believed the artizans of this country would be chivalrous enough to be willing to do something for the relief of the Irish landlord. But a still more remarkable answer was then made, from the same side of the House, to the remarkable speech of his hon. Friend. The hon. and learned Member for Ashton-under-Lyne (Mr. Addison), a bold and robust Conservative, whom he was glad to see present, then said he claimed to represent a working-class constituency, and he wished to state that his constituents objected to pay 1*s.* of English taxation for the relief of either the landlords or the tenants of Ireland, adding that, with the working men, no measure would be so unpopular as to saddle the taxpayers of this country, or any of the industries of this country, with any charge for the relief of the landlords of Ireland; and he wound up with the statement that he hoped the House would never assist either the landlords or the tenants by the money of the hard-working British taxpayer. He (Mr. E. Robertson) had only to add that he had consulted the Division List of last night, and he found that the first name on the List of those who supported this Bill was the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne. He was glad the hon. Member for Northampton had given them an opportunity of considering once more the policy of this Bill. With regard to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), he admitted the reduction of rents by judicial interposition and the reduction of arrears was a duty pressed upon them by the recent course of legislation in Ireland. He was free from all responsibility for that legislation, and looked upon it merely as a series of historical facts. A distinguished countryman of his, the Duke of Argyll, had lately said that the whole of the land legislation for Ireland had been a bungle. That might or might not be true, but, on the question now before them, they were bound not only to reduce rents which were excessive, but they were bound to apply the same principle to arrears. There was nothing in the contention that because they once reduced arrears they must not do it again. They had reduced rents already, and they were willing to reduce them again. Having said that, he felt that no further obligation was incumbent upon him with reference to the Land Question of Ireland. He did not say that he regarded the creation of occupying owners to be a desirable thing. He had never held that view. He had always recognized considerable force in the statement that the system of tenancy, inasmuch as it saved considerable capital, had advantages of its own. He could not conceal from himself that in new countries, especially in the Western States of America, which he happened to know well, where the whole of the territory was owned by occupying owners, those owners acquired farms the capital value and the successful cultivation of which were beyond their means. They had to draw capital from this country and elsewhere, and at that moment evictions of the nominal tenants, the mortgagees, were common enough to be a cause of considerable social discontent. He voted for Mr. Gladstone's Amendment, not because he approved of all the terms of that Amendment, but because it was the only opportunity then available for opposing the Bill. He admitted that the discussion on the Amendment had revealed on the Liberal side of the House, to a very large degree, the acceptance of the principle of the purchase of Irish land by

British credit. That was the principle which he conceived to be chiefly involved in the present debate. That was a principle which he could not accept. He was in a somewhat different position from the hon. and learned Member for Haddington (Mr. Haldane), who supported the Bill because he supported the Land Purchase Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian. He (Mr. E. Robertson) was one of those who received the Bill of 1886 with the greatest dislike, and who, in an address to his constituents in 1886, declared his intention of voting against that Bill. Having taken that position then, he was bound to adhere to it now with reference to the proposal before the House, because both proposals came to the same thing in principle, in this respect—that both involved the advance of British money for the relief of the landlords and tenants of Ireland. The question he had to face was—How was he to vindicate to his constituents the proposal of the Government? Should he accept it? He was the representative of a purely industrial and commercial community, every man in which was engaged in industrial or commercial operations. The rich owed their means to successful commerce, the men of leisure owed their leisure to successful commerce, and the poor men owed their daily bread to industry connected with commerce. The whole of that community displayed an absolute self-reliance that had been second to no community in this country in advancing commercial enterprize in England and throughout all the nations of the world. It was to these people he had to vindicate the proposal now before the House, which, stripped of all disguise, simply came to this, that we were to advance £5,000,000 of British money for the relief of the landlords and the tenants of Ireland. He had heard it said that this was a Landlords' Relief Bill. That was an unfair and one-sided description of the Bill, and, unless the Bill was administered with an amount of bad faith, chicanery, and fraud which was inconceivable to him in any British Administration, it must be made a Bill for the relief of the tenants as well as the landlords of Ireland. This Bill was a second instalment of that proposal the first Purchase Bill, that of 1885, which was avowedly an instalment and was also avowedly an experiment. This Bill was presented as an instalment also; but it was no longer as an experiment that they were asked to support it. They were asked to support it on the ground of the success of the first experiment, and therefore they were committed not to a mere experiment involving £5,000,000, but to a policy which may involve £50,000,000 or £100,000,000. The landlord of Ireland was to receive the value of his estate, the tenant was to get the land, and the State was assured that it would lose nothing. This idea of making everybody happy all round at no loss to the State was nothing more nor less than a mere financial juggle. They were playing with the unparalleled credit of this great country. Why did they not apply the same process to the landlords and tenants of England, Scotland, and Wales? Was there anything in the Irish landlord or the Irish tenant that entitled either of them to a consideration from this House that they were not going to extend to the same classes on this side of St. George's Channel? An hon. Member the other day described the Irish landlords as a pack of ravenous wolves. On the other hand, the Tory Party were never tired of telling the House that Irish tenants were either the dupes or accomplices of a criminal conspiracy. If they put the two statements together, there was probably this residue of truth—that the landlords and tenants were convicted of having not very successfully managed their own affairs. He entirely repudiated the only plea upon which it was possible to defend such an application of Imperial money to Irish subjects. The only plea which could be made would be that he and those whom he represented were in some way responsible for the agrarian condition of Ireland. He denied that his constituents had any moral responsibility in the matter. They were more landless than the Irish tenants whom they were asked to supply with farms at the cost of the Imperial taxpayer. Even in Ireland there were labourers as well as landlords and tenants. Were they going to do anything for the labourers out of the Imperial credit? In his point of view the persons engaged in land, whether as landlords or tenants, even in this country, had been singularly deficient in their civic virtues. They

compared unfavourably with the uncomplaining artizans in the towns, who did not look to Imperial credit for any aid or assistance whatever. A very peculiar position was occupied in this question by the right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen). The right hon. gentleman was formerly a trusted and deserving servant of the Liberal Party. He left that party because he could not repose sufficient confidence in the new electors who had since been called into existence on this very question of the abuse of public resources. He left them because he thought the agricultural labourer in particular, if they gave him political power, would at once demand for himself aid from the Treasury of the nation, which could not be reconciled with political safety. What was the position of the right hon. gentleman now? He came forward in this House as the principal advocate of a policy which made over £10,000,000 to that very class in Ireland, and which committed Parliament in principle to £150,000,000 more. [*Cries of* "Oh!" He (Mr. E. Robertson) was taking the estimate made by a right hon. Gentleman who sat but did not vote on the Liberal side. What did the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) tell them was involved in the Bill of 1886? Not £50,000,000, but £150,000,000, which he declared was the purchase value. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after having almost impugned the good faith, and certainly impugned the political sagacity of the new voters, came forward to do a thing which was worse than anything that had ever been dreamt of by any agricultural or rural labourer in this country. He (Mr. E. Robertson) had a few words now to say about the figures. The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) claimed that in the operation of this Act the benefit was chiefly confined to the smaller holdings. The figures were:—Under £10, 3,000 odd; between £10 and £30, 3,000 odd; between £30 and £50, 884 cases; over £50, 995 cases; but the 1,000 cases of farms of more than £50 annual value represented a much larger sum of purchase money than the 3,000 odd cases under £10. No man could tell how much more. It might be 10 times more. Every case over £50 was equivalent to at least five, and it might be 10, cases under £10, so that the comparison which the hon. and learned Gentleman made was unintentionally misleading. The hon. and learned Gentleman had not told them how high the holdings reached which had been purchased under this Act. A farmer who attempted to farm a holding of, say £75, was, compared with the great bulk of the people of this country, a rich man. His tenant right must be worth something; the capital required to work his farm must be worth something. It might be a fair average statement to make that a man attempting to farm a holding rented at £75 a-year must be worth a capital of at least £500. They were going to give that man a present under Imperial credit worth, perhaps, £1,000. They were asking people who were mainly poor to allow them to make a present of £1,000 to a man who had already a capital of £500. He (Mr. E. Robertson) and hon. Members around him represented thousands and thousands of people whose capital in each case did not amount to £20. In connection with a Bill which he had vainly tried to pass for the protection of the homes of the poor, he had been informed on good authority that, in the case of something like 90 per cent of the working people in this country, the whole estates, at any given moment, would not be more than £20. To ask thousands of his constituents who had paid their way, but who had not more, perhaps, than that sum between them and bankruptcy, to give £1,000 to an Irish farmer who had already £500, and in defence of whom they could only say that he had quarrelled with his landlord to such an extent that they could not get on any longer, it was monstrous to submit such a proposition to the Representatives of working men. It appeared to him to be an ineradicable vice in this scheme that, while it was economically safe, it was politically unjust and even wicked. In the case of the tenants over £50 who bought tidy, thriving farms, he had no doubt that the money was perfectly safe; but what a vile thing it was to ask people who did not possess £20 to secure the property of those men, and what a risky thing it was to advance money to tenants of holdings

under £10. He should like to know, not only the particulars as to the high holdings, but the particulars as to the low holdings. He wanted to know not merely whether they were putting in any thriving tenants, but also how far down they were going. They were proposing to advance £5,000,000 to give those people the fee-simple of wretched little holdings, perhaps worth 9*d.* a-week; and what did they say about them on every occasion? When the hardships of those people were held up as an argument for reducing their rents, the invariable answer was—"If you gave them the land for nothing they could not live upon it." They were going to spend £5,000,000—or, at least, a considerable portion of £5,000,000—on buying those wretched little holdings on which the tenants could not live if they had them for nothing.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): I never said anything which could possibly justify that statement.

MR. E. ROBERTSON said, he did not know that the hon. and learned gentleman had taken his point. He congratulated the House in his speech on the large extent to which this Act had been employed in the purchase of small holdings. Did he accept that?

MR. MADDEN: Yes.

MR. E. ROBERTSON: Very well; that was all he said.

MR. MADDEN: I took the entire number of applications, and I subdivided them under different heads. I did not say anything to lead to the conclusion that the hon. Gentleman makes. I said that this £5,000,000 would go largely to small holdings, and I congratulated the House on the fact that the moderately-sized as well as the larger class of holdings had received a fair and substantial share of the grant.

MR. E. ROBERTSON said, he did not see that the hon. and learned Solicitor General had substantially affected his argument. The hon. and learned Gentleman did congratulate the House on the large extent to which the money had been employed in the purchase of small holdings. How could they expect to be safe if they were buying holdings so small that it was no use reducing the rent, because men could not live upon them if they had them for nothing. It was a fair inference that that principle, which they had never ceased to proclaim as an argument for not reducing rents, told directly against the one portion of the Government scheme which might commend itself to his sympathies—that was for the protection of the homes of the poorest classes of tenants in Ireland. He had endeavoured to reconsider his position in reference to this question on land purchase in the light, not only of his own declaration, but also of the grave necessities of the case. He spoke for those in the House and out of the House who stood where they always stood in reference to land purchase. He listened last night with admiration to the eloquent speech of his right hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley). He heard him say, with reference, at all events, to some of the main principles of the Land Purchase Bill of 1886, that he (Mr. John Morley) stood where he always stood, but he (Mr. E. Robertson) was afraid that it would be found on inquiry that the two Dissentient Liberals who were brought into political existence last night were more nearly in harmony with the Leaders of the Party on this question than many of the hon. Members who, like himself, followed their Leaders into the Lobby last night. Therefore he saw in this open question of land purchase a grave and serious danger for the Liberal Party if at any moment, and specially soon, they should once more resume the Government, as he believed in ordinary circumstances they would be called to do. He conceived that it was a grave source of political danger. Therefore, from a Party point of view, he was almost tempted to hope that Her Majesty's Government would have the courage to use the opportunity, which undoubtedly they now possessed, considering how the Irish Members and many Liberal Members had accepted the principle of purchase by State aid. If the Government chose they could end this question now by a blow, and he had been almost tempted in his heart to wish that the Government would have the courage—he would not say of their principles—but of their opportunities. It would, of course, clear the way for the Liberal Party. It would undoubtedly be followed by the fall of the present Government. All that would be left for the Liberals to do would be to give Home

Rule to an already pacified Ireland. But while he felt that that was the best future to which he could look forward, he could be no party to bringing that future about, and alike to this proposal, or any larger proposal which the Government might submit, he felt constrained by the principles which he had always advocated, and which he had been sent there to advocate, to say an emphatic "No."

Mr. C. J. DARLING (Deptford) said, if the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson) to which the House had just listened meant anything at all, it should have been delivered against Lord Ashbourne's Bill before that Bill became an Act of Parliament, because it was entirely opposed to the spirit and principle of that Act. The speech was interesting, too, as throwing some light on the tactics of those who opposed the present measure. The hon. and learned Member stated that he regarded his vote given on the Division for the Amendment last night as a plea in abatement, which was known in the Profession as a dilatory plea, whereas he regarded the vote he was about to give as in favour of a plea in bar—that was to say, a direct and absolute negative. The hon. and learned Member had attacked the hon. and learned Member for Ashton-under-Lyne (Mr. Addison) for his want of consistency; but the hon. and learned Member would recollect the words of a modest moralist, that "in affairs none are consistent except the dishonest." To whom was it left to seek to frustrate land purchase in Ireland? Not to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), who was simply in favour of delaying matters until presumably he found himself planted on the Government Bench, but to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who prided himself on being *par excellence* the practical politician. The kernel of the question, from the point of view of the British taxpayer, was whether the security was sufficient or not. He maintained that it was. There was the security of the interest of the landlord and the interest of the tenant in the shape of his tenant-right. It was said—"Why do you not apply the same rules on this side of St. George's Channel as you propose to confer on the Irish tenants?" It was forgotten that there was nothing in this country in the shape of tenant-right which constituted a guarantee to the State for any advance Parliament might be called upon to make, though the advance here was only to the extent of the landlord's interest. On the other side the money was lent to two men, one of whom, the landlord, left one-fifth of the advance in the hands of the State. The tenant's interest, as he had indicated, was his tenant-right, which was often more than one-half the interest in the land. If he did not pay the money that interest went—it was lost, and went into the hands of the State, which had already retained one-fifth of the whole value of the landlords' property. How was it possible, then, using language as ordinarily understood, to describe that as the making of a "present"? It could only be possible to use such language where very likely it would often be used in a short time—before ignorant and uninstructed audiences. The hon. Member for Northampton said that if this money was lent to the Irish tenant he would not know how to resist his various clients in all parts of the country who were failing in business if they claimed that the State should give them pecuniary aid. One would imagine that a proposition to assist those who were trying to get a living out of the land, which was the hardest way of getting a living ever known to man, was now made for the first time, whereas the law had always taken care from the remotest times that the land should be properly cultivated and should get into the right hands. It had been said that it was a disadvantage that most of the loans would be made to small occupiers; but the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland stated that while many small holdings had been purchased, those advances had only been made when the Land Commission considered the advances secure, and that the Commission had refused some 1,100 applications on the ground of insufficient security. It was argued that the State should not lend money to the tenants, but that objection should have been made before Lord Ashbourne's Act was first passed. The law had, from the remotest times, taken care of the land and its natural products, of the water and the air, and the Legislature was now interfering to insure the cultivation of

the soil. Was it right to prevent the State from receiving its part of the produce of the land—right to lay farms waste? Which was the greatest mischief, to do that or to make the land profitable? It was not to the interest of the country that the land should be uncultivated, and that farms should lie vacant, as hon. Gentlemen opposite from Ireland, who deserted the House when any practical measure for the amelioration of their country was being considered, had boasted they had succeeded in bringing about. The money which was about to be advanced would not be wasted, but was to be laid out on what was really a reproductive scheme. This was a measure which would tend to the public good and bring about content, peace, and prosperity in Ireland.

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.) said, that it was rather difficult to understand what the object of this Bill was, as the statements from the Government were somewhat conflicting. They were told that it was to pacify Ireland; and if that object could be attained by an expenditure of £5,000,000 he should be delighted to vote for the Bill. But the Government had already had £5,000,000 voted for the same object, and was Ireland in a better state now than it was in 1886? ["Yes!"] He was glad to hear hon. Members say "Yes," but the state of the country was not altogether satisfactory when they considered the facts; and he would specially point to remarks that had already been made in regard to the large number of derelict farms in illustration of this. Any way, he ventured to say that if the object of the Government was to pacify Ireland, by means of their present proposal, they would have to ask for a very much larger sum than £5,000,000. It might fairly be urged that the object of the Government was not what it was represented to be. The Government had not put forward any real information with regard to the special object of the measure; therefore he was obliged to go back to the original Act to find out what their object was. If they took up the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) which he made when, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, he moved the second reading of the Bill in 1885, it would be seen that there was not a single word about creating peasant proprietors or about pacifying Ireland. But there were many utterances with regard to the prospects, which the right hon. Gentleman hoped for, of improving the price of land in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman said, on that occasion,

> "That they were endeavouring to promote a better state of things in Ireland, and to create a stir in the land market;"

again:

> "That land was not a saleable commodity in Ireland, and if a change for the better could be brought about, the Govenment might consider that the object of their Bill had been amply attained."

He had marked other similar statements in this speech of 1885, but it was not necessary to refer to additional instances. The object of the Act of 1885 was, therefore, pretty conclusive, and the object of the present measure, which was said to be a mere continuation of that Act, must be the same. But he would not, for an instant, accuse the Government of not having as their object what they averred it was—namely, the pacification of Ireland. Had Lord Ashbourne's Act had this effect? Was it pacifying the country? What was happening? The Government proposed to take £5,000,000 with which to add to the number of peasant proprietors in Ireland. Incidentally, he contended that it was utterly unnecessary at this period to ask for such an amount, because the Government were pledged to give a measure of Land Purchase. [Mr. DE LISLE: No, no!] He would not accept the hon. Gentleman's ideas, nor his authority. The Government had distinctly told them that they were pledged, and that they had not redeemed their pledge in bringing forward the Bill now before the House. The Reports of the Irish Land Commission gave them some information upon the subject with which the Bill dealt. Up to August 31st, 1888, the Commissioners had issued £3,294,000 out of the £5,000,000 voted in 1885, so that they still had a considerable sum of money to issue. There were, as the result, 4,070 persons who were in the position of payers of instalments to the Government. There were, however, according to *Thom's Directory*, in 1873, in Ireland no less than 573,000 occupiers of land with plots rated or valued at less than £30 a-year, and in three years this legislation which had been

passed had only touched 1¼ per cent of the whole number. Did the Government mean to say that if they went on in the same way in the future they would be able to pacify Ireland in anything like a reasonable term of years? At the rate which the Government were proceeding it would take 100 years to pacify Ireland, and they ought, therefore, to try some other plan. The method which the Government had adopted, he thought, was undesirable, unprofitable, and even injurious and dangerous. By the assistance which they were giving from the State they were putting a small section of the tenants into the position of peasant proprietors, and the very first step which they took in that operation was to reduce the payment, by whatever name they called it, whether they termed it rent or instalment of purchase money, from £100 a-year to £70 a-year. At the same time the neighbouring tenants would still have to pay their £100 a-year without the least prospect of becoming owners of the land they occupied. Thus this legislation, by an artificial system, which the Government were not prepared to carry out on the extended scale on which it ought to be carried out if it was to be of any value, would produce a small set of men whose rents would be reduced by £30 per cent; and then the Government expected the great bulk of the neighbouring tenants to go on paying what must appear by contrast to be exorbitant rents. He admitted that the instalments were being paid with great regularity, but there were distinct arrears, and they were positively increasing. In 1887 there were only 58 persons in arrear, and their arrears amounted to £212. Then as to the next year. The last Report which they had got referred to the period up to August last. But why had not that Report been distributed to hon. Members, seeing that it had been laid upon the Table of the House?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, that the last Report had been laid on the Table of the House at the earliest possible moment, and some advance copies had been circulated, but it had been absolutely impossible to make a general distribution.

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN said, he was glad to hear that some copies had been circulated, although he had not been the recipient of one; but the Government ought to have taken steps to put the House in possession of full information. Still, the figures available showed that the number of tenants in arrear in 1888 had risen to 168, or 4 per cent of the whole number of purchasers, and the arrears had risen from £212 to £2,250; while, in one instance, the arrear had hung over from November, 1886. This was not satisfactory; the figures did not support the assertion that the Act was a success; and he challenged the Government to the proof of their assertion. In fact, the time had not come for satisfactory generalization. An instance to be found on another page of the Report, which was a curious commentary on the propriety of this Bill, showed that this was not the time to take money from the British taxpayer in a hopeless endeavour to do what was right to Irish tenants. The Land Commissioners spoke of a farm that they obtained in the working of their Church property, and they said that, although it was desirable land and close to a town, it remained on their hands, and they were obliged to pay a caretaker to take charge of it. They went on to say that a similar result would follow if the State had to effect a sale of land; and such interference with free purchase would materially lessen the value of the security on which the money had been advanced by the State. Apart from the objection to dealing with the question in a piecemeal and ragged fashion, he objected to be a party to doing what was not necessary. All that was required by the Government was a sum sufficient to tide over the time between November and February, and the Reports showed that £2,000,000 would be ample for that purpose. Therefore he would not be a party to the granting £5,000,000.

COLONEL WARING (Down, N.) said, before he dealt with the matter more generally, he would say a few words in answer to the hon. Member for West Wolverhampton (Sir William Plowden), with whose statements he could not agree. The hon. Gentleman said the ostensible object of this Bill was the pacification of Ireland, but that he failed altogether to see any omens of success from the operation of Lord Ashbourne's Act hitherto. From that opinion he (Colonel

Waring) distinctly and emphatically differed, for he held that there were very strong evidences of success with regard to the pacification of Ireland arising out the action of Lord Ashbourne's Act. The hon. Gentleman asked if any derelict farms had been let. He (Colonel Waring) replied, "Yes, many had been let." The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ought to be a better authority on this point than any hon. Gentleman opposite; and His Excellency told a meeting at Belfast the other day that 160 derelict farms had already been taken. That statement had been confirmed by the person next best qualified to judge—namely, the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden). Another statement of the hon. Gentleman opposite was open to criticism—namely, that there were 600,000 tenants in Ireland whose tenancies were under £30 a-year. The fact was that the hon. Gentleman was somewhat muddled in his figures. The number of 600,000 was the total number of tenancies in Ireland at the date of the Return from which the hon. Gentleman quoted, and no doubt it had been decreasing since. The hon. Gentleman said they could not look for any fruits from this measure within the terms of their natural lives. He (Colonel Waring) would, however, like to see an improvement within the term of his natural life. If our ancestors had legislated with as much foresight as was exhibited in the Bill before the House, we should not have been in our present difficulty. The sentiment of the hon. Gentleman opposite was not a worthy one, and he (Colonel Waring) hoped the hon. Gentleman would consider that it might be our duty to take into consideration what posterity ought to receive from us. There had been a great deal of argument upon the subject of the reduction of rents. It was said that this measure was passed by the then Secretary of State for Ireland, who brought it in on the ground that it would increase the market for land and tend to recoup Irish landlords for the loss of their rents. He (Colonel Waring) accepted that view. They were told that it was a landlords' measure—a breeches-pocket question—but he would like to approach it from a patriotic point of view. He was as large a tenant as he was a landlord, and, while he hoped that the pocket replenished from the profits of tenant-farming might be benefited by the operation of this Act, he confessed that he did not intend to deal in the land market at present prices. Many a good vessel that had got into shallow water had floated off at the next tide. He thought they had been in shallow water, and they might have lost a few feet of their false keel; but they could still navigate the vessel, and if there were 100 lifeboats alongside in the shape of Ashbourne Acts, he would not take to one of them. He did not, from his own point of view, look upon it as at all an attractive measure; but, looking upon it generally, he regarded it as of the utmost importance. It would have a great effect on the political future of Ireland. Hon. Gentlemen opposite argued that it was not our duty to look to the future; but he held that it was, and he believed that a very considerable influence on the political future of their country would be exercised by this measure. Those who became possessed of property under this Act, by a method such as was offered to no other tenantry in the world, would become members of society who would be distinctly opposed to agitation, to anything which would unsettle the state of affairs under which they gained such advantages, which they would not risk for the sake of some ideal future; or, for the sake of any nonsense about it becoming a "Nation with the green flag waving o'er her," the substantial advantages of the present hour. He would like to say a word or two on the subject of security. They had heard a great deal of the insufficient security offered by this proposal. He held that the security was ample and excellent. In the first place, they had the security that they retained during the earlier period of the repayment—one-fifth of the purchase money in their own hands. Further than that, they had the security of the tenant's improvements and the tenant's interest in the land, which in his Province had always exceeded the value of the landlord's interest in the fee-simple. In an adjoining county to his own, the other day, a farmer purchased under Lord Ashbourne's Act for £550 the fee-simple of his farm. Within a fortnight he disposed of it to a neighbouring tenant for £1,000. Did they mean to tell him that a farm which had a money value in the market of £1,000 was not sufficient

security for the £440 which would be the Government advance? That was a proposition which, even in these bad times, and even with the prospect of a further fall, he was not prepared at once to accept. But was there a prospect of a further fall? So far as he could judge, and he was deeply interested in it, he thought the prospect was the other way. Only that morning he had received a telegram from the man who managed his stock asking whether he could sell the whole stock at an advance of £2 a head more than they were valued at on November 1 last. He (Colonel Waring) telegraphed back not to sell. Under these circumstances it was perfectly clear that the security would be sufficient, and there was not any real risk of this country losing anything by the transaction. But suppose there were. The hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had objected to any burden being imposed on the Imperial taxpayer. But what became of the hon. Member's constant request for generous treatment to Ireland? He did not believe in generosity which cost nothing. Now, with respect to the principle of the Act. Those who were now opposing it—of course he did not always expect consistency from them—had shown in a remarkable way their appreciation of it on previous occasions. As to what was said in 1880, he was not going to give much ancient history, but it was worth calling attention to it.

An hon. MEMBER: We have read that already.

COLONEL WARING said, hon. Members no doubt had read it, but he ventured to suggest that they had not marked, learned, and inwardly digested it. He would refer to the language of the hon. Member for West Cavan (Mr. Biggar) in 1880. That hon. Member then said the object of his Party was to get the land for 20 years' purchase—be it remembered—of the Government valuation. Under this Bill the price would be much lower than that, because the Sub-Commission would not allow the landlords to exact so much from the tenants as Griffith's valuation. Then the hon. and learned Member for North Longford (Mr. T. M. Healy), speaking in June, 1886, said he had nothing but commendation to pass on the admirable manner in which the Commissioners under Lord Ashbourne's Act had steered an even keel between the landlords and the tenants. It was odd that the hon. and learned Member for North Longford should have so changed his opinion as to have said that no Irish tenant ought to make a treaty on his own account, and that the man who purchased under Lord Ashbourne's Act was making a treaty of peace behind the backs of the Nation as a whole. There was a fact which the hon. and learned Member did not contemplate which might arise out of this resistance. Derelict farms were now being taken. On the Coolgreany estate 10 or more such farms had been taken.

An hon. MEMBER: By whom?

COLONEL WARING said, by the men whom the same hon. Member, speaking at Clones, declared would by this time be driven into the North-East of Ireland, and hedged in there with a ring of fire. They had broken through the ring of fire, would break through it, and would colonize other parts of Ireland, and would carry their loyalty with them in a way which hon. Members would hardly appreciate. There were other signs of an improvement in the state of Ireland which led them to look hopefully upon this Act. A large manufacturer in the Eastern Counties, whose business was that of making machines for agricultural work, told a friend of his that during three years up till this summer he had only done business with Ireland to the extent of £500, but since the month of August his business had increased to £1,500. It could not be the Belfast merchants who bought these machines, and that increase of trade must be due to the tenant farmers, who had been represented as suffering so terribly from recent events. They were told too high a price was to be given for the land. What was the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian when, in bringing in his Act of 1870, he was fixing seven years' rent as the penalty which the landlord was to pay for disturbances? When the right hon. Gentleman was remonstrated with for putting it at such a high figure, and was told that that was one-third of the value of the fee-simple, he indignantly turned to his questioner, and said—"Do you mean to tell me that 21 years' purchase will represent the fee-simple of land in any civilized

country in the world? The civilization must be very low if that is the case." He (Colonel Waring) admitted that civilization in Ireland was not very high, but when an average of something under 18 years had been arrived at it was rather idle for hon. Gentlemen opposite to say that the price was too high. Next they were told that if the State to any large extent acquired the position of landlord in Ireland there would be serious danger of a strike against the payment of instalments. He thought that a strike against payment to the landlord was, perhaps, more probable than a strike against payment to the State. The State was a good deal bigger than any single landlord, or combination of landlords. The State could not be intimidated; it could not be Boycotted; it could not be starved into submission. The Irish peasant was very shrewd. He thought the Irish peasant was quite too cute to hit so big a man as he would then have to deal with; and, if there was a desire to strike, he believed it would never be put into practice. While he agreed with his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson), he should view with very grave suspicion the extension of the Act to such dimensions as to make the whole, or a large part, of the Irish tenants owners, for he did not think the climate or soil of parts of Ireland was favourable to the construction of a thriving peasant proprietary; but he held that while it was kept within the bounds to which even several more instalments of the same amount would confine it, nothing but good, pacification, and satisfaction could come of it. He, therefore, should most heartily support the proposition which the Government had made in regard to this matter.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.) said, he felt bound to complain of the way in which this Bill was being rushed through the House, while information which the Government possessed was being kept back from the Irish Members. The House ought to have more time to consider all the facts which the Government could, if it would, supply. He denied that there had been any such taking of derelict farms as was alleged by the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Waring). The farms on the Coolgreany estate were not occupied by tenants, but by Emergency men. He could give an instance in the contrary direction, on Lord Dinevor's estate, where a man called Darcy had been unable to maintain himself on such a farm, although he had been subsidized to the extent of £300 by the landlords. In the west part of County Limerick some two or three years ago a tenant named Taylor had been evicted and sold out, and an Emergency man had been put into his holding. The Emergency man had then purchased under the Ashbourne Act, he and his landlord joining in a conspiracy to take the money of the State; and after the man had held the farm for a year he left. The Commissioners had then advertised the farm, but could find no one to take it at the price asked, and it was now farmed, under the Commissioners, by the very man who had been evicted. On the Marquess of Waterford's estate the first step taken under the Ashbourne Act had been to serve notices of ejectment on all tenants in arrears, and then the agent had informed the men that they had the alternative of purchasing under the Act or of leaving their farms. He could tell of one man who had bought at 20 years' purchase and who had not a decent coat on his back. It was not the tenants whom they wished to protect against their landlords who would purchase under the Act, but the tenants on the large estates. Arrears were being pressed to force tenants to take advantage of the Act, as the only escape from eviction and destruction. If there were a free, open, and clear method by which an honest rent could be fixed, so that the tenants driven to the wall by arrears could force their landlords to utilize the measure, then there would be something in it. But by the Ashbourne Act all the power was given to the landlord, who might or might not take the initiative. If the House were asked to give a sum of £5,000,000 in addition to the sums already given for the purpose of pacifying Ireland, there ought, at least, to be some evidence that that intention was being carried out. But no such evidence had been forthcoming; and the only idea of the Bill was to compensate the landlords for their past losses. No landlord or interested party could, with any decency, vote for this Bill, but he feared that there was very little decency among landlords where there

was a chance of getting money. Their patriotism was always and only spelt by the three letters £ *s. d.*

MR. ADDISON (Ashton-under-Lyne) said, that he would not have intervened in the debate had it not been that the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson) had thought he would enliven a speech, not otherwise very amusing, by making some quotations from some speeches of his. The hon. Member sought to make out that between something he said two years ago and his vote last night there was an inconsistency. It would be very difficult for any hon. Member to find him inconsistent, and the hon. Member who followed would have been better employed in altering his own political convictions than in censuring his. About two years ago he said that the British taxpayer should not spend one shilling for the relief either of landlords or tenants in Ireland. He adhered to that opinion; he repeated it to-day, and the only reason why he warmly supported the present proposition was that it did not take one shilling out of the pocket of the British taxpayer. He would not weary the House by repeating for the thirteenth time arguments which had been used a dozen times already in the course of the debate. But could any hon. Member mention an instance of any experiment which had succeeded so well as that of Lord Ashbourne's Act? Some two years ago a rumour rose, he knew not where, that the Party to which he had the honour to belong intended to mould some plan after the model of the scheme of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian. He had always the most intense dislike to that scheme, and he had heartily opposed it. That scheme was to comprehend all the tenants of Ireland, even those who had not paid their rents or were ever likely to pay them. When he heard that a large heroic scheme was to be proposed by a Tory Government he was the first to get up and denounce it. The very merit of the present scheme was that it was not heroic, that it was what had been called piecemeal legislation, that it trod upon safe ground and only dealt with those who were themselves dealing honestly. The hon. Member for Dundee stated that Members on the Ministerial side of the House were at one time saying that the tenant farmers of Ireland were either the accomplices or the dupes of a conspiracy, and the next moment were going to trust them with £5,000,000. That was the very thing they were not going to do. They were going to advance the money to those who were neither the accomplices nor the dupes of conspiracy. They were told that the scheme would not pacify Ireland. They never said it would. All it would do was to enable a number of honest, respectable people to acquire their farms on reasonable terms. When Gentlemen talked of pacifying Ireland they trotted out that old fallacy of speaking of those outsiders who were under the control of the League as all Ireland. The wealth, the industry, the intelligence of Ireland were on the side of the Government. He wished hon. Members opposite to bear in mind that everyone who represented anything in Ireland rejected their advice, and would not have anything to do with them. The hon. Member for Dundee asked what the 17,000 working men of Dundee, some of whom had not a baubee in their pockets, would say to this proposal? Those who had not a baubee in their pockets would, he should think, have very little interest in it. He also represented 4,000 working men, and it was because those on the Ministerial side represented working men that they were enabled to gain the majority. They not only represented working men, but they represented, before any Party in the House, the Party most desirous of securing the welfare, peace, and prosperity of all Ireland.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN (Glasgow, Bridgeton) said, that he would come at once to the main question, because on this question he felt as strongly as it was possible for anyone to feel on any subject whatever. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Howorth) rightly said that the Bill pledged the House to establish a peasant proprietary in Ireland. It did more than that; it pledged the House to establish a peasant proprietary in Ireland on the lines of Lord Ashbourne's Act, which Act, in his opinion, was a most faulty one. The hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson) showed, in an unanswerable manner, that they could not stop the extension of the advantages of this Act at the point of £5,000,000, or of £5,000,000 more, as long as they gave

Parliamentary sanction to this being the right way of establishing a peasant proprietary in Ireland. He remembered very well a drive which he once took through one of the most interesting counties in Ireland, the county of Donegal. He began at the east, and he went over a country covered with farms which, to anyone who knew what successful rent-paying farms were, appeared most prosperous. Those farms were well situated, the houses were admirably built, and there were in them all the marks of comfort, and even of opulence. It was the tenants holding those farms who had been bought out by the Bill. A right hon. Friend of his in the House of Commons, in 1885, contrived to insert in the Bill a limit which would have excluded most of those farms from its operation; but that limit somewhere disappeared, and now the Act of 1887 allowed a sum of £5,000 to be lent on one single holding. Was it credible to anyone who drove from East Donegal to West Donegal, seeing the misery of the people who lived in the western parts of that county, that when those people heard that their well-to-do neighbours in the east of the county were having their rents immediately reduced by 10 per cent and 20 per cent, with the prospect of having their holdings as their own in 50 years — was it credible that those poorer neighbours would not insist in sharing the same advantages? He trusted that the sentence spoken by the hon. Member for Dundee would be engraven on the mind of every taxpayer, when he said that wherever this Act was economically right it was politically wrong. When once they had made this concession to one class they might be certain that all the poorer tenants would claim it. That was the meaning of the movement which the Solicitor General for Ireland said had already begun—a marked increase in the number of applications from the poorer tenants. He took it for granted that this was the way, in the opinion of Parliament, if this Bill were passed, that the Land Question in Ireland should be dealt with. It was plain that that was the opinion of the supporters of this Bill. A very curious sentence was spoken by the hon. Member for Southport (Mr. Curzon), who was very greatly regarded on the Ministerial side. The hon. Gentleman said that under Lord Ashbourne's Act they had entered on an obligation of faith to two classes in Ireland—with such landlords as were willing on equitable terms to sell, and with such tenants as were willing on equitable terms to buy. That was, the hon. Member said, an obligation of faith and honour on the part of the Government. He (Sir George Trevelyan) imagined that they were under no obligation to either landlord or tenant in this matter. They were under an obligation to the State, and to the State alone, and in the interest of the State he certainly intended to support his hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) in asking the House to reject the Bill. While the Government had other, perhaps predominant, and perhaps very honourable, motives for supporting this scheme, the interest of the landlord entered very largely into their motives. They had heard about the Landlords' Relief Bill, and there could be no doubt the landlords themselves thought they were entitled to some such scheme. The House might not be aware what a very great question it was grappling with at present. The Irish Landlords' Convention had put forward very large demands indeed, on the ground that they had been ill-used by Parliament. The first of these demands was that advances should be made to landowners by the State at the lowest possible rates to pay off mortgages and family charges, and they explained that such loans should be granted by an annuity not exceeding 3½ per cent, repaying capital and interest in about 65 years, and the Landlords' Convention said it would mitigate the present crisis if the operation of the Sinking Fund were suspended for five or seven years. When he was Chief Secretary for Ireland he went very carefully into the question of the amount of the mortgages in Ireland, and the very best authorities told him that they were at least £80,000,000. So that here they had a proposal that the nation should take up a security of £80,000,000 of such a nature that in the Money Market nobody would take it for less than 4½ per cent, and yet the State was, deducting the Sinking Fund, to take it up at about 2½ per cent. The next proposal was that the tithe rentcharge should be capitalized and converted into 3½ per cent annuities, ter-

minable in 66 years. The third was that the Board of Works allowance for drainage and other agricultural improvements—which at present were paid off on very much the same terms as English tenants had to pay to a Land Improvement Company—should be granted to the Irish landlord upon terms which were, perhaps, twice as favourable. The fourth proposal actually was that where an Irish landlord had paid Succession Duty upon his old rents, he should, within a limited time, have a portion of that Succession Duty refunded to him if his rents were low. There were other proposals which were quite as impudent; but he would go at once to the last and most serious demand—that if the Irish landowner could induce his tenant to agree to buy, the taxpayer of the United Kingdom should step into his (the landowner's) shoes, and that he, without any local guarantee whatever, should walk off at once with four-fifths of the money in his pocket. It was said that this was no boon. The boon was this—that the man wanted to sell, that he could not get a purchaser, and that he had one provided for him. All this list of claims, the first of which they were now going to satisfy, were made because the Irish landlords said they had a right to compensation for the losses inflicted upon them by the legislation of recent years. He asserted that they had no such right to compensation. The rents of the Irish landlords had been lowered in the Land Courts. The Report of the Land Commission was not yet out, and he thought it was very hard that it was not out. Consequently he was not able to say what were the present average reductions in Irish rent, but he would put it at about 20 per cent all over Ireland. The reduction was made by the Law Courts simply carrying out the result of economical causes, which, in England and Scotland, were left to work their way. He challenged contradiction when he said there were several counties in England where the real average reduction of rent had been 30 per cent, with the exception of some small grazing farms, and that reduction was on the gross rent. The landlords in England constructed the buildings and carried out improvements. On the other hand, reductions in Ireland were very nearly, though not quite, on the net rental, and he did not hesitate to say that a reduction of 25 per cent in England was equivalent to a reduction of 35 per cent at the very least in Ireland. He had seen in *The Times* the letter of an ill-used Irish landlord. The writer said he thought that Irish landlords merited some consideration and compensation at the hands of the Government. He was a gentleman who, when he had deducted the head rent, received £1,300 a-year, and on two farms his rent had been reduced by £77. In that letter given in large print in *The Times*, evidently as a specimen of the kind of correspondence received about the grievances of the landlords, it was stated that the landlord had two mortgages on which he had to pay interest. But there were worse things behind; he had to pay £540 a-year in allowances to his sons and daughters. Just conceive what the state of mind of a class must be who had been talked into the idea of their own importance and wrongs, when they wrote to a newspaper that it was a grievance to pay allowances to their sons and daughters! Let him now take the case of an Irish and an English landlord at £1,300 a-year. Out of that sum Income Tax and half the Poor Rate came to £70, the agent's salary to £50; the tithe rentcharge—which when he was Chief Secretary he ascertained to be on an average 9*d.* in the pound—would be £50. Then he had his rents reduced by an average of 20 per cent, which would be £260. All those items came to £430. Thus, out of the £1,300 a-year which he had before, the Irish landlord had £870 in his pocket. Next take the English landlord with £1,300 a-year 10 years ago. At the very least the maintenance of his estate, payment of tithes and rates, the agent, and other necessary expenses would come to 25 per cent, or £325. He had his rents reduced 25 per cent on the gross rental. Therefore, they had to deduct from his income £650; and the average English landlord of £1,300 a-year would thus now have £650 to spend while the Irish one had £870. It was impossible to impugn those figures. He would like to give the House a personal story regarding a friend of his, who was in the position in which, unhappily, many a landlord had been. He would give figures which were relatively correct as compared with each other, but not the

actual amounts. That friend was a Scotch landlord, who came into £30,000 a-year in land. According to the custom of the family he would have £10,000 a-year to live on. He was very much shocked at the amount of the burdens on the estate, and he determined to sell, but the fall in prices came just then. There was a deduction at once of 20 per cent over all his property, and therefore his available income fell at once £4,000 without reckoning subsequent reductions. But his estate was not in good order, and as a good, honest man, he borrowed £25,000 to rebuild his cottages and farmhouses—to make the one decent and the other lettable. He did not know to what extent his utterly undeserved troubles hastened his death, but he had never heard him complain or ask to have a return of the Succession Duty he had paid, or his mortgages consolidated on the price of the estate. Could anyone doubt that his tenants, good and thrifty men, would have been glad to have had the purchase money of their farms advanced to them by the State? But they were not to have it; but they and the landlord's children would to the end of time be responsible under that Bill under which men of this class went off with £500,000, and some with £250,000 in their pockets, at the risk of people every bit as worthy as themselves. He now came to the case of the tenant. In May, 1884, he himself had the honour of introducing a Land Purchase Bill, and he gave two reasons for introducing it. He said, first, that the Government earnestly believed that the social and political state of Ireland and its agricultural condition were such that never was there a country in the world in which it was more important that the men who tilled the land should own it; and, next, that no one could deny that when the land of a country was practically unsaleable it was a great misfortune to the community and a great hardship to a large class of individuals, and no one could deny that such a state of things existed in Ireland. He next described the obstacles and drawbacks in the way of the sale of land and the manner in which his Bill proposed to remove them. Lord Ashbourne spoke very handsomely of that Bill. When the present Vice President of the Council introduced Lord Ashbourne's Bill in that House he likewise spoke of it in very generous terms. He was willing to refer to those compliments, as the credit of the scheme was due to the able and experienced men who were assisting and inspiring him behind the scenes—to Mr. Commissioner Lynch, to Mr. Ball Greene, and to Sir Robert Hamilton. By it the tenant who wished to purchase could, without a farthing of expense, walk off with a Parliamentary title, good for ever, in his pocket. Although the object of the late Government was that a great many of those who tilled the land should own it, their desire was that those should be the right people and not the wrong people. The interest of the landlord was that his land should be taken from him entirely, and that all the tenants, bad and good, should be turned into Government tenants. But that was not the interest of the public. The interest of the public was all the other way. It required that a selection should be made, and the best and surest means of making that selection was to require payment down of a certain part of the purchase money by the tenants. That was the only way, as they conceived, of making sure of getting hold of the men who really wanted to buy. Under the present system he was afraid the question merely was whether the landlord wanted to sell. What was the real danger of that Act? It was that in coming years there would be bad seasons, and that during those bad seasons the tenant would not be able to pay his instalments. He could only pay them by thrift in previous years. Well, it was exactly the man who had saved enough to provide a material part of the purchase money who would be likely in future to show that amount of self-control which would make the Government safe. His firm belief was that if his Bill, with its trenchant provisions as to the reform of land purchase, had been passed into law, the effect would have been that, instead of the Government getting a mixed class of tenants, good and bad, they would have had scattered all over Ireland a multitude of thrifty, reliable men who would have been real supporters of law and order in the country, and, at the same time, safe tenants. But on both sides of the House there were Gentlemen who wanted to have the whole of the purchase money lent. The Government had considered the matter, and thought that the taxpayer

ought not to be overlooked in that question. They felt that the proposals they had made were the utmost they could offer at the risk of the taxpayer. But as there was such an eager desire in Ireland to have the whole of the money paid down, they thought that Ireland should have the money if only she was willing to take the risk to herself. The noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) had started the idea of a local guarantee, and they borrowed that idea from him. Under that local guarantee they were ready to lend the whole of the money, but with the safeguard of a short term, and that on paying 5 per cent for 33 years the tenant might become the owner of his farm. He himself stated that it was impossible to ask the taxpayers of the United Kingdom to show such confidence in the farmers of Ireland unless the taxpayers of Ireland evinced that confidence themselves; that the liability of the tenants who borrowed the whole sum from the State would have to be strengthened by a local guarantee which was not required in the case of those who borrowed only three-quarters of the money; and that it was proposed to make the county cess responsible for any deficiency in the repayment of the purchase money. It was his opinion then, as it was still, that without the safeguard of a local guarantee they could not afford to lend the whole of the purchase money, either in Ireland or any other part of the United Kingdom. In 1885 Lord Salisbury's Government did not take the view of the Opposition. They adopted the Bill which had been brought forward, but made two very important changes. They gradually lengthened the term during which the payments would be made to the State, and they likewise removed the local guarantee, and lent the money straight out. He greatly regretted himself that a more energetic opposition was not offered to the Bill. It was curious to observe that, with the single exception of the hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith), there was not one hon. Member on that side of the House, and, as far as he knew, in the House of Lords, who did not speak of the Bill with disapprobation. The hon. Member for Flintshire spoke of the measure as a generous one. That it certainly was; but he left out of view the question of justice to the taxpayer. The name of Lord Spencer was quoted as having approved the Bill. Lord Spencer, in his speech, described how important it was to have a Local Authority as security for the money, not only because it was better security, but because the Local Authority would have personal knowledge of the qualifications of the tenant. The danger from the operation of the Bill was not immediate. It was not to-day or to-morrow; but it would come quite certainly. In Lord Spencer's time, an estate in the West of Ireland was offered for sale to the tenants. An agreement between landlords and tenants was made at 15 years' purchase. The Land Commission looked into the matter, and they came to the conclusion that the estate was not worth more than 12 years' purchase, and at that price they bought it in. That was the sort of asset they were to have in the British Exchequer now. When they had advanced this £5,000,000, and all the other £5,000,000 which they would be under an obligation to give, there would be many such estates on their hands, including not only the well-to-do and industrious tenants of the estates, but all the tenants. They were creating a great number of Government tenants who would have to pay rents for 50 years to come. How often had it been found within the last 50 years in many parts of Ireland that very many tenants were absolutely unable to pay any rent at all? The hon. Member for Berwick-on-Tweed (Sir Edward Grey) said that the English Government was hated because it had to collect rents for bad landlords. Did hon. Members reflect that even the worst landlord might often make remissions and allow arrears to run up, but the British Government could not allow any arrears to run up? Bad times would come; then the British Government would be obliged to exact those rents, and the consequence would be that there would be the gravest discontent created among the poor tenants who could not pay, and that discontent would extend to other portions of Ireland. He hoped hon. Members would read the speech made by the late Mr. Forster on the second reading of the Arrears Bill of his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Gladstone). Mr. Forster spoke with the greatest

force about the absolute impossibility of the tenants in many parts of Ireland, in the bad years of 1878 and 1879, to pay any rent whatsoever, and as to the effect this had on the peace of the country. Hon. Members might say that the Government in the strongest cases might remit the rents in a bad year. Suppose the Government remitted the rents in Kerry, would not the Members from Clare come forward and ask what difference there was between the two counties, and so on with regard to other districts? Indeed, pressure would be put on the Government which it would be absolutely unable to resist, that it ought not to resist, because it would be absolutely impossible in the case of a great number of those farms that any rent could be paid at all in the worst years. He thought he had shown the immense dangers to which this extension of the Ashbourne Act undoubtedly and avowedly tended, and he had shown that the House, as guardians of the public purse and stewards of the nation, was absolutely bound to refuse its assent to the extension of this scheme.

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY, WAR DEPARTMENT (Mr. BRODRICK) (Surrey, Guildford) said, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was one of special interest, because he was the parent of an almost precisely similar Bill no later than 1884. He confessed, however, that he was not prepared for the speech just delivered. He had followed as closely as possible the somewhat intricate political course of the right hon. Gentleman, and had hoped that the scheme of land purchase initiated by him would have escaped the general shipwreck of his political views on Irish questions. The right hon. Gentleman argued that nothing was more dangerous than that the State should become landlords in Ireland. That contingency, however, was not left out by the principle of the Bill for which the right hon. Gentleman himself was responsible. If there was any difference between the two schemes it amounted to this—that the right hon. Gentleman was prepared in the worst districts, and in the case of the worst tenancies, to advance three-fourths, whereas the Government were now advancing four-fifths. That was not a serious difference.

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN: I was speaking of the advance to the tenant. The Government advances the whole of the purchase money to the tenant.

MR. BRODRICK said, the Government advanced four-fifths of the purchase money, and retained one-fifth in case of failure on the part of the tenant. In one portion of his scheme the right hon. Gentleman proposed to advance the whole, and this established a minimum difference between his scheme and that of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman made reference to the impossibility of the poor struggling tenants in West Donegal acquiescing in certain advantages which, it was supposed, the richer tenants would obtain at their expense. What did the right hon. Gentleman mean by that insinuation? Did he mean to say that the Land Commission, having two cases before it, one a rich case and another a poor case, would deprive the poor tenant of any advantages?

SIR GEORGE TREVELYAN: I referred to the poor struggling English taxpayer, not the exclusion of the poorer tenants. I said they would come in by shoals.

MR. BRODRICK said, no doubt the right hon. Gentleman had not expressed his meaning; but he accepted the correction. He must, however, enter his protest against the imputation which the right hon. Gentleman endeavoured to lay upon the Government that certain proposals of the Irish Landlords' Convention, which had never been ratified and as far as he knew had never been considered seriously by the Government, should be taken side by side with the proposal under this Bill, and that he should thus attempt to confuse the minds of hon. Members and to mix up questions which were absolutely distinct with this question of land purchase, as to which, up to two or three years ago, every statesman, of whatever Party in the House, was willing to signify agreement. The comparison drawn between the average return of an English and Scotch estate was, he submitted, absolutely misleading, since the right hon. Gentleman omitted from the Irish estate any expenditure on improvements, which, he was well aware, had been undertaken by a large number of landlords in Ireland. [SIR GEORGE TRE-

VELYAN: Hear, hear!] The right hon. Gentleman had also referred to a certain Scottish estate. He (Mr. Brodrick) was perfectly conversant with the circumstances of the estate, although the right hon. Gentleman had not given the name of it; and he could give the House this information which the right hon. Gentleman had not given—namely, that the rents on that estate had been enormously raised during the last 30 or 40 years, and that the reduction was not one farthing beyond the amount by which they had been raised in that period. That, in his opinion, made a very material difference on the case which the right hon. Gentleman had presented to the House. The measure of the right hon. Gentleman proposed an advance of £20,000,000, and when the measure of Lord Ashbourne was under discussion in 1885 the late Attorney General for Ireland, speaking on behalf of the Front Opposition Bench, said he did not think that the provisions by which it was proposed that £5,000,000 should be allocated to the purchase of land were at all sufficient. In fact, he plainly stated that the sum asked for was so inadequate as to be ridiculous; and yet they were now censured for making up to £10,000,000 as against the £20,000,000 asked for by the right hon. Gentleman. When he came to the security for the advance he found it was not less, but absolutely more, in this measure than it was in the measure of the right hon. Gentleman, who, indeed, proposed a local security; but this security fell to the ground, because it was pronounced to be utterly impracticable by Members in all parts of the House. It was rejected by the Irish Members, and ridiculed by the newspapers. Not only did the local security perish of inanition, but it dragged down the rest of the Bill with it. As an alternative, the right hon. Gentleman proposed to risk three-quarters of the money; but he took the purchase at 20 years, and was thus willing to advance £1,500 on every £100 of rent. But now the year's purchase had been brought down to 17; the risk, therefore, was now only £1,360 on every £100, or, at 18 years' purchase, £1,440. Therefore, if the Bill of 1884 had passed, the British taxpayer would have incurred greater risk of liability than he did at the present moment. They had been met in these discussions by an assurance that whatever sum was advanced by the Government they must look for a repudiation of their obligations to the tenants at some time or other. He regretted to hear those expressions. From the time of the Act of 1881 he had never heard, until now, either from the Irish Benches or from right hon. Gentlemen opposite, anything but an assurance that the natural disposition of the tenants in Ireland was to pay debts, provided they were legal and reasonable. From that idea all recent legislation on land purchase had been allowed to start, and, looking at the Returns which had been presented, he did not think they had anything to complain of in regard to the way in which Irish borrowers had paid their instalments. But the Government had this further security. Everything which combination, bad seasons, and ceaseless agitation could do to lower the value of land had been at work in Ireland for the last eight years. In consequence, rents had been brought so low that the purchase price was bound to be reasonable, and they had also the Land Commission Court, as trustees between them and the buyers and sellers, to see that the price was one which gave fair security. That Court had already refused to ratify sales in no less than 1,100 instances, besides sending back many others for amendment before sanctioning them. Then they had what the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman had not—a deposit of 20 per cent, which would be forfeited to the State if the instalments were not regularly paid. And they had the further security that the tenant would not willingly surrender his interest in the farm, which was not included in the judicial rent, for which money had been separately paid, and which, in most cases, formed a large addition to the security. Having regard to all the circumstances, it was altogether inaccurate to represent this measure as brought in to give compensation to landlords. Her Majesty's Government were following the line taken up by all parties in recent years—namely, that it was desirable to increase the class of peasant proprietary. He had only heard one argument against the probable working of the Bill, and that was brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), who asserted that the Bill would only

assist the substantial farmers, and be of no use whatever to the poor tenants in the West. It unfortunately was the case that the small tenants, who showed a strong disposition not to pay rent, showed no disposition to purchase; but this might be explained by the influence brought to bear on them by some persons who desired to frustrate the operations of the Ashbourne Act, as they had endeavoured to frustrate every Act which might replace agitation by contentment. A great deal had been said with regard to the question of arrears, and it must not be forgotten that those who were in arrear were, for the reason just named, the special *protégés* of hon. Members below the Gangway. In 1882 an Arrears Act was passed, which enabled tenants who went into Court to have their arrears wiped off, and those who were now in arrear were mostly those who did not take advantage of the Act of 1881, and did not go into Court to have their rents fixed, because they considered their rents were fair. There was a very remarkable contrast between the speech of the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon) made last night, and his speeches on this subject made in former years, when he looked to such measures as these to produce a prosperous and thriving peasantry. It was easy for the Irish Members to frustrate the prosperity of the country; but the speeches that had been made with regard to this Bill by hon. Members from Ireland sitting below the Gangway did not in any way represent the feelings of the tenant farmers of Ireland. The hon. Member said he was in favour of legislation which would enable Irish tenants, on reasonable terms, to become purchasers of their holdings; but this was just what the Bill aimed at doing. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir George Trevelyan), when introducing a Bill in 1884, spoke of the advantages to be obtained by facilitating land purchase by tenants, and expressed his opinion that by so doing the number of contented and law-abiding men in Ireland would be increased. Did he still desire to increase the number of contented and law-abiding men? If so, why had he not one word of commendation for the Government which was attempting to deal with this subject on almost identical lines? Well might the hon. Member for Berwick-on-Tweed (Sir Edward Grey) say last night that the difficulty of convincing the electors of the necessity of Home Rule was to persuade them that the Gladstonian Party were in earnest. The attitude of the right hon. Gentleman and of his Friends towards this Bill was difficult to explain upon any other ground than that they desired to see the Unionist policy in Ireland fail. The hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Robertson), who strongly opposed the Bill, and denounced the Government for promoting it, had none the less confessed that the Bill would be an undoubted benefit to the tenants of Ireland. He accepted this tribute to the Bill as a just representation of the objects of the Government, who would press forward the measure by every means in their power, not for the compensation of Irish landlords, but the benefit of the tenants of Ireland, and the permanent amelioration of their condition, and he hoped it would as such receive the hearty support of that House.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,—"(*Mr. Parnell,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

LIQUOR TRAFFIC LOCAL VETO (SCOTLAND) BILL.—[BILL 106.]

(*Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Lyell, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Mackintosh, Mr. Cameron Corbett, Mr. Stewart, Dr. Clark, Mr. Munro Ferguson, Mr. Thorburn.*

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Colonel Makins.*)

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, he could not agree with the proposal. This was a very important measure. Every one of its previous stages had been passed without opposition. The Scottish Members were in favour of it. He thought they should make some progress with it without further delay.

It being half an hour after Five of the clock, the Chairman left the Chair to make his report to the House.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Wednesday* next.

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes before Six o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 22nd November, 1888.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Land Purchase (Ireland) [385].
Withdrawn — Board of Agriculture [379]; Copyhold Acts Amendment [298]: Charities Restitution* [52]; Buildings (Metropolis)* [305].

QUESTIONS.

CYPRUS (FINANCE, &c.)

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can state the total sum that has been paid out of the revenues of Cyprus into the English Treasury since 1880; the amount by which the so-called tribute to Turkey, now paid to the British Government, has exceeded the grants-in-aid provided by Parliament towards the administration of Cyprus; and, the sum total which has been paid during the same period, under a similar arrangement, out of the revenues of Cyprus to the French Government?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) (who replied) said: The Question of the hon. Member implies that he is under some misapprehension about the Cyprus Tribute payment. Under the Anglo-Turkish Convention of the 4th of June, 1878, we are bound to pay to the Porte an annual sum of between £92,000 and £93,000, based mainly on the average amount by which the annual revenue exceeded the annual expenditure when the Island was under the Government of the Porte. Our obligation in respect of this payment in no way depends upon the financial position of the Island. If the Island were bankrupt to-morrow, we should be equally bound, under the Convention, to make this payment to the Porte. The payment is thus an asset of the Porte, and may be considered to be a part of the revenues of the Ottoman Empire. On these revenues of the Ottoman Empire England and France have a claim in respect of the Guaranteed Loan of 1855. In that year England and France jointly guaranteed payment of interest at 4 per cent on a loan of £5,000,000, which was secured partly on the Egyptian Tribute and partly on the other revenues of the Turkish Empire. Turkey made default in 1875, and for some years we had great difficulty in obtaining the money required to meet the interest on this loan. We had to make advances, and, in one case, we had to make a demand on France for a contribution of £30,500. But when, in 1878, we obtained a hold over the assets of the Porte arising out of our obligation to pay £92,000 a-year under the Anglo-Turkish Convention, we naturally detained that asset for the purpose of meeting the joint guarantee of the Turkish Loan. By detaining this £92,000 a-year due from us to Turkey we have been able to repay the sums which were temporarily advanced out of the Consolidated Fund, and likewise the sum of £30,500 which France had been called upon to make good in respect of the Turkish Guaranteed Loan; and also to provide the sum by which the annual charge for the interest on that loan exceeded the Egyptian Tribute. The amount required to pay the interest on the Guaranteed Loan, in addition to the Egyptian Tribute, is £82,000 a-year; so that, after discharging the liability of England and France in respect of that interest in full, there remains a sum of about £10,000 a-year due from us to Turkey in respect of Cyprus. This sum is detained towards meeting the Sinking Fund of 1 per cent on the Guaranteed Loan, which, like the loan itself, was secured on the general revenue of the Ottoman Empire, of which the Cyprus payment constitutes a part. Full details of the grants in-aid and the Tribute payments are given in the Blue Book on Cyprus, No. C. 5,523 of 1888, p. 155.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON gave Notice that he would take an opportunity of calling attention to the subject on the Vote for Cyprus.

MERCHANT SHIPPING—MISSING COAL-LADEN VESSELS.

MR. J. SINCLAIR (Ayr Burghs) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the case of three vessels lately posted at Lloyd's as missing—the *Cumeria*, from the Tyne, with coal for Valparaiso; the *Melanesia*, also from the Tyne, with coal for Valparaiso; and the *Bio Bio*, from Shields, with coal for Valparaiso; if he will inquire whether these vessels loaded coal from the same pits which contain much sulphurous or other such matter, which might render the coals peculiarly inflammable; if the coals were shipped wet or dry; whether there was any special ventilation in the holds; and, if the surveyors have special instructions to inquire into these points in the case of such vessels?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.), in reply, said: Yes, Sir; my attention has been called to the apprehended loss of the vessels named by the hon. Member. In the cases of the *Cumeria* and the *Melanesia* formal inquiries have been instituted under the powers contained in the Merchant Shipping Acts. The *Bio Bio* is a foreign vessel, and therefore cannot be made the subject of an inquiry. I am informed that the *Cumeria* and *Melanesia* were loaded with coal from the Cramlington Colliery, and the *Bio Bio* from the Fairfield Colliery. Whether the coal from the Cramlington Colliery is of the nature mentioned by the hon. Member is a matter which will be investigated by the Court of Inquiry. The *Melanesia* shipped her cargo dry; but the weather was partly wet when the *Cumeria* was loaded. The *Cumeria* and *Melanesia* appear to have been ventilated in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission of 1876. The Board's Surveyors have instructions to inspect the ventilation of British coal-laden vessels, and every effort is made to direct the attention of those interested to the recommendations of the Royal Commission by the circulation of Cautions, Notices, and Reports of Courts of Inquiry.

ARMY CONTRACTS—INSPECTION OF BOOTS.

MR. LAFONE (Southwark, Bermondsey) asked the Secretary of State for War, What number of Army boots were tendered for inspection at Pimlico in January and February last, and in September and October, by each contractor, and the results in each period in passed and 10 per cent reductions, and final rejections?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle), in reply, said, he had no objection to give the numerical result of these inspections if his hon. Friend would move for a Return; but he could not undertake to give the names of the contractors.

LAW AND JUSTICE — ALLEGED IMPROPER CONVICTION—THE ELLINGHAM BURGLARY.

MR. AIRD (Paddington, N.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What compensation is to be given to Michael Brannigan and Peter Murphy, improperly convicted and sentenced to penal servitude for life, and of which period they had served in prison nine years?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): Pending the trial of two persons who have been committed for the burglary of which Brannigan and Murphy were convicted it can scarcely be asserted that the conviction was improper; and no claim for compensation on the part of Brannigan and Murphy could properly be entertained. The matter is one which will have my close attention.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): Will the right hon. Gentleman inform the House as to the exact position of Brannigan and Murphy. Have they not been released as free men?

MR. MATTHEWS: I stated the exact position of Brannigan and Murphy the other day—namely, that they had been released on licence.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSIONERS — SITTING IN WESTMEATH.

MR. TUITE (Westmeath, N.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can now state when the Sub-Commission, under the Land Act, will visit the County of Westmeath; and, whether, having regard to the large number of fair rent applications pending in that county, and to the hardship imposed on the tenants by

their being obliged to pay the old rents pending the fixing of the new rents, an early date will be fixed?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, the Land Commission reported that a Sub-Commission would sit at Mullingar about the middle of next January.

EAST INDIA—HYDERABAD (DECCAN) MINING COMPANY—THE REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If Her Majesty's Government propose to take any action with reference to the two last paragraphs of the Report of the Select Committee on the Deccan Mining Company, setting forth the evils attending the direct access of London speculators to the Ministers of Indian Native States; whether, in fact, direct negotiations have since been going on between the Nizam's Ministers and the Deccan Mining Company; whether Her Majesty's Government will interfere in the matter, and avoid the difficulty pointed out by the Committee by taking their full share of responsibility; and, whether, in case in this and other matters direct communications take place between Native Governments and British speculators, the latter will be warned that they are to expect no assistance whatever from the British Government in enforcing their claims?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JOHN GORST) (Chatham): The Report referred to has been sent to the Government of India, and until their reply has been received the Secretary of State considers it premature either to express any opinion or take any action upon it. The Secretary of State is aware, as I have already stated in reply to a Question, that proposals relating to the Deccan Mining Company are now under the consideration of the Nizam's Government of Hyderabad, in consultation with the Resident. The hon. Member will deduce from my reply to the first Question that I cannot at present give any pledge as to the action the Secretary of State will take.

ARMY—NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION —REMOVAL FROM WIMBLEDON.

MR. HANBURY (Preston) asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the intention of the Government to contribute towards the cost of a suitable site to replace that hitherto used by the Volunteers at Wimbledon; if so, whether this House will be afforded an opportunity of expressing its opinion upon any site involving National expenditure or a large grant of public property; and, whether he has satisfied himself as to the accuracy of the Reports made to the National Rifle Association and to the War Office, especially in the case of Cannock Chase?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. E. STANHOPE) (Lincolnshire, Horncastle): If my hon. Friend would have postponed his Question for a day or two I could have given him a complete answer; but, of course, if it were proposed to give a grant of public money to assist the National Rifle Association in acquiring a new site for its annual meetings a Vote of this House would be required.

In answer to a further Question by Mr. HANBURY,

MR. E. STANHOPE said: I do not suppose that anyone would think it probable that the Government would hand over the freehold of land belonging to it to the National Rifle Association.

MR. COGHILL (Newcastle-under-Lyme) asked whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that the Council of the National Rifle Association was a self-elected body, and in no way represented the entire Volunteer Force?

MR. E. STANHOPE: No, Sir. I am not aware of the manner in which the Council of the National Rifle Association is elected; but I imagine that it has hitherto given general satisfaction to the great mass of Volunteers.

METROPOLITAN POLICE — PENSIONS FOR INJURIES—CASE OF CONSTABLE BROWN.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, having regard to the Rules of the Metropolitan Police, that all officers injured in the discharge of their duty receive full pay pensions, Whether he can state the reason why a police constable named Brown, who was kicked by a soldier's horse whilst on duty on Jubilee Day, is only receiving 15*s.* per week instead of full pay?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.) in reply said, that the constable referred to had not been pensioned, but had been awarded an extension of his previous six months' sick pay.

RAILWAYS (IRELAND) — DUBLIN, WICKLOW, AND WEXFORD RAILWAY.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether an official of the Board has within the last few days examined into the dangerous condition of the Dublin, Wicklow, and Wexford Railway at that part of the line between Bray Head and the village of Greystones; and, if so, what is the nature of his Report, and what steps are being taken to secure the safety of the public?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): Yes, Sir; the portion of the railway referred to by the hon. Member was inspected by Major General Hutchinson, and certain recommendations were made by that officer, which were communicated to the Company, and are being carried out. I shall be glad to show the hon. Member the letter from the Board of Trade to the Company, if he desires it.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE JURY PANEL AT WICKLOW ASSIZES.

MR. W. J. CORBET (Wicklow, E.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that at the late Assizes, in Wicklow, out of 43 Roman Catholic jurors called on the panel not one was allowed to serve on the juries sworn to try the Gort and Loughrea cases; whether he will state why all the Catholics were told to stand aside; and, if he can inform the House how many cases during the past five years were tried at Wicklow by exclusively Protestant juries?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: There is no record kept, nor inquiry made, as to the religion of jurors. I am, therefore, unable to give the information sought in this Question.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked, how was it that, if no inquiry were made, yet all the Catholic jurors were ordered to stand aside?

MR. MADDEN replied, that he had no materials by which he could answer the Question.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked if the hon. and learned Gentleman would have any objection to discovering, for the satisfaction of the House, the religion of the jurors ordered to stand aside?

MR. MADDEN said, it would be exceedingly improper to do anything of the kind.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.) asked, if the hon. and learned Gentleman could offer any explanation of the process by which this fortuitous occurrence took place on every occasion.

MR. MADDEN repeated that it would be most improper for him to make inquiries as to the religion of the jurors. He might say that when this matter had been in debate before he had read to the House the Rules under which challenges, or orders to stand aside, were made during the last 20 years.

MR. SEXTON asked, if the hon. and learned Gentleman would take steps to put an end to his own inability to reply to Questions on this subject?

THE SPEAKER: Order, order!

LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACT—MAP OF THE BOUNDARY COMMISSIONERS.

MR. H. GARDNER (Essex, Saffron Walden) asked the President of the Local Government Board, If, in addition to the separate county maps already presented to Parliament, he will cause to be prepared a map of England coloured, so as to show the alterations of county boundary recommended by the Boundary Commissioners?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's), in reply, said, that he had given instructions that the Report of the Boundary Commissioners should be supplied in separate counties with maps which would show the boundaries.

CRIME (METROPOLIS)—COMMON LODGING-HOUSES.

MR. HOWELL (Bethnal Green, N.E.) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the remarks of a Metropolitan magistrate, Mr. Montagu Williams, at Worship Street Police Court, on Monday last—namely,

"That the whole crime of the district is due to registered lodging-houses, ... which are made the homes of the men who perpetrate robberies,"

and of the words of the policeman, whom he quotes, who said,

"They were the resorts of notorious characters;"

and, whether he will cause an inquiry to be instituted into the common lodging-houses of the Metropolis, with a view to further legislation and inspection?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have not yet been able to ascertain whether the learned magistrate made use of the words quoted; but I am informed by the Police Authorities that they know of no case in which a constable told a magistrate that common lodging-houses were the resort of notorious characters. In the opinion of the police it cannot be said that crime is due to common lodging-houses. There is no doubt that a certain number of the criminal class do live in common lodging-houses; but the owners of those houses are ready, as a rule, to assist the police with information, and the inmates are under police supervision to a greater extent than they would be if they were driven to live elsewhere. I have been for some time in communication with the Local Government Board and the police on the question whether the registration of common lodging-houses can be improved.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)— MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When, under what Rules, on what ground, after how long service, and at what age Mr. Clifford Lloyd obtained a pension for service as an Irish magistrate; whether the time counted for pension included any, and what, periods during which he was serving elsewhere; what was the amount of the salary and the amount of the pension; and, where the record of these particulars is to be found?

THE SECRETARY (Mr. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.), in reply, said, that the pension was awarded under the Rules of the Superannuation Act. Mr. Clifford Lloyd retired on the ground of ill-health after 12 years' service, and at the age of 41. The amount of the salary was £673, and the amount of the pension £326. It had not been drawn until this year.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: When was the pension granted?

MR. JACKSON: In 1885.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether the certificate of ill-health was that Mr. Lloyd was unable to serve as an Irish magistrate; and, if so, how it was that he was still able to serve the Government in Egypt and Mauritius?

MR. JACKSON: I am not aware that any certificate of that kind was granted.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.): In what Vote is the pension to be found?

MR. JACKSON: In the list attached to the yearly Estimates. There is a list published with the Estimates showing the pensions that fell out in the preceding year, and the pensions that have been added. This pension will be found in the list after next year's Estimate.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: If the pension was granted in 1885, why it does not appear before next year's Estimate?

MR. JACKSON: I did not say it was granted in 1885; it was awarded in 1885; and the reason why it has not hitherto appeared is that it has not been drawn till this year.

MR. HANBURY (Preston): Was it given upon the usual medical certificate —a certificate which must state "permanent incapacity" for work?

MR. JACKSON: Yes, Sir.

MR. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM (Lanark, N.W.): If the pension was sanctioned in 1885, how is it that it does not come before us to be dealt with until next year?

MR. JACKSON: I am afraid that I am unable to make the hon. Gentleman understand; but if no money has been paid it will not appear in the Estimates. I have stated that the pension was awarded; but I did not say it was paid.

MR. BRADLAUGH (Northampton): Is it not the habit to make provision in the Estimates for all pensions awarded; and, if so, why not in this case?

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.): I understand the certificate to be that he is "permanently incapacited." How does the hon. Gentleman explain that Mr. Lloyd was sent out to Egypt and Mauritius?

MR. JACKSON: I think that Questions with reference to Egypt and Mauritius should be addressed to the Representative of some other Department.

MR. W. O'BRIEN: Then I shall try and find out from some other Department which has got an answer.

Subsequently,

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary to the Treasury whether, as Papers were not forthcoming at present, he could save trouble by throwing a little light upon this subject? Were they to understand that Mr. Clifford Lloyd, in the year 1885, was awarded a pension as an Irish magistrate upon a medical certificate of permanent disability; that he was afterwards employed in several other Departments, and upon leaving them was allowed to go back upon his pension?

MR. JACKSON: Yes; I think the House may understand that Mr. Clifford Lloyd was awarded a pension in 1885, upon a medical certificate stating that he was permanently incapable of discharging the duties he was then performing.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) asked, whether the House correctly interpreted the hon. Gentleman's answer to mean that while the certificate stated that Mr. Clifford Lloyd was unfit for the particular employment he was then engaged in, it left open the question whether he was physically and mentally fit for other employments?

MR. JACKSON: It is well understood that a medical certificate given to an officer in the discharge of any duty refers only to the duty which he is then discharging.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Are we to understand that the Treasury will sanction the appointment of an official for employment in the Public Service after that official has received a pension on the ground that he is permanently unfit for the Public Service?

MR. JACKSON: Well, I think the hon. Member had better give Notice of the Question.

NAVY—THE DOCKYARDS—CHECK MEASUREMENT.

CAPTAIN PRICE (Devonport) asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, What new Regulations have been put in force with reference to a system of check measurement in the Royal Dockyards; whether the workmen have any means of ascertaining the exact amount of work which is expected of them; and, whether they are enabled to earn extra wages by exceeding this standard?

THE FIRST LORD (Lord GEORGE HAMILTON) (Middlesex, Ealing): No new Regulations on the subject of check measurement have been recently introduced in the Dockyards. The scheme of prices paid for task and job work is not open to the inspection of the workmen; but any of the leading men or workmen, with the sanction of the principal officer of the Department to which they belong, and in the presence of the measurer, are permitted to examine the measurer's account of their work, in order to satisfy themselves that such work has been accurately brought to account. When on day pay workmen do not receive any extra wages for earning more than the usual standard; but when on job and task work they receive the full amount of their earnings. It is quite the exception for men when paid by task to earn less than the usual rate of day pay; but should a man's earnings fall below this standard an inquiry is made into the circumstances, and if found to be extenuating the difference between the actual earnings and the rate of day pay is paid to the workman. Under the job and task system the workmen are able to earn, and are earning, sums considerably in excess of their ordinary wages.

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN (Kent, Faversham) wished to know whether the system had not caused great annoyance in the Dockyards?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON replied, that a certain amount of dissatisfaction existed among a limited number of men, who had been mulcted under the system. He believed that the system would work most beneficially in the case of the great mass of the workmen.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—INTERFERENCE OF THE POLICE AT CASTLEREA.

MR. COMMINS (Roscommon, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that for some time past the house of Patrick Kearney, innkeeper and post-car proprietor, of Castlerea, has been subjected to the surveillance of police

posted both in the front and rear of it; that on the 7th of October, being the eve of a fair at Castlerea, and on other days, guests coming to and entering the house were prevented from doing so by the police so stationed at his front door; that on Sundays persons calling at the house are prevented by the police from entering till they have communicated their business, in the presence of the police, to either Kearney or his wife, who is brought to the door for that purpose; and, if so, by virtue of what law or authority is Kearney subjected to this supervision and interference; and, whether he will give directions that it be discontinued, if not done under legal warrant and authority?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, that the Inspector General of Constabulary reported that since the suppression of the National League in the district the League rooms, which were in the house of Patrick Kearney, had been watched by the police in order to prevent the holding of illegal meetings there, such meetings having been attempted on Sunday, October 7, and on other days, by some of the leading members of the committee and by other members of the suppressed branch of the League living in and near the town; but it was not the case that the police had prevented guests from coming to and entering the house, nor were persons prevented from entering until they had stated their business in the presence of the police. The police were acting in the matter in the proper discharge of their duty.

MR. COMMINS asked under what Act these policemen acted? Had they any warrant?

MR. MADDEN replied, that they had acted in discharge of their duty.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.) asked if the hon. and learned Gentleman was aware, from reports in the papers, that meetings of the Castlerea Branch of the National League were going on now just as usual?

MR. MADDEN: No, Sir.

VACCINATION—DEATHS OF CHILDREN AT ST. PANCRAS.

MR. HANDEL COSSHAM (Bristol, E.) (for Mr. T. FRY) (Darlington) asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to the Coroner's inquest, held on the 16th instant, at St. Pancras, on the bodies of two children who died in the workhouse, and whose deaths were partly caused by vaccination; whether he is aware that one of these children had been three times vaccinated before without success, and if the authorities have any right to perform the operation without the consent of the parents, when this can be obtained; and, when the Report of the inquiry, held about the last outbreak of small-pox in Sheffield, will be ready to be laid upon the Table of the House?

THE PRESIDENT (Mr. RITCHIE) (Tower Hamlets, St. George's): My attention has been drawn to the inquest held at St. Pancras on the bodies of two children who died in the workhouse. I have not yet received the depositions taken by the Coroner; but, prior to the inquest, inquiries with regard to the cases were made by one of the Inspectors of the Board. The verdict of the jury was that the children died from stomatitis while suffering from measles. They added that the deaths were accelerated by vaccination performed three weeks before the measles appeared. Upon the information furnished by the Report of the Inspector, I must take exception to the statement that the deaths were partly caused by vaccination. The deaths were from measles, which also affected other children in the workhouse not under vaccination. I may add that the outbreak of measles at the workhouse has been attended by a high rate of mortality among children who had not been recently vaccinated. I believe it is the fact that three attempts at vaccination had been made in the case of one of the children, and that the vaccination had not succeeded until it was performed at the workhouse. As regards the question whether the authorities had any right to perform the operation without the consent of the parents, I can only say, without expressing any opinion on the legal question, that I think that in the case of such young children the parent, when an inmate of the workhouse, should certainly be communicated with prior to the vaccination. I regret that I cannot at present name the date on which the Report referred to will be presented to the House. The Report is a very voluminous one, and entails great labour in its preparation.

I can assure the hon. Member that there will be no delay which can be avoided.

MR. PICTON (Leicester) asked whether this was not a case of that class which the right hon. Gentleman recently promised to have thoroughly investigated; and whether he considered the hasty inquiry that had been held as sufficient?

MR. RITCHIE said, the inquiry had not been a hasty one. On the contrary, it was a careful and deliberate inquiry, carried out by one of the most experienced officers.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—TURF CUTTING AT CASTLEREA—INTERFERENCE OF THE POLICE.

MR. COMMINS (Roscommon, S.) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that persons who have sold turf to inhabitants of Castlerea, and are bringing it into that town for delivery, are intercepted by the police and obliged to deliver the same to one Thomas Wynne; and, whether he is aware that several lads in charge of the carts carrying such turf have been subjected to ill-treatment and assaulted by the police because they refused, or showed unwillingness, to deliver such turf otherwise than to the persons to whom it had been sold; and, if so, by what legal or other authority have the police so acted?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said, that the Inspector General of Constabulary reported that it was not the case that persons who had already sold their turf had been obliged to deliver it to another person, as alleged in the Question, nor had any lads in charge of the carts been ill-treated or assaulted by the police.

TITHE RENT-CHARGES (IRELAND)—COMMUTATION.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON (Shropshire, Oswestry) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether the tithe rent-charge in Ireland, formerly the property of the Church, is now commuted into a fixed money payment, instead of fluctuating with the rise and fall of the cereals; whether the amount fixed upon is the par value of the tithe rent-charge at the time of the original commutation; whether the number of years' purchase at which the tithe-rent charge can be redeemed has been fixed by Act of Parliament at 22½ years; whether such redemption is compulsory in cases of sale under Lord Ashbourne's Act; and, whether it has been found necessary by the Government to make any general abatement of tithe rent-charge during the recent collapse of agricultural values?

MR. H. GARDNER (Essex, Saffron Walden) said, he would at the same time ask a Question of which he had given private Notice—namely, whether the tithe in Ireland was not commuted at 75; whether the average of tithe rent-charge in Ireland was 9*d.* in the £1, whereas in England it might be roughly estimated at a minimum of 4*s.* in the £1; and whether, notwithstanding its being 9*d.* in the £1, the Irish landlords at the present moment complained of it as an excessive charge.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University): The tithe rent-charge referred to in the Question, where it has not been merged under the provisions of the Irish Church Acts, has been fixed in amount by the 6th section of the Irish Church Amendment Act, 1872. I presume, from the second paragraph of his Question, that the hon. Member desires to know at what date the amount of tithe rent-charge became permanently fixed. This date is the 1st of November, 1871, and the tithe rent-charge payable at that date is now the fixed charge upon the lands. My answer to the third paragraph is in the affirmative. As to the fourth paragraph there is no statutory requirement; but the Land Purchase Commissioners, in practice, require tithe rent-charge to be redeemed in cases of sales under Lord Ashbourne's Act. No such abatement as that referred to in the concluding paragraph of the Question has been made. With reference to the Question of the hon. Gentleman opposite, I must ask him to place his Question on the Paper, as I cannot state, without Notice, what the figures exactly are.

CIVIL SERVICE WRITERS—THE SATURDAY HALF-HOLIDAY.

MR. TUITE (Westmeath, N.) asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether,

having regard to the fact that the Saturday half-holiday has been withdrawn from the Civil Service writers, he can hold out a hope to restore this small privilege to writers who have been for many years in the enjoyment of the same, and thereby assimilate their condition in this one respect to that of the Established Clerks and other classes of the Service?

THE SECRETARY (MR. JACKSON) (Leeds, N.) in reply, said, he thought it better to make no promise with regard to this particular branch of the question until the Government had been able to consider to what extent and in what manner they would give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission.

POST OFFICE — MAIL CONTRACTS — SURGEONS ON MAIL STEAMERS.

MR. R. POWER (Waterford) asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has issued written instructions to the Orient and the Peninsular and Oriental Companies, carrying Her Majesty's mails under contract to Australia, directing that no surgeons shall be employed on the mail steamers who are not first approved by him, and that their age shall not be less than 23 or more than 30 years; if he will state how the age and qualifications of the surgeon affect the proper carriage and custody of the mails; what benefit the travelling public will derive from a Rule providing that the surgeons on mail steamers shall not be more than 30 years of age; and, whether he has issued the same instructions to other ocean-going Mail Companies; and, if not, can he explain for what reason?

THE POSTMASTER GENERAL (Mr. RAIKES) (Cambridge University): The contracts recently entered into between the Post Office and the two Companies mentioned by the hon. Member require them to carry, as a part of their ship's complement, a competent surgeon, who, according to the usual custom in such cases, is appointed subject to the approval of the Postmaster General. This approval is given under certain long established conditions as to fitness, and I find that those conditions were communicated to the Orient Company on the commencement of their contract in February last. The other Company, being old contractors, were already aware of the Post Office Regulations on this point. One of the conditions laid down is, that the candidate for employment as surgeon shall not be less than 23 years of age, nor more than 30 years of age. The Rule is a general one, and was not laid down with reference to any particular contract. I apprehend that any arrangement affecting the health and efficiency of the ship's company affects the proper carriage and custody of the mails. This arrangement, though I have no doubt calculated to benefit the travelling public, has reference primarily to the efficiency of the Postal Service.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) inquired, whether the Postmaster General intended to carry out that Rule; and if he thought that medical men over 30 years of age were incompetent to carry on their profession?

MR. RAIKES said, he was afraid that the hon. Gentleman was not an unprejudiced witness as to the value of the services of medical gentlemen over 30; but he saw no reason to alter the Rule.

DR. CLARK gave Notice that on the Post Office Estimates he would raise this question, and move the reduction of the Postmaster General's salary.

LOTTERY ACTS — THE WINTER EXHIBITION AT OLYMPIA.

MR. S. SMITH (Flintshire) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to a paragraph which appeared in *The Daily News* of the 14th instant, relative to the opening of the proposed Winter Exhibition at Olympia, wherein it is stated that—

"A monster Christmas tree will be erected in the hall, laden with toys and dainties of all kinds. To obtain the chances of a prize, tickets will be sold at 1*d.* each. These will be numbered and drawn for. One of these prizes will be a £5 Bank of England note;"

and, whether such lottery is illegal; and, if so, whether he will take steps to prevent its taking place?

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (Mr. MATTHEWS) (Birmingham, E.): I have seen the paragraph in *The Daily News*. I have obtained from the manager a prospectus of the proposed Exhibition, from which it appears that every person paying for admission is presented gratis with a ticket; and he states that he has taken counsel's opinion, and is advised

that there is nothing illegal in the proposed Christmas tree. The manager will be cautioned by the police that he will be held responsible for any illegal act in connection with this Exhibition.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—THE PURCHASE MONEY.

MR. BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in any cases, the landlords have left more than one-fifth of the purchase money in the hands of the Land Commission as security for the payment of the instalments by the tenants; and, if so, in how many cases, and the amount of purchase money involved in these cases?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Purchase Commissioners report that in exceptional cases they have deemed it desirable, in the interests of the State, to require a larger guarantee deposit than one-fifth; but that, as no separate record has been kept of such cases, it would be impossible for them to furnish the information required in the concluding portion of the Question without an investigation which would occupy several days.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) asked, whether it was a fact that when a tenant had paid in one-fifth of the purchase money this deposit was handed over to the landlord?

MR. MADDEN replied that it was so when one-fifth of the principal was discharged by payment of the annuity.

MR. BRUNNER asked, that instructions should be given to the Commissioners to keep a record in future of the particulars asked for in the Question.

MR. MADDEN said, he had no power to give instructions to the Commissioners; but he would lay the suggestion before them.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked that the information should be collected and supplied by next week, before the final passage of the present Bill.

MR. MADDEN said, he was afraid that would be impossible.

In reply to Mr. BRUNNER,

MR. MADDEN said, this Question was in the Irish Office on Monday, and he had employed the telegraph in making the necessary inquiries in Ireland.

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885—TERMS OF PURCHASE.

MR. BRUNNER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, In how many cases since March 10, 1887, the Land Commissioners in Ireland have refused to sanction the terms of purchase agreed to between landlord and tenant, and the amount of purchase money involved in these cases; and in how many of these cases the Land Commissioners subsequently sanctioned the terms on the amount of purchase money being reduced, the amount of purchase money agreed to between landlord and tenant in these cases in the first instance, and the amount finally sanctioned by the Land Commission?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) (who replied) said: The Land Purchase Commissioners report that a return of the cases specified would, for the period indicated in the question, take a few days to prepare. They, however, furnish a return of such cases for the period from the passing of the Purchase of Land Act, 1885, up to the 21st of August, 1888, which is as follows:—The total number of cases refused, whether on the ground of insufficiency of security, defect of title, or other reasons, is 1,377, the amount of purchase-money involved in these cases being £707,894. In 519 of these cases the Commissioners sanctioned reduced sums amounting to £204,210, the original purchase-money being £243,469.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): Will these important figures be laid on the Table before the final liability of the country is decided on?

MR. MADDEN: Certainly. If they had been asked for before they would have been supplied. I shall have pleasure in handing them to the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: It is not a question of my personal convenience, but whether the country is to know how the system which we are now asked to extend has worked.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) said, what the House wanted to know was in how many cases the sale was vetoed by the Commissioners on the ground of the landlord asking too high a price, and in how many of such cases the sale was subsequently agreed to on the landlord reducing the price?

MR. MADDEN said, that he had, he thought, already stated, when introducing the Bill, that of the 1,377 cases in which the Commissioners refused to carry out the sale, there were 1,100 in which the reason was that the price was too high.

MR. SEXTON asked in how many of these cases the landlord subsequently reduced the price and thus secured a sale?

MR. MADDEN said, he was not at present in a position to answer that.

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN (Wolverhampton, W.) asked, how many cases there were of men who had purchased and subsequently failed to pay their instalments and abandoned their holdings?

MR. MADDEN said, he knew of no such cases.

SIR WILLIAM PLOWDEN: What I am asking for is information as to any case in which a person bound to pay instalments has given up the property, which has accordingly been thrown on the hands of the Commissioners.

MR. MADDEN: I am not aware of any such case, and I do not believe that any such exists.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked whether, having regard to the importance of the information given, the First Lord of the Treasury still proposed to closure the debate that evening on the Land Purchase Bill.

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he had not indicated that he intended to close the debate that night. The action of the Government would depend upon the circumstances of the case.

MR. SHEEHY (Galway, S.) asked, whether the Solicitor General for Ireland was aware that an Emergency man, who purchased a farm from a landlord named M'Namara in the West of Limerick, had ceased his payments and been proceeded against by the Commissioners?

MR. MADDEN said, he was not aware of that case. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman would put a Question on the Paper.

EGYPT (ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE)—MIXED TRIBUNALS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL (Kirkcaldy, &c.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have advised or approved the continuance for a further term of Mixed Tribunals in Egypt, with power to enforce the claims of the bondholders on the Egyptian Government?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): The Egyptian Government have proposed a prolongation of the Mixed Tribunals for a further term of five years, on certain conditions, which are now the subject of discussion among the Powers. But the proposals do not involve any alteration in the powers of the Courts in regard to claims of foreign subjects, whether bondholders or other creditors, against the Egyptian Government.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: Does it involve the continuance of the powers of the bondholders to enforce their claims against the Egyptian Government?

SIR JAMES FERGUSSON: I said it did not involve any alteration in the powers of the Courts in that respect.

MERCHANT SHIPPING—RULE OF THE ROAD AT SEA.—COLLISIONS.

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD (Cambridge) asked the President of the Board of Trade, What steps he proposes to take with regard to the present Rule of the Road at Sea and its official interpretation, in view of the alarming statements recently made in the public Press by sailors of experience, who condemn the interpretation as being the cause of numberless collisions?

SIR GEORGE BADEN-POWELL (Liverpool, Kirkdale) wished to ask the President of the Board of Trade a Question of which he had given him private Notice, whether those who complained of the existing Rule of the Road Regulations had produced any case of collision which, on judicial investigation, had been proved to have been caused by faults in the present Regulations?

THE PRESIDENT (Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH) (Bristol, W.): In reply to the Question just asked by my hon. Friend the Member for Liverpool, I believe that no case of collision has been produced which, on judicial investigation, has been proved to have been caused by faults in the present Steering and Sailing Rules. The Board of Trade have not received any representation or intimation that these Rules are not sufficient, or are not understood, from the Government of any foreign country, or from shipowners in any part of the world, nor have the Admiralty Division of the High Court, nor any of the Wreck Inquiry or Naval Courts, expressed any such opinion, although the Rules are under consideration in every case of collision investigated. This will, to a great extent, answer the Question of my hon. Friend the Member for Cambridge, but I may add that I am in correspondence with Admiral Colomb on the subject, and have requested him to forward for my consideration any amendment he may desire to propose to Article 16 of the International Regulations.

MR. PENROSE FITZGERALD: Do I understand the right hon. Gentleman distinctly to say that the question of inquiry as to collisions at sea, not only the captains of vessels but the Rules themselves are put upon their trial?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: That is exactly what I have stated. The Rules are before the Court in every case.

CROFTER EMIGRATION—EXPENDITURE.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked the Lord Advocate, How much money has, up to this date, been expended on crofter emigration under the Government scheme, and, of the sum expended, how much has been advanced by the Treasury, and how much received from public subscriptions; how many families have been emigrated, and what number of individuals and of children under ten years of age were comprised among them; if he would state the dates of arrival at their homesteads of the first and last batches of emigrants respectively; whether the Company on whose lands they were placed has intimated to the Government that it will incur no further expenditure on their behalf; whether the total sum obtained from the Treasury and subscribers has been exhausted; and, if so, since what date; and, whether any provision has been made to secure the emigrants against want during the winter?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. P. B. ROBERTSON) (Bute): (1.) The money expended up to date amounts to £4,445 16*s.* 6*d.*, of which £720 has been received from private subscriptions and the rest from the Treasury. (2.) Thirty families have been sent out, composed of 193 persons, of whom 57 were under 10 years of age when selected. (3.) The emigrants from Lewis arrived at Killarney on June 3; the Harris people on June 17. They must have reached their homesteads within a very few days after these dates. With reference to the fourth question, no further expenditure by the Canada North-West Land Company is expected or required; the work of settling the emigrants, which, in the first instance, was accomplished by the friendly intervention of the Company, devolving on the Board mentioned in the Memorandum of arrangements laid before Parliament. (5.) The total sum obtained from the Treasury and subscribers has not been exhausted. (6.) From trustworthy information received from Canada as to the circumstances and employment of the emigrants, there is no reason whatever to apprehend that provision will require to be made to secure the emigrants against want during the winter.

In further answer to Dr. CAMERON,

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON said, the Board consisted of four Members, and he understood that those to be nominated in this country had been nominated.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) asked, if the right hon. and learned Gentleman had seen in the newspapers the correspondence of Mr. M'Neill, in which it was alleged that the money was spent in paying debts, and that the people would not have enough to keep them over the winter?

MR. J. P. B. ROBERTSON: My information is not to that effect; but if the hon. Member desires to call the attention of the Secretary for Scotland to any special point in connection with the matter, he will please put a Notice on the Paper.

TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION BETWEEN HALIFAX AND BERMUDA.

COLONEL EYRE (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, When the laying of the cable from Halifax to Bermuda will be commenced, tenders for which were called for and received by Her Majesty's Government on or before the 20th of April last?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): There were circumstances connected with these tenders which made a somewhat prolonged investigation necessary; but I have every hope that it may be possible to come to a decision in a short time.

SWITZERLAND — THE SALVATION ARMY—IMPRISONMENT OF MISS STIRLING.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What progress has been made with the negotiations for the release of Miss Stirling, now undergoing 100 days' imprisonment in Chillon Castle for conducting children's services in the Canton de Vaud?

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE (Sir JAMES FERGUSSON) (Manchester, N.E.): For reasons which have been communicated to the friends of Miss Stirling, it has been found impossible to make any official application on her behalf.

THE MAGISTRACY (ENGLAND AND WALES)—THE NEEDHAM MARKET (SUFFOLK) BENCH.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the account in *The East Anglian Daily Times* of the conduct on the Bench at Needham Market, Suffolk, of two magistrates — namely, the Rev. F. Steward, Rector of Barking, and a Colonel Haines; and, whether he will bring the matter to the notice of the Lord Chancellor?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): In reply to the hon. Member, I have been furnished with a copy of the paper to which I believe his Question refers. With regard to the first case therein—namely, the report of the proceedings against the Rev. Samuel Maude—while in my opinion, some of the observations of the magistrates, if correctly reported, are fairly open to criticism, there is not, in my judgment, sufficient cause to justify me in taking any action in the matter. With regard to the second case—namely, the proceedings against the Salvation Army—I am informed that the report is not correct, and that the Rev. F. Steward and Colonel Haines were not sitting upon the Bench when the instructions were given to prosecute, but that proceedings were taken by the Inspector in consequence of the numerous complaints by respectable inhabitants of the obstructions caused.

LONDON COAL DUES—ANCIENT RIGHTS OF MEASURING AND WEIGHING COALS.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE (Durham, Barnard Castle) asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, on the expiration of the London Coal Dues in July, 1889, it would be within the power of the Corporation or other City authority to exercise an alleged obsolete right of measuring or weighing all coals coming within the Port of London under certain Charters of James I. and James II., or other alleged title, and to levy, therefore, a due of 8*d.* or some other sum per ton; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government propose to take any steps to repeal such a power?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir RICHARD WEBSTER) (Isle of Wight): In reply to the hon. Baronet, I cannot express any opinion upon an abstract and very difficult question of law, and one which depends on the exact nature of any claim which might be made by the Corporation. As regards the latter part of the Question, I am authorized to state that in the event of any such claim being made, Her Majesty's Government will carefully consider the whole subject.

MR. BRUNNER (Cheshire, Northwich) asked, whether, having regard to the great importance of the question, not only to the coal-owners but to the inhabitants of the Metropolis, the hon. and learned Gentleman would undertake to inquire into the matter, and, if he found the Corporation had such intention, whether he would advise the Government to bring in a Bill on the matter before the close of the Session?

SIR RICHARD WEBSTER said, it was impossible for him to give such an undertaking, because he did not, in any way, represent the Corporation, and did not know what claim they were going to make.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—BRITISH MUSEUM—EVENING ADMISSION.

MR. NORRIS (Tower Hamlets, Limehouse) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If any conclusion has been arrived at as to the opening of the British Museum on week-day evenings; and, if not, whether he is still in communication with the Trustees upon the subject?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): In accordance with the pledge given in debate, communications will at once be made to the Trustees of the British Museum to ascertain their views as to the opening on week-day evenings of one or other or portions of the Museum as an experiment.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT (SCOTLAND)—GRANT FOR DRAWING.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to a Memorial to the Scotch Education Department, adopted at the last meeting of the School Board of Glasgow, praying that the conditions on which the grant for drawing is paid under the Scotch Code should be assimilated to those on which it is paid under the English—namely, that it should not be included in reckoning the 17*s.* 6*d.* per scholar in average attendance, to which the amount which may be earned by school managers is limited; and, whether this difference between the conditions on which drawing grants are paid in England and Scotland still exists; and, if so, why effect has not been given to the promise which he made on the subject on the 19th of April last?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): The questions raised in the debate on the 19th of April last were two—one relating to the conditions of the cookery grant, and the other to the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit as affecting the drawing grant. I promised that the conditions of the cookery grant should be suspended for a year, and a Minute to that effect was accordingly laid upon the Table, and has now become operative. But the 17*s.* 6*d.* limit, as was explained by the Lord Advocate in the course of the debate, stands on a different footing. I stated, on the 30th of April, that the Scotch Education Department and the Treasury were in communication on that matter. The delay has arisen from the difficulty in ascertaining what arrangement would be most satisfactory to those concerned; but in connection with this the Memorial of the Glasgow School Board is under consideration, and it is hoped that some arrangement will shortly be come to.

EXCISE DUTIES (LOCAL PURPOSES) BILL—THE VAN AND WHEEL TAX.

MR. BYRON REED (Bradford, E.) said, at the request of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he would postpone his Question as to the feasibility of substituting a tax on posters for the Van and Wheel Tax.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne): I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is true, as reported, that he has asked the Scotch Members to support the Excise Duties (Local Purposes) Bill on the understanding that it shall not extend to Scotland; and, whether he intends to carry his Bill by such bribery?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! That Question is not on the Paper.

MR. CAUSTON (Southwark, W.) said, he would like to ask, with regard to the hon. Member's Question, whether it was true that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had added, or proposed to add, Scotland to the already long list of exemptions from the Wheel Tax; and whether he could now announce the date for the second reading of the Bill?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): My right hon. Friend the Leader of the House has stated that the Bill will be taken when the Land Purchase Bill is disposed of. With regard to the other portion of the Question, perhaps the hon. Member will give Notice.

MR. CAUSTON: I presume that we shall have a few days' Notice.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I gave Notice last week that it will be the next Business after the disposal of the Land Purchase Bill.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby) said, a good deal of interest was taken in this matter; and as the day on which the termination of the Land Purchase Bill would be taken could not be absolutely fixed, would not the First Lord of the Treasury name a precise day next week before which the Bill would not be taken?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I am sorry I am not in a position to comply with the request of the right hon. Gentleman. I hope to be able to give more information to the House to-morrow.

SUPPLY—THE IRISH ESTIMATES.

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.) earnestly pressed on the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury to take the Irish Estimates immediately after the Land Purchase Bill; or, at all events, to inform the House when those Estimates might be expected to be taken.

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster): I have already stated to the House the arrangements as to the course of Business, and it would be most inconvenient that any departure should be made from that arrangement—most inconvenient both as a precedent and as regards hon. Members. The arrangement is that, so soon as the Bill under consideration is disposed of, the Government propose to ask the assent of the House to the second reading of the Excise Duties (Local Purposes) Bill, and after that the Employers' Liability for Injuries to Workmen Bill will be proceeded with. That is the engagement from which I cannot recede. As to what may follow, I shall consult the convenience of hon. Members.

THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN (Mr. SEXTON) (Belfast, W.) wished to know if the rest of the Irish Business, like the Land Purchase Bill, was to be taken *de die in diem;* and, if so, would the right hon. Gentleman state any probable date for the commencement of it.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, that what he intended to convey was that they would take both the Scotch Estimates and the Irish Estimates together; and therefore the Irish Business would be proceeded with as far as the Government could manage *de die in diem*, unless it was found necessary to take up some Business of an urgent character.

MR. SEXTON: Are we to understand, then—to put the matter plainly—that the Irish Estimates are to be put off until everything else is done?

MR. W. H. SMITH: I endeavoured, as far as I could, to meet the convenience of hon. Members, and I thought it was their desire that the Irish Estimates should be postponed until a later period.

MR. DILLON: I wish merely to ask whether the right hon. Gentleman consulted the Irish Members. I am prepared to show the extreme inconvenience to Irish Members who have come here to take part in the consideration of an important Irish Bill to have a quantity of Scotch and English Business put in between the conclusion of that Bill and the Estimates. Several hon. Members will have to go home and cross the sea again.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I cannot bind myself as to the details; but I must remind the hon. Member that these arrangements were stated publicly to the House many days ago. No objection was raised to them. On the contrary, they appeared to me to meet with satisfaction by hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway.

MR. SEXTON: At the proper opportunity I will move that the Irish Estimates be adjourned over Christmas Day.

SCOTCH CROFTERS' EMIGRATION—A COMMITTEE.

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he proposed to proceed to-night with his Notice for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the question of crofter emigration?

THE FIRST LORD (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster), in reply, said, he would be very glad, indeed, if the House would consent to the appointment of the Committee, because it was, of course, desirable that it should commence the inquiry as soon as possible. The discussion must be left till the Vote was reached, so as to enable the Committee to get to work. It would be im-

possible to break off to-night's debate in order to afford an opportunity for the discussion which the hon. Member desired.

DR. CAMERON said, he did not think the Committee should be appointed until some discussion.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked whether, before the right hon. Gentleman asked the House to assent to this Committee, he would lay on the Table the names of the Members who were to compose it?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the hon. Gentleman had full opportunity of acquainting himself with the names by communicating with his own Boards.

SOUTH AFRICA—DINIZULU.

In reply to Dr. CLARK (Caithness),

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES (Baron HENRY DE WORMS) (Liverpool, East Toxteth) said, he was informed that the interdiction of the Supreme Court with regard to Dinizulu had been removed, and that he had been sent to Zululand.

DR. CLARK inquired whether the interdiction was set aside on the ground that Dinizulu had committed murder?

BARON HENRY DE WORMS said, he had no further information.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

LAND PURCHASE (IRELAND) BILL.

(Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Secretary Matthews.)

[BILL 382.] SECOND READING.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [21st November], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was, to leave out the word "now," and, at the end of the Question, to add the words "upon this day three months."—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

And, the Question being again proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

MR. PARNELL (Cork): Sir, in asking the permission of the House to say a few words on this Bill, and to state my reasons for voting against its second reading, I desire, in the first place, to declare most emphatically that I approve of its principle absolutely and without reserve, and that I vote against its second reading because I believe the Bill is so designed under the circumstances of the time as to render it impossible that the principle should be duly and efficiently carried out. Associated as I have been during eight or nine years of my political life with this question of converting the tenant farmers of Ireland into owners of their holdings, it would ill become me to oppose any effort which I believe to be honestly designed for that purpose. I can recollect when the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was Chief Secretary for Ireland that I made my earliest effort in the direction of creating an occupying ownership in that country by the introduction of a Bill which gave the same facilities to the Church tenants for purchasing their holdings which were enjoyed under the Church Act of 1869 by landlords who sought to terminate the tithe rent-charge on their estates. That Bill was a very modest Bill; it simply asked that the Church tenants should be allowed to terminate their tenantship by paying to the Church Commissioners a sum equal to the annual amount which they would have to pay for 45 or 49 years, calculated at 4 per cent on the capitalized value of their holdings. That was a Bill which sought to create no risk for the Imperial Exchequer. It was a Bill which dealt simply with Irish property; but it was opposed by the Conservative Government of that day, and was defeated by some 50 or 60 votes on a Division in which, I am happy to say, I had the united support of the Liberal Party not then in Office. This is, then, a great conversion, and I congratulate myself on having had no small share in effecting that conversion when I see the Conservative Party of to-day, urged on by the landlords who then obstructed and rendered inoperative the Bright Clauses of the Land Act of 1870, turning their attention to the creation of a peasant proprietary in Ireland as the only way of solving the Land Question. That has always been my opinion, and I believe, before it is solved, we shall have furthe-

advances made by Her Majesty's Government, and that they will see the faults that are inherent in this measure, and that they will correct them by the alteration of those details we have urged upon them during this debate, and will continue to urge during the future stages of this Bill so long as the House gives us an opportunity of doing so. Neither, Sir, is it true that we oppose this Bill for the purpose of adding to the difficulties of governing Ireland. It would be most cruel of us, and most unrighteous, to seek to make any political capital out of this Land Question, and we would never, for a single moment, endeavour to injure any tenants' interests in order that the difficulties of Her Majesty's Government might be increased in Ireland. Our position has always been a plain one. We have on every occasion welcomed the exertions of the Legislature in the direction of mitigating the lot of the tenants in Ireland. We have always endeavoured to modify our action in accordance with the progression and application of those exertions, and if we have not been able to agree with past Liberal and Conservative Governments and accept the halting and imperfect steps which they made towards solving this question, it is not because we denied that they were steps, but because we saw that they were imperfect and that they must be, to a great extent, inefficacious to the object in view. I think an impartial investigation of our conduct and of that of the different organizations over which we had control since the year 1879 will show that we have endeavoured to assist the Legislature by every means in our power in perfecting these imperfect measures, and that we have modified our action in accordance with the completion of those measures; that there was a complete change in our action and in that of our organizations when the Land Act of 1881 was passed; that there was a further change when the Arrears Act of 1882 was passed; and that we had accepted *pro tanto* and assisted the Government of 1885 when it passed Lord Ashbourne's Act, and that we further welcomed attempts, maimed unfortunately at the last moment, to reduce judicial rents in 1887, and that we cordially received the admission, in 1887, of the leaseholders to the benefits of the Land Act of 1881. Therefore, it is not true, it is most calumniously false, to say that any of us sitting on these Benches attempted to make political capital out of these measures or attempted to refuse any boon whatever to the Irish tenants on the ground that it might make the difficulties of the Government greater in Ireland. The only fault we have to find in the Government is that they are embarking in this matter with ulterior objects, and that they have taken up this question with a view, not in the best way, to help the tenants; they have taken it up at the solicitation of the landlord class in Ireland, who now, when they see they can no longer maintain their position as landlords, attempt to get out of it by selling their property, as was done in the old days by the slave-owning class of Jamaica, as was said in Dublin the other day by one of their spokesmen, at an "inflated price," at a price that they know to be far beyond the market value. It is to prevent this loss to the Exchequer, and in order that this Bill might carry out its avowed and ostensible object, that we have intervened and endeavoured to press upon the Legislature the necessity of constructing a Bill upon truer and more beneficial lines. I object to the Bill not so much for what it contains as for what it does not contain. In the first place, because it contains no provision for the relief of tenants in arrears with their rents in Ireland. The Government say that to some extent this Bill will assist tenants in arrear in Ireland. But how does it assist them and how partially does it assist them? It may assist a few of the tenants who may happen to be on the purchased estates, an infinitesimally small minority of the tenants of Ireland, by lumping their arrears together with the purchase money. In other words, the taxpayer is called upon to bear the whole burden of arrears, and instead of insisting that the landlords should bear the burden, as you have done in Scotland, to the extent of wiping off fully 60 per cent of this burden, you say the whole of those arrears, so far as affected by the Bill, are to be put upon the shoulders of the British taxpayer. I say that that is an iniquitous consequence. The question of arrears is admitted to be a burning and a pressing question. Owing to your delay in admitting the leaseholders to the benefit of the provisions of the Act of 1881—six long years' delay—owing to your delay in

revising the judicial rents for two years after the fall in prices had rendered such a step absolutely necessary; owing to your action towards the close of the passage of the Act of 1887 through the House of Lords, and a threatening deputation—according to the public confession of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer a threatening deputation of Irish landlords waited upon him and threatened that their allegiance to the Crown would go if certain clauses were proceeded with ——

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): I never made such an admission at all.

MR. PARNELL: I am very glad the right hon. Gentleman gives me a certificate of loyalty, and I wish that his party generally and his auxiliaries in the Press would do the same thing, because the threat, as well as I can remember, was that those landlords would join me, and if I am disloyal, as affirmed by the right hon. Gentleman and his Party, my allies would be disloyal too. The consequence of that threat was seen in the action of the House of Lords, following immediately upon it. It was seen in the whittling down of the rent provisions of the Act of 1887. Owing to these causes, the accumulation of arrears had mounted up upon those tenants, and the only suggestion for their revision up to the present moment that has been made by the Government has been that the whole of the tenants, whom you ask that the British taxpayer should become the creditors of to the extent of £10,000,000, shall have the opportunity of going into the Bankruptcy Court. We have not been able to see our way to accept that proposal. I sincerely wish that it could have been otherwise; but when it was made I and my Colleagues discussed it at great length, and with great care and attention, and with every desire to accept it if we saw any possibility of an equitable result. But the conclusion to which we all came without exception—a conclusion arrived at after everybody had expressed his opinion freely and fully—was that it would be unjust and unfair of us to make the shopkeepers and tradespeople of Ireland, who had supported these miserable tenants in many periods of distress, abate their claims for payment of their shop debts because the tenants had got into a state of bankruptcy owing to those high rents. But if it could be proved that the same justice exists in the claim for abatement of shop debts that exists in the claim for abatement of rents, then we should cheerfully agree in those proposals—if you can prove that the shopkeeper has rackrented his customers as the landlord has rackrented his tenants; but until you prove that, do not talk to us about the equity of your proposals and a desire to share in the crisis which has arisen from the unreasonable and exacting conduct of the landlord. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour), when he argued against our proposal in 1887 for the arrears provision, and when we cited the example of the Scotch Crofters' Act, told us that the cases were not analogous. He said the arrears provision for Scotland was passed simultaneously with a rent provision, and the two systems came into operation at the same time; but in your case you ask that where rent-fixing provisions have been at work for seven or eight years there should be grafted upon those provisions the provisions which obtain in the Scotch Crofters' Act, and he therefore claimed that the two cases were not analogous. Even if there be force and strength in that argument—which, for my part, I cannot see—it only carries you a very short distance. Even admiting that it is just and right that tenants who had had their judicial rents fixed should not be admitted to the benefits of a provision relating to arrears, I claim that those tenants constitute a very small minority of the tenants of Ireland, only about 150,000 out of the 750,000 agricultural tenants affected by the Land Act of 1881. You had 120,000 leaseholders then admitted to the benefits of the Act of 1881. Why was not an Arrears' Act granted in respect to those 120,000 leaseholders? Why was not an Arrears' Act granted in respect of all those occupiers—of the 400,000 agricultural tenants in Ireland—who had been prevented up to that time by the load of their arrears from coming into the Land Courts under the Act of 1881? If the argument of the right hon. Gentleman has any relevancy at all, it adds to the strength of our case, because it admits that we have a case, and had a case in 1887, as regards 500,000 at least of the 620,000 tenants in

Ireland. I object also to this Bill because it does not contain provisions to enable the State, which is to supply the money, to decide what estates it is desirable to purchase in the public interest. You leave the decision of that question to the judgment of the landlords themselves. You say that you hope this Bill will have a large pacifying effect in Ireland. But how do you hope it will have that effect? According to the statistics given to us by the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) in introducing the Bill, out of the 14,000 tenancies brought under the operation of your legislation, 7,000 are in the North of Ireland, and a considerable portion of this number are tenancies on the estates of large absentee landlords, who are not remarkable as being the most rackrenting landlords. I think it will be generally agreed that the large absentee landlords in Ireland are not, as a rule—though there are some exceptions, Lord Clanricarde in particular—the most rackrenting landlords. But the operation of your Bill, which is to restore quiet in the disturbed districts in Ireland—on the congested estates of Kerry, Clare, Galway, and Mayo, whose sad history we have been reading with pain and sorrow in the proceedings before the Royal Commission which is now sitting—the operation of this will not touch those estates. And if the operations of the Commissioners are to proceed as they have proceeded, and as they must proceed under this measure, those estates and those districts will not and cannot be touched. We hear about the Duke of Abercorn's estate being sold, we hear of the great London companies absconding with I know not how much of this money, but we do not hear of a single estate in the congested districts of Ireland where all this crime has taken place—where the people have been driven alternately by desperation and by starvation to these deeds of violence and blood which have so shocked and horrified us—we do not hear of any of those estates being brought under the operation of your Act. Let us clear our minds of cant. If this House is going to vote this money, let it do it with its eyes open. Do not let it imagine that this money is to be devoted to bringing about peaceful relations in the most disturbed districts. The Land Commission cannot do this. The Land Commission Court in Ireland is at present flooded with bankrupt estates situated in these congested districts. The landlords and the encumbrancers refuse to sell at any price which the Commissioners could sanction. I could give the House one instance—that of a small estate, the Taafe estate in Mayo, where the population are so congested on the farms in the West of Ireland. The tenants and the landlord have agreed to purchase, but they agreed at such a price that the Commissioners, having regard to the class of tenants, the smallness of their holdings, and the position in which they would stand in periodically recurring bad times, refused to sanction it. I humbly submit that, in addition to the question of arrears, the question of whether this money is really to be used to restore tranquillity in the relations between landlord and tenants should come up; and it can only come up in one way. The only mode in which you can, in dealing with those congested districts, get at the true value of the interests in the property, will be by giving to the Commissioners power to do that which General Gordon, after a residence in the West of Ireland, and after a careful examination of the condition of the people, suggested when he said that the only way to settle the Land Question was by giving power to the Commissioners to purchase any of the estates in the West of Ireland at such reasonable and fair prices as would recompense the landlord for any real interest he has in the estate, but not one penny more. I object to this Bill also because of the insufficient reduction on the judicial rents made by the Land Courts, and because of its temporary character. I know what the difficulties are which the Government have to contend with in dealing with the question of Irish land. I saw the difficulty which the Liberal Government experienced in passing the Land Act of 1881. I saw that they had to contend with almost insuperable—in fact, with insuperable obstacles and difficulties. I saw the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which was introduced by Mr. Forster, ignominiously rejected by the House of Lords. I saw the many days and nights—I think about 60 or 70 altogether—that were consumed in discussing the Land

Act of 1881 in this House. I saw its valuable provisions struck out one by one in obedience to obstruction in this House—in obedience to threats of rejecting the measure altogether in "another place." I saw the provision that the judicial rent should date from the date of the application, instead of from the date of fixing it, struck out. I saw the claim for the admission of the leaseholders rejected. I saw the Healy Clause cut and whittled down so as to render the protection of the tenant's interest in his improvements inoperative. I saw many other bad and pernicious alterations made in its provisions; but I could not say that it was possible for the Government of that day to have done anything more than that which they attempted to do. But the fact remained; and we now have in Office a Conservative Government which can control the action of the House of Lords. Nay, more—they can control the action of their own followers here; and I would entreat them to reconsider this matter from the commencement, and to give to Ireland the benefit of the same reduction of arrears and of rent which they gave to Scotland. You gave to the Scotch crofters a reduction of 60 per cent on arrears and of 30 per cent on judicial rents. You gave Ireland a reduction of only 19½ per cent. You have extended that reduction for two or three years to come; but you do not know that you will be able to give any reduction, owing to the Lords' Amendments in the Act of 1887. I do not know that the Commissioners will be able this year to give any reduction at all to the Irish tenants. It is possible that on some estates instead of a reduction there may be a rise. But what will be the position of the Government of Ireland if the average reduction of 12 per cent on judicial rents last year is lost this year, and if the tenants find themselves left without any reduction or abatement? My only hope is that the Land Commissioners, seeing the desperate condition of Ireland, may go outside and beyond the law, and interpret by the rule of thumb instead of being bound by the strict letter. But I object to this Bill because, while inviting landlords and tenants to come together and agree as to a price for the holding, it holds out to the tenant but a very partial protection for his interest under the clauses of the Act of 1887. I say that a bargain cannot be made on an equitable footing on such terms; and that the tenants would have a claim to come to you hereafter and to say, "You have taken advantage of our necessities by compelling us to make this bargain; we consider that we were not free agents in this contract and that we are entitled to repudiate it." That is a result which I should dread above all others. I believe that the Irish Land Question cannot be settled without a large loan on English credit to the Irish farmers; and I desire that the bargain entered into now or at any future time by the Irish tenants shall rest on such a footing and basis as will render the prospect of repudiation entirely out of the question. I also see in this Bill an absence of any effective conciliation of the National sentiment. Believe me, that is a most important point. What was it that gave the strength to the Land League agitation beyond that of any other agrarian movement that was ever known? It was the National sentiment. The National sentiment was the backbone of the Land League. Without that it would have been as potter's clay; and while, by your system of government in Ireland—by your coercion—you are trampling on the National sentiment, you are sowing the seeds of future difficulties of which you know very little. Believe me, every peasant who goes to his village and his home after his six or 12 months' experience of your plank-bed for doing that which in England is lawful to every British subject, carries with him a lesson and a tale which will not be lost, which will not be thrown away upon his companions, which must embitter the feelings with which Irishmen regard your Government, which will do much to render useless those lessons of patience and forbearance which are daily being preached by the Irish leaders. I do not now, Sir, refer to the question of the establishment of a representative authority in Ireland to act as a buffer between the Irish tenants and the State; but I regard this, if we are contemplating any large scheme of purchase, as an absolutely essential condition. You do not now, under your fiscal system, collect any direct taxation from the workers and the humbler classes of the community. You raise almost your entire revenue—your entire revenue so far as they are concerned—

by indirect taxation. The tax-collector does not call at the cottage homes; but if you pass a large measure of this kind —and we must suppose that if this succeeds, as you say the Act of 1885 has succeeded—you will not be able to stop there. You will have created tenants all over the country who are paying 20 or 30 per cent less than their fellow-tenants who are still under the landowners, and you will not have any reasonable answer to make to those men who are left out when they come and say — "You must advance the £70,000,000 or £80,000,000 which are necessary to enable us to obtain a similar reduction." You will either have to do that or go to the landlords directly and say—"Give to the tenants this 20 or 30 per cent that we have given to the occupying owners by our process of purchase." But if this proceeds, if you do provide ultimately the £70,000,000, £80,000,000, or £90,000,000 necessary for turning the occupying tenants of Ireland into owners, what position will you bear towards those people in times of future distress? They will have a powerful representation in Parliament. They will have their 86 Members. ["Hear, hear!" *and* "More!"] They may have 101 Members. [*Ironical laughter.*] I do not calculate in that estimate necessarily upon the dispossession of the two hon. Members who sit on this side above the Gangway—the hon. Member for South Tyrone (Mr. T. W. Russell) and the hon. Member for South Londonderry (Mr. Lea)—although we hope to be successful in clearing out that little corner. But even granting the then political existence of those hon. Gentlemen, they will not be separated from us, representing as they will agricultural constituencies, in any claim which we feel impelled to make by the interests of our constituents upon the consideration or forbearance of the Irish Exchequer. [Mr. T. W. Russell: Any just claim.] You will have just as much bother in Parliament then as now. Governments will depend then as now upon the balancing power of the united Irish vote, and you will, in addition, have to go to these 500,000 tenancies under £10 in valuation, many of them under £5, a considerable number under £3 in valuation—you will have to send your tax-collectors to the doors of each of those cottages with an army of crowbar brigademen and I do not know how many policemen and soldiers. Such a prospect as that no sane Government of a self-respecting State ought to tolerate for a single moment. It is sheer madness, and the madness becomes so stupendous, in view of any attempt to see that too much is not given for those landlords' interests, that it is impossible for me to find any equivalent figure. I do not propose to detain the House at any greater length. I may say this, however, in addition, that you would do well not to shut your eyes to those things. But there is another danger, and the greatest danger of all. I have said that you have not attempted to conciliate the National sentiment of Ireland; that you treat this Land Question as a purely agrarian question. But do you not know what is being done by the agents of disaffection with the young men of the country throughout the length and breadth of Ireland? If you do not, you ought to know. The voters are with us; I believe they will continue to be with us. But how about the hot youth of the country who will be the future owners of those farms, who will be your future taxpayers—what lessons are being taught to those young men? If the National question were settled, if the National sentiment were conciliated, you would have nothing to fear from all the Fenian propagators from New York to San Francisco. There is not a Government agent in Ireland to-day, using the powers of your Coercion Act, but who is a more effective fomenter of this disaffection than O'Donovan Rossa and all his colleagues had ever hoped to become. Those are dangers that you have before you in future, unless you proceed on the task —the great and worthy task—of settling this agrarian question with a due knowledge and appreciation of the conditions which you have to meet. Believe me, it is not merely an agrarian question. The Statesmen and the Governments who consider that they have nothing to deal with except a number of old, and many of them ignorant, tenant farmers tottering towards their graves, and that once such men had been made owners at a reduction in their rents of 20 per cent, that this is the whole Irish Land Question, make a terrible and fatal mistake. I would implore the House and

the Government to meet us in this matter, and to see that, before this Bill leaves the House, suitable provisions at least will be drafted into it for dealing with one of the greatest of those difficulties, the most pressing of those difficulties — the question of arrears. I believe that if this is done the Government and the House will find that this advance on the part of the Legislature will be cordially appreciated and welcomed, and they will reap a rich reward in the administration of Ireland, and in the conciliation and the pacification of the country.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL (Paddington, S.): I have listened with all respect to the hon. Member who has just resumed his place, and I venture to express the opinion that it is possible a large portion of the House and a large portion of the public may experience some disappointment in reflecting on the speech just delivered. Instead of gaining from the hon. Member what his great knowledge of Ireland and his great experience of Ireland would enable him to give—namely, argument bearing on the Bill itself, on the proposals of the Bill, and the manner in which those proposals might be effectively worked—we have heard from him a different communication. We have heard a speech which dealt with matters which I venture to think were largely remote from the proposals of the Government, and largely remote from the subject now under the consideration of the House. The hon. Gentleman indulged to some extent in reminiscences and in retrospect, which were to him apparently of an uncheering and a melancholy character. I see no reason why the hon. Member in looking back, so far as the Party is concerned, over the results of their labours during recent years, should experience any feeling of despondency. My own impression is that he would be justified, looking merely at the condition of the Irish tenantry and the position of this House with respect to the question which deeply interests that tenantry from an agricultural point of view, in saying that the condition of the Irish tenantry is widely different at the present time from what it was when he first entered Parliament. But the objection of the hon. Member to a great extent was based on what the Bill did not contain. He did not, however, state to the House one objection as to what the Bill did contain. The hon. Member asserted with some plausibility that the Bill had been brought in by the Government at the dictation of the Irish landlords for the purpose of allowing them to sell their land at an inflated price. I do not appeal to the hon. Member to say whether that is a statement which in calm moments, and with a knowledge of the facts, will bear examination. It ispossible that in one or two cases, in the wide range of the operation of the Act, a mistake may have been made, but necessarily you must look at the question as a whole. If Her Majesty's Government had asked Parliament to enable them to meet the demands which the Irish landlords had made in their conference in Dublin the other day, and which were referred to by the right hon. Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan), then I could understand a charge of that kind being brought forward. But in the conference of landlords in Dublin the other day, if I recollect aright, there was no allusion to the action of the Government. Their demands were of a quite different character, and I have seen nothing either in the utterances of the Government, or in those of the landlords, which would lead me to suppose that the demands of the Irish landlords at that conference in Dublin were of a character likely to receive the support of the Government or the attention of the country. I do not think the hon. Gentleman seriously contends that 17 years' purchase on the judicial rent is an inflated price. The figures, at all events, approximate to that amount, and it cannot be said, looking to the price of land in Ireland in former disturbed times, that there is any justification for the statement that there is an inflation in the prices given to Irish landlords. The hon. Gentleman seemed to assume that the landlords made use of the Act which has been passed, and which it is now sought to extend, for the purpose of exacting from the tenantry arrears which they could not otherwise obtain. But I thought it was the case when a bargain was made between a landlord and tenant for the completion of a sale to the tenant that all the arrears were wiped off as a part of the bargain. [*Cries of* "No!" from the Home Rule Members.] Does the hon.

Gentleman contend that the arrears are included in the price? [*Cries of* "Yes!"] And that the price is increased by the amount of the arrears? [*Renewed cries of* "Yes!"] Then, if that be so, I cannot understand how the price of land in Ireland is so low as 17 years' purchase. Without doubt, if the arrears which have been accumulated on many estates for many years are included in the price of the land, surely that price must have exceeded 17 years' purchase, and must have approximated to 20 years' purchase. It would be well if that statement of the hon. Gentleman were to leave the realm of imagination and enter into the domain of proof. Until it does so it must be difficult for hon. Members taking an impartial view of this matter to accept the statement of the hon. Gentleman in its entirety. The hon. Member declared that a large portion of the operation of the Act had been confined to the estates of absentee landlords, and that their tenantry had profited by the Act rather than the tenantry of rack-renting landlords. But the hon. Gentleman mentioned that the largest operations which have taken place under the Act took place on the estates of the Duke of Abercorn. Yet the hon. Gentleman will not say for a moment that the Duke of Abercorn has been an absentee landlord. Indeed, I doubt whether any landlord in Ireland is more entitled to the approbation of the Irish community for endeavouring to do his duty than the non-rackrenting landlord. The hon. Member did not mention by name any absentee landlord who had profited by the Act.

MR. PARNELL: I mentioned as absentee landlords the London Companies, and as an example of the larger landowners on whose estates no particular crisis existed I mentioned the Duke of Abercorn.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Of course the London Companies stand on a footing of their own, and if that question were examined by the House with any care, I think it is not at all unlikely that the views which the hon. Member holds and those which I hold would not, perhaps, very widely differ. But the hon. Member seems to complain that the Act has not yet operated in congested districts—in Mayo, and in Galway, and, I suppose, in parts of Donegal. Well, no doubt the allegation of the hon. Member in that respect is not open to contradiction; but there are causes at work still in the congested districts which would prevent operations connected with the investment of money in land on a very wide area. There is hardly that amount of tranquillity and that amount of security in certain parts of Ireland which may be considered to be congested that is favourable to the progress of peasant proprietors. But I hope that by the exertions now being made for the restoration of order, and with the assistance and example of hon. Gentlemen opposite, who have great influence in their country, the system of peasant proprietary may be introduced even in these congested and somewhat disturbed districts. That is not a matter which we can dwell upon at present with satisfaction, or one which we can afford to overlook. The hon. Member also objected to the fact that there was nothing in this Bill which would conciliate national sentiment. Now, I appeal to the hon. Member as a shrewd man of business whether in a Bill which deals solely with hard dry matters of fact—with investments of money and repayments of money—it is easy to introduce some romance of national sentiment. The two subjects are totally different. National sentiment and national feeling and aspirations are admirable things, and I should be the last to throw discredit upon them, but I really think that where we are dealing with the investment of money and the risk to the British taxpayer, the less we have to do with sentiment the better. Before I pass away from the speech of the hon. Gentleman I should like to ask him this. He said he was entirely in favour of the principle of the Bill—namely, the introduction of peasant proprietorship. I have a right to ask him whether, if he does not approve, what alternative he would propose. May we understand that the hon. Member was arguing in favour of the proposal made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) in 1880. Is that the land purchase of which the hon. Member is enamoured? I know of no other purchase scheme except that of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian and the Small Holdings Bill. The hon. Member will not accept the Bill now before the House. What I want is for him, as the leader of Irish

opinion, to tell us what alternative proposal he would accept. I think that is a perfectly fair question.

MR. PARNELL: I have said that I would accept the Bill if the danger connected with it were removed by a provision dealing with arrears.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I do not think I should be right to go into the question of arrears to-night. That question was fully considered by the House in the last debate, and I think the House has pronounced judgment upon it. I was in favour in 1887 of the Government dealing with arrears in a manner more or less calculated to secure the approval of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and I adhere to that opinion at the present moment. I rather think it is just possible, judging from the expression which have fallen from the Solicitor General for Ireland and from the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the last debate, that the Government still have it in their minds, and that they will probably before long have to make proposals to the House on the question of arrears. [Mr. W. O'BRIEN: Silence gives consent.] I gather that the objection which the Irish Party as a whole take to the Bill is that they are unable to agree to a Bill of this character while coercion is in existence in their country. That was the position taken up pretty strongly by the hon. Member for East Mayo (Mr. Dillon), and it secured the approval of most of his Colleagues. I should like to ask on that point this question—Does the existence of coercion, or what is called coercion, so vex and irritate the Irish Members and the Irish people that as long as it lasts they are determined that no measure of any sort or kind shall be passed for Ireland? [*Cries of* "No!" *from the Home Rule Members.*] I thought that could not be the case. The Irish Party are far too intelligent and far too patriotic to place themselves in a position in which they could be held up to public ridicule as men cutting off their noses in order to spite their own faces. But I gather that the opinion of the hon. Member for East Mayo is that the existence of the Criminal Law in Ireland in its present condition hinders the transactions undertaken under this Bill, and that it operates prejudicially to them. Now, I own frankly, though, perhaps, it may be owing to my want of judgment, that I cannot follow that opinion up—it seems to me to be absolutely untenable. I should be inclined to suggest that the existence of the Criminal Law in Ireland in its present condition would facilitate those operations in land purchase. You cannot have ownership taken up by the State for the tenant unless you have throughout the country perfect freedom from all intimidation, either by individuals or by organizations, to prevent the voluntary action of the persons who may be wishing to operate under the Act. Will any hon. Member from Ireland tell the House in what way the administration of the Criminal Law can possibly impede the free action either of the landlord or of the tenant in bringing the Act into operation? Does it prevent the hon. Members from Ireland, who consider the tenantry to be under their special charge, from watching most carefully over every operation of this kind? [*Cries of* "Yes!"] In what way?

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.): We are sent to gaol for advising them.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: In what way is it possible? If an estate in the County of Mayo or Galway is to be the subject of sale and purchase, will not the hon. Member for East Mayo be at perfect liberty to examine into the whole of these proposals and to advise the tenantry? [*Cries of* "No!"]

MR. DILLON (Mayo, E.): Unfortunately for the noble Lord's argument, I was deprived of my liberty for doing so.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: If I were to follow the hon. Member into that, I should be led into a great controversy. I express a very confident opinion that there is nothing whatever in the present administration of the Criminal Law in Ireland which need prevent any Member of his Party from watching most carefully every operation undertaken under this Bill, and from giving whatever advice he may think fit to the tenants, provided that that advice is in accordance with the law of the land and with the preservation of the public peace. I now turn away from the objections of hon. Members for Ireland to this Bill, which have been mainly of the character which I have described, to the objections which have been taken

by the English Members of Parliament. Now, Sir, the main objection which is taken by the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) and all his supporters, and which is expressed pointedly by the right hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), is that this Bill, if it stood absolutely by itself, might be considered more or less favourably; but that the great objection, the fatal objection, to it is that it is the precursor of similar measures founded upon similar lines. That is the main objection. There are minor objections to which I may for a moment allude. It was said by the Leader of the Opposition, and dwelt upon by a Scotch Member yesterday, that we should never offer to English or Scotch tenants the proposals now made to Irish agricultural tenants, and that we have no right to make proposals for Ireland which we should not think of making for England or Scotland. But if that objection be true, the circumstances of the land in England and Scotland are not analogous to the circumstances in Ireland. And, moreover, if you had on the part of the agricultural population of England a great demand for State assistance for the purpose of enabling the occupiers to purchase their freeholds, obviously the Parliamentary majority would have to consider that demand, and consider it seriously and favourably, just in the same way as Parliament had to consider the demand of a certain portion of the agricultural population for allotments. But it is notorious that there is absolutely no demand in any part of England. [An hon. MEMBER: Oh, oh!] The hon. Member who says "Oh!" may be able to correct me afterwards in debate; but I know of no demand whatever in England or Scotland on the part of the agricultural community for advances from the State for the purpose of buying their holdings. I know of no part of the country where such a demand exists. There was a minor objection taken by the hon. Member for South Salford (Mr. Howorth), to which he seemed to attach importance—that the effect of this Bill would be to bring about, as it were, the enforced exile from Ireland of the persons now called landlords in that country—that the Bill would lead to the rapid disappearance of resident gentry in Ireland. If I thought that such would be the effect of this Bill or any legislation of the kind, I should certainly oppose it. But I am convinced that it can have no such result. The landlord who sells his estate sells only the estate which is in the occupation of the tenants. But the hon. Gentleman entirely left that out of the calculation. Everyone who has travelled in Ireland must know that Ireland is studded all over with beautiful and attractive demesnes, and which, if undisturbed by the "alarms and excursions" of tenants and agents or Land Leaguers, will remain in the peaceful possession of resident landlords. The great attraction of these demesnes, together with the attraction of climate and all descriptions of sport, will always bring to Ireland, or keep in Ireland, that class of resident gentry whose existence in any country is, I think it will be agreed on all hands, certainly most conducive to the welfare and prosperity of that country. It must be remembered by the hon. Member for Salford and those who take a similar view that this Bill does not buy out the landlords in any sense of the word. It merely gets rid of the encumbrances on the land. I now come to the main objection to the Bill—and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) expressed it very well. He said—

> "I object to the Bill, because it pledges the House to land purchase, and to land purchase on the lines of the Ashbourne Act."

I beg leave to disagree entirely with that statement, and I do so entirely from a financial point of view. I think it is as certain as anything in this world can be that no Bill similar to this is likely to be presented to Parliament, and I will explain why. The position of the House of Commons with regard to this matter is a rather composite one. We are, as regards Ireland, in the position of trustees who possess an estate of great value, and an estate with which we do not mean to part, and whose duty it is to develop and improve that estate, if possible, by all prudent and legitimate means. But at the same time, we are, as regards the taxpayer, in the position of trustees who are in the possession of funds which they have no right to invest or expend except in sound and legitimate and safe investments. Therefore it is a composite position which we

occupy, and the Bill is undoubtedly one of a composite character. The reason why I feel absolutely certain that no similar Bill will ever be introduced by a responsible Government is that, as a financial operation as distinguished from a political experiment, it is not good enough. I confidently anticipate that in these remarks I shall carry with me the approbation of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I will tell the House why I think that the proposal of a measure such as this on a large scale is impossible. It is that the security for these advances is totally insufficient. Now, Sir, the risk arising from insufficient security as applied to the sum of £5,000,000 may not be great, and it may be a risk insignificant compared with the advantages which you may perhaps derive from the expenditure of £10,000,000. But the risk arising from insufficient security would be far too great for this House to undertake if the proposal contemplated the employment of a larger sum. I will prove to the House exactly why that is. In the first place, I entirely agree with those who have said that it would never do to make the State the immediate landlord of the Irish tenants. That is an argument which I believe will find universal acceptance from all quarters of the House. I agree entirely with the able and ingenious views which the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) took upon that when he pointed out the risk of imposing what would amount to direct taxation, a sort of poll tax, upon the great majority of the Irish people. But what I would dwell upon for a moment is this—that the danger of making the State the immediate landlord of the Irish tenantry was presented to the House of Commons in the most aggravated form in the proposal of the right hon. Member for Mid Lothian. There the State was to advance money practically to the Irish tenants in a very large sum for the purchase of their land, and the powers of resistance by the Irish tenants in case they should be disinclined to repay were fixed and concentrated and effectuated in a Parliament which had absolutely dependent upon it an Executive Government, and an Executive Government dependent upon the action of the absolute majority in Parliament. That would have been a most formidable obstacle for the British to overcome, in the event of there being adopted any doctrine of repudiation. I know that the right hon. Gentleman attached immense importance to the position of the Receiver General. But what has always struck me was that the Irish Parliament and Irish Executive, if they so desired, would have nothing more to do with the Receiver General than to send a couple of policemen, and firmly but gently convey that gentleman to Kingstown pier and put him on a steam packet for Holyhead — of course giving him a first-class ticket to London. My belief is that "all the King's horses and all the King's men" would never be able to reinstate that gentleman. Passing away from this, there is a general agreement in the House that the policy of making the State the immediate landlord of the whole Irish tenantry is a policy full of risks and full of dangers. That is one reason why I think no measure on these lines will be again laid before Parliament. Under these two Bills it is calculated that 20,000 or 25,000 tenant-owners may be created. That is an experimental number, but it is not a number which is likely to endanger the State, and probably in that number you have reached the limits of prudence. Now I come to the financial risks. The security is perfectly insufficient for a large outlay. What is the security for the repayment of the loan? Nothing whatever but the land. I say that is an insufficient security where you advance the whole of the purchase-money. Under an ordinary mortgage in this country, if you wanted to buy land, you might leave half the purchase-money. In towns you might be able to have three-quarters. But in Ireland you advance the whole purchase-money on the security of the land. That, I say, is an utterly insufficient security. [An hon. MEMBER: We have only to advance four-fifths.] I knew somebody would tell me four-fifths, and that is exactly what I am coming to, and I am anxious to dissipate the argument that there is a security in the retention by the State of the one-fifth of the purchase money. It is an absolute misuse of the word security. If you advance £10,000, and hold back £2,000, where is the security for the £8,000? How is your £8,000 covered? By nothing but the land

itself. The retention of the one-fifth by the State is not a security, it is a limitation of the loan. But the House must recollect that in 15 years this security will have disappeared, that in 15 years, if the tenant has paid £2,000 of the £10,000 advanced, the security has gone—in other words, all the security that will remain for the £8,000 will be the land. I am using this argument to dissipate the objections taken by the Opposition —[*Laughter*]—you do not wait till the finish of the sentence—the objections taken by the Opposition that these proposals will be repeated. I am inclined to think that these proposals cannot be repeated. I wish to distinguish broadly between large financial operations and justifiable political experiments. [*Laughter.*] What I desire to say is that large financial operations will never be proposed to the House of Commons. It has been argued that this Bill will lead to other Bills of a similar character, and that is the argument to which I wish, if the House will allow me, to address myself. I have shown that the retention of one-fifth is in no sense of the word a security at all; but now I come to what is supposed to be another security, and that, I think, it is not impossible to destroy; and this is the argument mentioned by the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) to the effect that the tenant's interest in his holding would constitute a security—the interest in his holding conferred on the tenant by the Land Act of 1881—and the hon. and learned Solicitor General wished the House to be under the impression that the tenant, in consequence of the Act of 1881, had something more to offer in the way of security than if that Act had not been passed. I think the argument was put in this way, and *The Times* states it in a leading article to-day. At the close of the article *The Times* says—

"Finally, it must never be forgotten that the Irish tenant has already an interest in the land, the tenant-right, which is worth as much as, and frequently more than, the landlord's interest, the fee-simple."

That appears to me to be the most absurd idea that ever was propounded in a rational organ of public opinion, or even of the most audacious debater. I think the hon. and learned Solicitor General must have forgotten, or did not know, that that fallacy was settled in the debate in 1885, and that his Predecessor, the Solicitor or Attorney General—now Mr. Justice Holmes—was, on the instructions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, posted at the Table for no other purpose than to destroy it. It is obvious on the smallest consideration that tenant-right, or the interest of the tenant in his holding, exists only where there is a tenancy, for when a tenant is converted into an owner all the interest that he had as a tenant in the land absolutely disappears. [An hon. MEMBER: That is a quibble.] An hon. Member behind me says that is a quibble. It is no quibble at all, because the impression that was conveyed to the House was that the Irish tenant had more to offer in the way of security on account of tenant-right than if he had no tenant-right. As a matter of fact, the moment the tenant becomes the owner the security vanishes, and he is simply in the position of the owner paying interest on the mortgage. I think it would be most dangerous and most improper if these delusions were not pointed out, because otherwise there might get abroad in the public mind that they might invest public money without incurring dangers they meet with in other countries. Now I know that probably it will be argued by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby—who may speak in this debate—that my criticisms on the insufficiency of the security are fatal to this Bill. But I do not think that that is a fair, or by any means a fair, argument. What I have endeavoured to point out is this, that the fears that this was the forerunner of larger proposals dealing with large sums of money are not justified, for I believe I have shown that no Bill largely dealing with public money can be presented to Parliament. But this Bill is for the purpose of continuing a political experiment which has been well begun, and which heretofore has been attended with the most encouraging results; and a rich nation like the United Knigdom can afford to indulge in political experiments. [*Laughter.*] Well, a great deal of public money has been expended in experiments of a less promising nature. I do not argue that the £10,000,000 are unsecured. On the contrary, they are secured on land. All I argue is that

the security is insufficient, and that you may risk this security for £10,000,000 when you dare not risk a larger sum. There is one more financial reason that I may venture to offer to the House why a Bill on the lines of this measure dealing with larger sums never can be presented to Parliament, and this, again, is a reason that does not operate on £10,000,000, but which would be fatal to a Bill dealing with a larger sum. Perhaps the House is not aware of the nature of this objection. The objection lies in the very narrow margin which exists between the rate at which the Treasury can borrow and the rate at which the Treasury lend—I should rather say the National Debt Commissioners. Under the Act of 1885 the Commissioners advance money at 3⅛ per cent, but the National Debt Commissioners are barely able to borrow money at something under a fraction of 3 per cent. The margin then only amounts to 2*s.* 6*d.* per cent. That has to cover all the expenses of administration in every Department, and various other expenses. This margin has many duties to perform, and, moreover, it is a margin which may disappear any day, because—and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer will confirm me in this—circumstances very easy to foresee might make it impossible for the National Debt Commissioners to raise their money at less than 3 per cent, possibly 3¼ per cent. In that case the State would be put to a positive loss. Again, I say that it is impossible for the country to undertake to advance large sums of money—£20,000,000, £30,000,000, or £50,000,000—at anything like this rate. It would be most insecure, most risky, and most dangerous, and almost certainly a losing operation. I have shown that, as regards insufficiency of security and insufficiency of margin of interest, it is absolutely impossible that any large measure of land purchase can be produced to Parliament on the lines of the present Bill. May I, in conclusion, say why I support the Bill as submitted to Parliament? I support it in the first place because it is not a large Bill. It is rather like the poor woman's illegitimate child—at any rate it is not a large one. And I support the Bill for the reason, which is a very sound one, and which is this, that it provides for the continuation of a machinery and the renewal of a Department which has, by general consent, been admirably conducted, and which has gained a vast amount of credit and experience in dealing with transactions of a most complicated and difficult character, and I do hold that it would be an act of the most reckless folly on the part of the Government and the House of Commons to allow that machinery and that Department to die out. It may be said that £5,000,000 is a large sum to be invested for that purpose. Of the £5,000,000, £1,000,000 has already practically gone, so that really we are only placing £4,000,000 at the disposal of the Department. Well, the £4,000,000 will probably be exhausted in less than two years. Sales are sure to be accelerated, and the £5,000,000 lasted less than three years. Hon. Gentlemen opposite ought to modify their objections on that account. What does their Leader say? He said—"I oppose this Bill because this means postponing the land purchase in Ireland," and I have shown that there is nothing whatever in this Bill which can prevent the Government coming next year or the year after with proposals in another form, or larger proposals for land purchase. Therefore, I support £5,000,000, because it does allow an ample margin of time. Land purchase cannot be approached hastily. It is a subject which requires the deepest deliberation. I see nothing objectionable in the sum of £5,000,000, because it allows a sufficient margin of time. I will not detain the House with any further observations, although there are certain arguments I should like to have brought forward with reference to other indirect and ultimate effects of this measure. I support the Bill simply because, as I have said before, it does not involve appreciable risk; because it can never be a precedent for measures on a larger scale involving large expenditure on land purchase; because it continues the machinery necessary for the welfare of Ireland; because I know, by all the reports, that it repeats an experiment which has had satisfactory results among the tenantry of Ireland, and because it has stimulated in all parts of Ireland an honourable ambition on the part of the occupier to own the land that he tills, and tends largely to remove many sources of irritation and

ill-will. Sir, under these circumstances, when the Bill is looked at fairly, and not from a Party point of view—I do not think I have dealt with it from a Party point of view—it must be seen that many of the dangers which hon. Gentlemen opposite have conjured up are entirely imaginary, and are hardly worthy of the great Party which they represent. Why should we not, if we can, try and find out something with regard to Ireland upon which we can all agree? There is general agreement as to the principles of the Bill. ["No!"] It has been admitted on all sides of the House ["No!"]; as regards the creation of a peasant proprietary in Ireland, at any rate four-fifths of the House are in favour of it. We are pursuing an experiment tending towards that end—an experiment, in its present form, unattended with danger, and I do really appeal with some confidence to hon. Gentlemen opposite, after the elaborate and exhaustive discussion which has taken place, whether we might not now allow the Bill to go forward, and turn the attention of the House to the more special subjects for the consideration of which the Autumn Session was specially convened.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square): I offer my apologies to the House, after having detained it at some length the other day, for so soon intruding upon its indulgence again; but I think the majority of the House will agree that in my position as Chancellor of the Exchequer I have a particular responsibility in this matter from the financial point of view. The Government certainly cannot complain of the general course of the debate, and certainly it is not the Chancellor of the Exchequer who should regret that the greatest possible attention has been paid throughout to the position of the English taxpayer. I have seen in the speeches of many hon. Members two strong currents of feeling, not incompatible, but both natural. One is that we should go forward with a great scheme of land purchase for Ireland, the other that at the same time it should be so arranged that no possible burden or liability should fall upon the British taxpayer. Now, the House seemed at one time to jeer the remark of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) when he alluded to the agreement that there might be upon this question between himself and myself. I venture at once to say that with the greater portion of his remarks, except in regard to the security offered under this Bill, I concur to a very large extent. It is a perfectly legitimate position for the noble Lord to take up that this is an experiment involving a certain amount of risk, and that, nevertheless, it is right to make the experiment. We might appeal even to hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite; they too might think that for the sake of the pacification of Ireland it was not wrong but, on the contrary, expedient to ask the British taxpayer to make the experiment. Because the House will not forget that under the Arrears Bill proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) in 1882 not an indirect liability alone, but a direct charge was placed on the public funds for the discharge of a portion of the arrears due to landlords, and when we are taunted with introducing a measure for the relief of landlords, the House might well reflect on that measure which involved an outlay of funds belonging to the State of no less than £950,000. That was the demand made in 1882, and I appeal to that precedent as justifying the contention of the noble Lord that, even if there was a serious risk in this experiment, it nevertheless was one which might legitimately be tried within the limits and to the extent to which we are now appealing to the House. It is not the Government but its opponents who from the first have been anxious to contend that this demand for a further £5,000,000 must lead necessarily to further demands of £20,000,000, £30,000,000, or £50,000,000. We have maintained from the beginning that that was an absolute and entire misrepresentation, whether of the natural results of the experiment or of the intentions of the Government. We take up the position of the noble Lord; we do not wish this process of purchase to be arrested. We do not wish the machinery to be stopped. We are satisfied with the result of the experiment so far, and we are not prepared to take the responsibility of bringing it to an end, and for that reason—not in redemption of our

pledge to attempt to deal with the great Land Question in Ireland, not in redemption of our pledge to see whether we can devise some scheme which would apply to the whole of Ireland, or such portions as it would be most desirable to deal with—we propose the present measure, but simply as a limited and temporary expedient justified by what has gone before, and restricted to such an amount as may enable us to tide over the interval between our present proposal and that which it will be our duty, and we hope it may be in our power, to make. So far, therefore, from objecting to the speech of the noble Lord, in which he showed that it would be extremely difficult or impossible to come for a further demand of this character to the House of Commons, I am not sorry that he has exposed the futile apprehension that we should go forward from £5,000,000 to £10,000,000, and from that to those unlimited amounts which did not frighten the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian in 1886. At the same time the House will expect that I should deal with that portion of the speech of the noble Lord in which he attacked the security for our present advance.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did not attack the security for the present advance; I showed that there was not security for the future.

MR. GOSCHEN: The noble lord did not say that the loss was great; but in a perfectly proper way he did attack the security in this sense—that he denied that the one-fifth retained by the State ought to be considered as security at all, and he further dealt with the difficulty that there is no margin. With regard to the latter point, I am very much in agreement with the noble Lord. The margin is extremely small, and it would not be justifiable to continue so small a margin for such large transactions as some hon. Members think may follow upon the present Bill. I do not dispute the noble Lord's statements. I am glad he has placed them before the House, because there is a general impression, and a dangerous impression, against which every Chancellor of the Exchequer ought to protest, that it is possible for us to borrow at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent or 2 per cent occasionally on short loans, and therefore that we can lend at very cheap rates for every purpose for which public money is wanted. That is a delusion. The possibility of borrowing on Treasury Bills gives the public the impression that Government can borrow at these very low rates, and might even lend below 3 per cent. But that impression is an entirely erroneous one. Therefore I do not at all dissent from that portion of the argument of the noble Lord. But when I come to his argument with regard to the one-fifth which is retained and not paid out, I am sorry to say I cannot be in agreement with him. The result of his argument would be that when you act as bankers between two parties, and when you guarantee a transaction, your liability is as great if you pay out the whole purchase money as if you paid out only four-fifths.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I said that the retention of one-fifth was, accurately speaking, a limitation of liability, but not actually a security.

MR. GOSCHEN: I remember the phrase, and I thought it an extremely happy one. But at the same time, to my mind, a limitation of liability when I have gone bankrupt is very much the same as a payment. If you limit your liability, you are practically limiting your advance. That appears to me to be a proposition which cannot be denied. The cheers, however, with which that part of the argument of the noble Lord was greeted on the other side of the House seemed to indicate that in their opinion we might under this Bill just as well have paid out the whole money to the landlords as retained a portion. ["No, no!"] I will put it to the test. Will hon. Gentlemen, who seem to attach no value to this one-fifth, put an Amendment on the Paper saying that we are to pay out the whole five-fifths to the landlord, because the retention of one-fifth only limits our liability? The landlords are very sorry not to have this paid out to them; they think it a considerable security to the State. It is a security in this sense—that we are not liable for the whole purchase-money, but only for four-fifths, and the remaining one-fifth diminishes the advance we make upon the land, and therefore makes it a safer operation than otherwise it would be.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): Only for 15 years.

MR. GOSCHEN: I am obliged to the right hon. Gentleman, because I hope to show that it is not correct to say that it is only for 15 years. The right hon. Gentleman will be aware that the instalments which are paid represent 3½ per cent for interest and ¾ per cent for the repayment of capital — that is to say, that 17*s.* 6*d.* of every £4 paid as an instalment goes to repay the advance, so that by the time the 15 years have elapsed, one-fifth of the capital originally advanced has been paid off. During the 15 years before which you do not pay out the deposit of one-fifth the tenant has not only to pay you interest but also the instalments. Those instalments you keep; they go towards the reduction of the general advance made. Therefore at the termination of the 15 years you stand in the position of having a portion of your advance paid off. I test it by this. It cannot be to the advantage of the tenant that you should keep the one-fifth, and it certainly is not to the advantage of the landlord. It is therefore to the advantage of the State, which holds back a certain portion of the purchase-money until an equivalent portion has been put into its pocket through the repayment of a certain amount of capital every year by the tenant. With regard to the third objection of the noble Lord as to the security offered by the tenant-right, I think he was cheered by an hon. Gentleman below the Gangway in his argument that the existence of the tenant-right did not add to the security in this case; that the fee merged in one man, and consequently that the tenant-right would no longer exist. But the tenant-right in many cases represents the improvements of the tenant, and therefore it must distinctly add to the value. What is paid in the purchase-money is not 17 years' purchase of the value of the tenement; it is 17 years of the rent. The rent does not represent the whole value of the tenement, as there is an additional value vested in the tenant himself. Therefore, you have two values, which would be immediately discovered if the tenancy were put up for sale at any time. Here you have what appears to me to be a legitimate security for these transactions.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: How can the holding be worth more than it will fetch in the market?

MR. GOSCHEN: It appears to me that the owner can only sell that which he has got. He can only sell the judicial rent, and that does not include the value of the tenant's improvements. Supposing it were asked, if the tenant in the value he put upon his holding included the amount he was going to pay the landlord and also the amount representing his own interest—the price representing the two—what would be the position with regard to the 17 years' purchase? It would then have to be reduced by such an amount as would represent the tenant's interest, and if that interest was sometimes half the value of the estate it would represent not 17 years, but possibly eight or nine years. But the contention is that you have paid the landlord 17 times the judicial rent. We have heard that these are exorbitant judicial rents which are multiplied by 17, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Derby has, for the first time, recognized that in this price of 17 years there is included a most valuable asset which does not belong to the landlord, and which therefore is being paid by the tenant. As to the full value, you can test it, as I have said, by putting up one of these tenancies for sale. You will see then whether or not it will fetch anything in addition to the amount that has been paid to the landlord.

MR. W. O'BRIEN (Cork Co., N.E.): Who will buy?

MR. GOSCHEN: I will answer. Who will buy? A large number of persons, who are most anxious to buy unless they are prevented by the hon. Gentleman and his friends. There will be no fear of buyers being found when the restraint is removed which is being put in the way of the operation of this Act which we are asking the House to extend. That Act has been successful in spite of the endeavours that have been made to thwart its action. Hon. Members now come forward and say that they are entirely in favour of the principle of the Act, but no one would believe that that was so from their attitude and the methods and measures which they have adopted in Ireland in order to prevent the tenants making use of the advantages which this Act confers. I have been led astray from my argument

by the observation of the hon. Member. I was endeavouring to show that the noble Lord's argument in regard to the small margin is in the main correct, but I do not hold that the security is such as he has described. I think the security is infinitely better. I agree with him, however, that it certainly would be unsafe to put ourselves in the position of landlords to the whole people of Ireland on the basis of such a measure as this. I trust I have not displeased the noble Lord by the attitude which I have taken up. I am glad of the support of the noble Lord against the view of hon. Members below the Gangway opposite, and I am also glad of his support in the defence of the British taxpayer. The hon. Gentleman the junior Member for Northampton (Mr. Bradlaugh) suggested yesterday that private enterprize might possibly deal with this matter, and he argued that if the security was good—and in this he touches upon the topic I have been discussing—private enterprize might itself undertake these great operations. Yes; but what chance has private enterprize in Ireland in the present condition of things? Why is it that private enterprize which we should wish to see taking the place of State action is in Ireland helpless, paralyzed, and perfectly unable to perform those functions which it performs so well in other parts of the United Kingdom? It is because there has been that invariable desire to tear up all contracts. Without the sanctity of contract it is impossible that private enterprize can do its duty. If there were private individuals or private associations desirous of lending money for the purpose of these operations, they would be at once denounced as enemies to the people of Ireland, as they have been before, and every attempt would be made to break the agreements into which private enterprize might enter. It is for that reason that we find ourselves in the sad position of having to bring the State itself into contact with so many tenants. It is on account of the failure of private enterprize, it is on account of that serious state of things which has been brought about in Ireland, that we have had to take the course which we have marked out. With regard to the rate of interest, there is no advantage given to the landlords in the present case. The general reduction of the rate of Consols has seriously diminished the advantage to the landlords under these proceedings compared with the Bill of 1885, because at that time the landlords could invest the four-fifths placed at their disposal in Consols giving them 3 per cent, while now they get only $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. The noble Lord the Member for Paddington has replied to the arguments which were raised by the hon. Member for Cork, but there was one remark of the hon. Member to which I should like to call attention. He said that he objected to provisions which were not in the Bill rather than to those which were in it, and he said that there was no provision to enable the State, which provided the money, to settle what estates should be dealt with, and he urged that the estates being dealt with were in the wrong quarters. But would it be wise to give the State the selection of the estates to be bought under the present Bill? I ask the House what charges of corruption, jobbery, and patronage, and every kind of insinuation would not come from quarters where we are not quite unused to such insinuations? What charges would be brought against the Government if it were to select the particular estates to be dealt with under the Bill? We have gone on principle that the voluntary action of landlords and tenants should be the basis of all these purchases. Hon. Members have contended that large estates have been sold under this arrangement, and that we have not got sufficient evidence of sales in districts where we should most desire to see tenants become owners of their holdings. Now, with regard to large estates, it is said that the Duke of So-and-so and such-and-such a company have "walked off" with an immense amount of public money, representing the alleged high price of the property which they sell. I demur to these phrases, which seem to indicate and lead up to the idea that there is something wrong and in the nature of robbery, and that people are "walking off" with money to which they are not fairly entitled. I have heard from almost every quarter the desire expressed that large estates should be held by a larger number of owners. It is against these immense estates that the tide of public opinion has been directed, as will be admitted by the patrons of the *Financial*

Reform Almanack. They say, "Here is one person who owns 20,000 acres; how dreadful!" Therefore if he sells, and the land is distributed among 1,000 tenants, I should have thought that that was a change in the direction desired by land reformers. It seems to me that the division of large estates among a number of small holders, each living on his own small plot of land, is a change which hon. Members opposite should of all people in the world be most anxious to promote. But is it true that this has been accomplished only in the wealthiest districts? I find that in Monaghan there have been 1,800 applications; in Kerry, 860; in Donegal, 1,706. I think that Kerry was a district to which the hon. Member for Cork alluded as one where he desired that proceedings of this kind should go forward. Well, they are going forward in Kerry. We have it on the authority of the Land Commissioners that in increasing numbers applications are coming in from districts where we should most desire that purchases should take place; and we have evidence already that in some of the districts where they have been effected, progress has been made in restoring law and order. Therefore, do not let the public be under any impression that it is simply or mainly in Ulster that purchases have been made; it is in every district all over Ireland. The larger and more thriving farmers may have led the way, because they are not under the intimidation which has been used in some districts to prevent applications being made; but in every district farmers have come forward and endeavoured to secure advantages which have been obtained by fortunate neighbours in the first instance. If there had been greater willingness on the part of those who lead the tenants to invite them to avail themselves of the operation of the Act, we should have seen a much larger proportion spent in Kerry and in disturbed districts. But, notwithstanding discouragement, the movement is going forward favourably, and we shall be much disappointed if the large sum we ask the House to advance does not go into districts where we should wish to see smaller tenants and less thriving farmers availing themselves of the Act. Of course, you cannot expect the poorest to avail themselves of it first; we acknowledge to the full that you cannot deal in this manner with those most congested districts to which allusion has been made, because you must have security. We attach the greatest importance to security, and there are places where the security of the holdings is not such as can possibly be accepted. The right hon. Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan) took the view that it was the most prosperous tenants whom it was desirable to instal as owners of their farms. We cannot expect that the men who can scarcely live on their holdings, even if they pay no rent whatever, should become owners of them. Therefore, it remains for the House, in its wisdom, to deal with the congested districts in a manner outside the lines of this Act. That will be a portion of the larger plan on which we hope to be able to embark. I trust that no considerations will prevent the House now going forward with this measure, on the principle of which the great majority of the House evidently are agreed, and which I do believe offers sufficient security to justify that experimental action of which the noble Lord has spoken.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR (Liverpool, Scotland) said, the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) had asked the Irish Members, if they thought the terms of an unfair purchase were about to be forced on the tenants, why could they not go and advise the tenants against the purchase? The answer had been supplied by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen). The answer was that if the Irish Members went to the tenants and said a word against the purchase they would be charged by the agents of the right hon. Gentleman with intimidation and clapped into gaol. He would give a few examples. On the Ponsonby estate there was a large quantity of arrears. The landlord offered to sell the estate at 22½ years' purchase, and the 2½ years' represented by arrears; and it was for attempting to prevent the tenants from entering into this bargain, ruinous to the tenants and ruinous to the British taxpayer, that several of his Colleagues were sent to prison. The dispute on the estate of Lord Clanricarde would be settled if the tenants were only foolish and dishonest enough to agree to give to the landlord a number of years' purchase which they would

be unable to discharge. If they would only give 22½ years' purchase there would be no more trouble on the estate. But there would be much trouble for the British taxpayer; for 160 men had been sent to gaol on the estate because they would not give their sanction to this shameful proposal. The right hon. Gentleman had not met the challenge with regard to the arrears.

MR. GOSCHEN: I stated in my speech that we repeated the offer with regard to arrears which we had made already.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: The Government admitted that the question of arrears was a terrible evil, but they refused to deal with this terrible evil, which indeed it was, because, forsooth, the Irish Representatives would not accept their proposal. If the Government thought the measure was needed in Ireland, it was their duty to force it through, despite the opposition of the Irish Members. It was a serious, a terrible difficulty. Here was a Government which insisted on governing a country against the will of the people of that country, and they refused to deal with this difficulty because the Irish Representatives would not accept their offer; but he had not observed that other proposals of the Government had been abandoned for the reason that the Irish Members were against them. When it was a measure for restraining the liberties of the Irish tenant, the opposition of the Irish Members was futile, but when it was a measure for the relief of the Irish tenants, believed to be sound by the Government, the opposition of the Irish Members was absolutely fatal. The right hon. Gentleman had given no answer to the question of the noble Lord—Is there an arrears difficulty, and how are they going to deal with it? He wished to call the attention of the House to the part of Ireland in which this money for purchase was spent. According to the last Return, 8,193 loans had been issued, amounting to £3,294,000. Of these loans, 4,671 were in Ulster, amounting to £1,284,792; while in Connaught, the poorest and most disturbed Province in Ireland, there were only 377 loans, and the amount was £281,000. Therefore, this Bill was not a Bill for the relief of distressed tenants, for the greater part of the money had been spent on the comfortable and strong farmers of Ulster; and it was not a Bill that would allay disaffection, for the greater part of the money had been spent in that part of Ireland happily free from disturbance. The Bill neither relieved distressed tenants nor tranquillized disturbed districts. The Coercion Act would, as he had said, be worked in forcing bad bargains on the tenants. M'Dougall, the agent of Lord de Freyne in Roscommon, had written some time ago a letter in which he said—"Coercion is now coming. Spot every man that won't pay his rent, and we will deal with him under this Act." In this way coercion was to the landlord a most excellent instrument for raising the price of the property he was going to sell to the tenants. Several tenants were about to be evicted on the property of the Marquess of Waterford, and the agent came to them and said—"Buy your farms or go." The experience of the last few years showed that many of these sales were effected under what amounted to duress. The tenant who owed arrears was at the mercy of his landlord, and in many instances he had been told by the agent "to buy or go;" and there were also cases, as on the Ponsonby estate, where the landlord fixed the price at 22½ years' purchase, where an attempt was made by the landlords to recoup themselves out of the purchase-money for the arrears due. The history of Irish land legislation was the history of the breaking of contracts, and the time might come when Parliament would be asked to break these contracts on the ground of the exercise of intimidation by the landlord. The Irish tenant was probably like everyone else. When it was a choice between an immediate evil and a remote and uncertain liability, he would choose the remote and uncertain liability, and trust to the changes that time would bring forth. During the General Election of 1886 he went about the country a great deal—though not with so much effect as during the General Election of 1885, when he had Tory candidates on his platforms—and at the Election of 1886 the Conservative candidates all denounced in the most strenuous manner any scheme of land purchase. There was not a dead wall in England which was not covered with a picture of poor John Bull meeting the Liberal candidate, asking "Is it true

or not that I have to give £5,000,000 to the Irish landlords?" Yet they soon changed their mind; and now a Conservative Government brought forward proposals which one of the ablest financiers on their own side denounced as financially rotten, and which even the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer admitted "might be attended with some loss to the British Exchequer." *The Times* had brought forward the fact that the Irish Party were now opposing the first principle which the Land League had advocated; but he could not forget that when that principle was announced, *The Times* denounced it as mere Communism. It appeared to him that the principles which the Irish Party enunciated were usually taken up 10 years afterwards by the Tory Party as their own, while some of the Irish Members had been sent to gaol for advocating them. Where was the Tory Party going to stop? The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said he only wanted a certain small amount to carry on for a little time, but had he accepted the offer which was made from the Front Opposition Bench he could have got that.

MR. GOSCHEN: No such offer was made.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he certainly understood the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition to mean that they were willing to give the Government a small amount until the promotion of the gigantic Bill of which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke, but which they would never see produced in that House. The right hon. Gentleman had told the House that this was not regarded by the Government as a final measure, and that they were under an obligation to deal with the whole question. What would the Government measure be? Would the right hon. Gentleman inform the House how he could carry out a gigantic operation in regard to Irish land which would not be a land purchase measure? They were therefore entitled to regard the proposal contained in this Bill as portion of a large plan for purchasing out the Irish landlords with the assistance of the English Exchequer. They objected to this Bill because it did not meet the requirements of the case, and would not, under present circumstances, be carried out by means of free bargains. The sales would therefore in the end turn out to be a bad bargain, not only for the Irish farmer, but for the British taxpayer. There was a time when the Irish Members or the Irish people could have received with comparative indifference any such proposal, because the British taxpayer represented one of the oppressors of their country; but now the majority of the British taxpayers are in sympathy with the Irish people and the Liberal Party. A beneficient change had taken place; the Irish people now feel themselves bound by pledges of trust and honour and gratitude to look to the interests of the British taxpayer as sacredly as to the interests of the Irish people. The interests of the British taxpayer and the Irish farmer are identical in this matter, and what is a bad bargain for the Irish farmer is a bad bargain for the British taxpayer, and it is for this reason that the Irish Party felt bound to join their voices against a proposal which might destroy the security of the British taxpayer and the solvency of the Irish tenant.

MR. RATHBONE (Carnarvonshire, Arfon): I want to call the attention of the House to the real position of the question now before it, and to the exceptional opportunity it affords for a settlement which both sides profess to wish for, and which each, from their own side of the question, are most unwise if they do not wish to see put on a sound footing. From what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) said, and from what the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House (Mr. W. H. Smith) said on Tuesday, both are agreed that it is desirable that the machinery of the Land Purchase Bill should not fall into disuse, but be kept in working order till next year, and that the Land Question should then be settled on safe and sound conditions. Surely, when both Parties are agreed, the House is not reduced to such a state of utter impotence that it cannot carry out what both Parties are agreed ought to be done. We are never likely to see in the lifetime of at least the older Statesmen and Members of the House such an opportunity as at present we have before us. The Liberal

Party, and especially our great Leader, are anxious that the Land Question should be settled to make Home Rule safe and possible, while the Conservatives profess to believe that it is necessary to settle it in order to make Home Rule unnecessary. Cannot we suspend for a time the torrent of recrimination, and rise out of the foul atmosphere of mutual suspicion which alone prevents such a settlement? No sensible man can believe the accusations freely launched against one another by heated speakers. I, for one, cannot, and do not, believe that hon. Members below the Gangway are a set of assassins, or that a man of a conscience so sensitive as the Chief under whom I have been proud to serve for 20 years is a man ready to sacrifice patriotism to Party at the end of his long career of public service. I am even unable to believe that men whom I have sat opposite to for 20 years, and been opposed to politically for 50 years, are a set of rogues, idiotically delighting in the miseries of tenants and the imprisonment of their opponents which are causing them to lose by-election after election. I believe that all are agreed that, whoever is to rule Ireland, it is their interest that this question should be settled without delay, and that experienced men on both sides are agreed as to what is to be guarded against and what is to be aimed at in a settlement. If ever there was a case for utilizing the abilities of a Statesman on both sides, is it not the present? Why then do we not do what both sides say ought to be done—carry on the Ashbourne Act until next Session, either limit the amount to, say, £2,000,000, or the time for which it is in force to the end of next Session, and thus fix statesmen on both sides to the determination then to work out a statesmanlike scheme of Land Purchase. You have now—at his age you cannot know how long you may continue to have—the aid of a Statesman with a power of detail unrivalled, and with the consciousness necessary in a great Statesman of the importance of detail in such a measure as this, with the confidence of the British taxpayers possessed by no other man to the same degree, which would enable him to persuade the British taxpayer to furnish on Irish guarrantees the £40,000,000 ultimately necessary to carry out the conversion into ownership of those tenancies under £30 which it is alone desirable to convert. And here let me point out to the House the immense danger we are incurring in this piecemeal legislation, so often nowadays enacted without regard to the consideration whether the principles you are laying down can safely continue to be applied when the precedents are appealed to, as they are sure to be applealed to in the future. You have given power to the democracy, and they will be sternly, not to say cruelly, logical in applying these principles to their own interests. How are you going to meet the demand of the English, Scotch, and Welsh tenants for a scheme of land purchase on the principles of Lord Ashbourne's Act, unlimited as that Act now is to tenancies under £30 per annum, unprovided with any provision for those extremely poor tenancies for which land purchase alone would afford no possible remedy. If in this and in our other legislation we first made up our minds as to what the sound principles of legislation were, and then applied them, we should be safe, but not when we are forming precedents upon which the English, Scotch, and Welsh democracies may in their turn demand an application of similar principles to themselves, which even the great financial powers of this country would be utterly inadequate to cope with.

MR. BROADHURST (Nottingham, W.) said, he had to complain that while so important a measure was being discussed no responsible Member of the Government was present, the Front Bench being unoccupied except by the right hon. Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden). He intended to vote against the Bill, and if his mind had not been made up previously, the speeches he had heard that night from the Government side of the House would certainly have determined him. A stronger condemnation of the Government proposals than that contained in the speech of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) it was scarcely possible to conceive, although, possessed as he was of extraordinary ingenuity, the noble Lord seemed to have made it square with his consistency to promise support to the Bill. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chan-

cellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) was in his opinion, another strong condemnation of the Bill. Through that speech ran, from end to end, a strong vein of apology, and in no part of it did the right hon. Gentleman attempt in any way to define the security which it was stated the country had. He admitted that the evil of the Government proposal was perhaps not absolutely unmixed. The Government were approaching, though in a timid and tinkering fashion, one of the greatest problems of our time—the problem how best to distribute amongst a large number of the population of this country the ownership of the land, and how best to provide for doing that in a way calculated to promote the interests of the greatest number. So far the venture of the Government was to be commended, and it even excited curiosity as to what would be the next class of legislation that the Government would submit to the House. If the Government were earnest in the desire expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to see a large number of small proprietors in this country, hon. Members of the House and the country generally would look forward with great expectations to seeing the Government propose next year to legislate for their old friend the "Three Acres and a Cow Bill." If the policy was good for Ireland, it was good for England, good for Scotland, and good for Wales; and he hoped the Government would not stop at the point they had now reached. If the desire of the Government was to distribute property upon equitable terms, and by just and proper and reasonable means they were bound to deal with subjects such as allotments and leasehold enfranchisement at a very early date. The Liberal proposals with regard both to a peasant proprietary in this country and to leasehold enfranchisement were poor, sickly, timid, puny Conservative measures compared with the reckless investment which Her Majesty's Government now proposed to make under the Bill before the House. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington had contended that there were in this country no similar demand for the soil by the people engaged upon it, or for house property by the working classes of the towns. He wondered whether the noble Lord had consulted with the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings) before making that statement. That hon. Member would, he hoped, tell the House in the course of the debate that there was a deep-seated and wide-spread desire amongst the small farmers, the labourers, and the working men of the towns, to have small holdings of their own in the one case and the complete ownership of cottage property in the other case. Therefore, he urged that if the Government had any regard for their reputation for consistency, they should as early as possible next Session, submit to the House proposals of the nature he had indicated. It was too much, however, to expect the Government to be consistent on the question of land purchase. The hon. Member for the Scotland Division of Liverpool (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had reminded the House of the great stand which was made against land purchase by the Conservative Party. In the election of 1886, he (Mr. Broadhurst) could bear testimony to the strength of the feeling. He had the good fortune in 1886 to succeed in a contest in one of the largest industrial constituencies in the United Kingdom, and he found, in the course of that contest, the greatest difficulty he had to contend against was the misstatements of the Tory Party and by his opponents in that contest, as to the intentions of that Liberal Party with regard to land purchase. The liability which the Liberal Party proposed to impose on the taxpayers was variously estimated at from £150,000,000 to £300,000,000. The taxpayers were told that they were being called on to pay any sum from £1 up to £5 or £6 per head for the benefit of Irish landlords for the purchase of their estates to be given to the Irish tenants. Placards about the size of that table, with figures a foot or 18in. deep, were hawked about the country, and in every possible way denouncements were made of the iniquities of a scheme which contained every security which human ingenuity could devise. The difficulty of the Liberal Party with regard to the land purchase proposals that had been submitted to Parliament was 10 times greater than the difficulty about Home Rule, and many a seat that was lost to them would have been won by the Home Rule policy had it not been

for the land purchase proposals. Now the Party which came into power in consequence of those exaggerations were proposing to invest £5,000,000 of the British taxpayers' money without a thread of security of any kind. He was not condemning the creation of a peasant proprietary. His name was on the back of the Bill of his hon. Friend the Member for the Bordesley Division ever since it was a Bill, and if his hon. Friend would allow him it would remain on the back of the Bill for the future. What he and his friend objected to was that the Government should deal with a great question and universal requirement of the whole country in this piecemeal fashion and without security. They could not help being possessed by the conviction that in the proposal now before the House the Government had far more regard to the financial welfare and interests of a certain number of Irish landlords than to the creation of a peasant proprietary. He hoped the country would notice what was now going on in that House, and the reckless manner in which some of the country's trustees were dealing with the country's interests. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that private enterprize would not enter into that speculation, because of the unrest of the country and of the disturbing elements at present existing in Ireland. If that were so, upon what ground was the House justified in so investing the trust moneys they were about to vote? He would oppose the Bill with more zeal since he had heard the speech of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington and the halting, long, and ineffective apology made for that Bill by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS (Birmingham, Bordesley) said, a good portion of the speech of the hon. Member for Nottingham (Mr. Broadhurst) seemed to be in favour of the Bill before the House. With one part of it he quite agreed—namely, that there was a great demand for small holdings, and he hoped that next year the Government would bring in a measure of a similar character to that before the House to supply that demand. It seemed to him a very poor encouragement to the Government to repeat the experiment in England, when his hon. Friend and others with him were opposing not only the measure itself, but made speeches such as a considerable portion of that of the hon. Member, which seemed to be dead against the principle of the measure. He could not understand hon. Members going up and down the country expressing themselves loudly in favour of allotments, small holdings, and peasant proprietors, and then when they were in that House, and there was before them a small and moderate measure of an experimental character—the success of which would be the very greatest argument to secure similar advantages for England—doing as his hon. Friend was doing, voting dead against it. He agreed that the reasons given by hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House for voting against that Bill would be too subtle for the constituencies to understand. In all his experience of that House he had never known a debate in which there was so much unreality. The question itself had been avoided by almost every speaker. The question before them was whether they should grant an extra £5,000,000 for the purpose of creating an occupying ownership in Ireland. That was met by a side issue as irrelevant as it was possible to find inside that building. There had been positively nothing said against the proposal itself. They knew that in 1885, when the measure was met by a chorus of approbation. The only complaint up to the present week was that it was not £10,000,000, £15,000,000, or £20,000,000. Not a syllable had been raised against the success of the Act. In 1885 there were only two classes of fear expressed. One was that the Act would be taken advantage of in a limited area; and the other, that only the better class of tenants would avail themselves of it. The right hon. Gentleman who introduced that Bill had, in his able speech, reassured him on those points; the applications were very fairly divided over the four provinces; and as to the class of tenants, the statement was still more satisfactory, a very large proportion of the farms being under £30 rental. He thought the working of the Act was even better than had been anticipated by its originators. As to payments, the facts were equally satisfactory, and the reason why there had been no objection to the working of the Act was that none could be made. If that Bill were passed

there would soon be in Ireland 25,000 freeholders who had formerly been tenants. With regard to them the question of arrears would be settled absolutely. Dual ownership would be got rid of; they would have less rent to pay; and evictions would be impossible. Then there would be 25,000 centres of law and order. Even if such results were purchased at some risk they would be worth purchasing. He was glad to be reminded that for the 49 years at least there could be no sub-letting, for if they were to have landlords it was better to have wealthy than impecunious ones. His right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) was very careful to say he was not for stopping Lord Ashbourne's Act, but if the money was stopped, it was pretty much the same thing as stopping the Act. As to the objection that there was no security, the argument of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) that 20 per cent was no security at all, took one's breath away. It was an absolute security up to 20 per cent, and it did not profess to be any security beyond that. If the argument were carried out it would come to this, that if 100 per cent were retained it would be no security. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the Bridgeton Division of Glasgow (Sir George Trevelyan) seemed from his speech to have no objection to that Bill, except that, instead of having that 20 per cent security, it did not adopt the principle of his Bill of 1884, introducing the local authority. To argue that there was security under the right hon. Member for Bridgeton's plan and not security under the present Bill was altogether fallacious. Under the present Bill 20 per cent of the purchase money was practically kept in pawn by the State until it had been replaced by the instalments of the tenants. It was extraordinary to find right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench putting forward on that point untenable statements for which an office boy in a commercial counting-house would be reprimanded if he made them. As the hon. Member for Flintshire (Mr. S. Smith) had truly stated, the risk of loss by that plan was quite infinitesimal. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) said that he was in favour of £1,000,000 or £2,000,000 being advanced, but not of £5,000,000. Well, was the difference between those two amounts for an experimental operation of that kind so great as to cause a week's discussion over that Bill, and to make that great division? The right hon. Gentleman said he was in favour of a scheme of land purchase, but not in favour of it at any price. Now, the average price under Lord Ashbourne's Act was just over 17 years' purchase for a voluntary arrangement and for a limited amount; and if 17 years' purchase was not in the right hon. Gentleman's view a fair price, how was it that he and other occupants of the Front Opposition Bench were willing two years ago to advance £50,000,000, to become £150,000,000 or £200,000,000, for tenants under what was practically a compulsory arrangement to buy out the landlords at 20 years' purchase? The country ought to understand the scandalous inconsistency of right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench, who were inviting hon. Members on that side to follow them. Then it was alleged that the Bill was a bribe to the tenants; but, if it was such a bribe, what became of the assertion that the Bill victimized the tenants? It had also been called a Landlords' Relief Bill. In fact, during the whole debate hon. Gentlemen on that side had been practically contradicting one another. The Front Opposition Bench complained about the security under that measure; but what was the security which they themselves had offered? The 20 years' purchase, on which their plan was founded, was to be based on the judicial rents in 1886; but the House would remember that in 1887 right hon. Gentlemen stated that there should be a further reduction of 30, 40, and in some case 50 per cent. They were willing to pay 20 years' instead of 17 years' purchase; and in 1887 they had to admit that the security which the British taxpayer would have had for an advance, not of £5,000,000, but ultimately of £150,000,000, was rotten to the extent of 50 per cent. If the Home Rule Bill of 1886 had passed, it would, he had always held, have been an obligation of honour and common honesty to have coupled it with a Land Purchase Bill; because if they put an Irish landlord out of the protection of the Imperial Parliament and made him a foreigner, they were bound to see

that he was not robbed. There were now, he understood, some thousands of agreements between landlords and tenants already signed in Ireland, and only awaiting the money required to complete them. Those tenants had learnt to recognize their right to the freehold on paying, not the old rent, but a reduced sum in the form of an annuity. If that £5,000,000 were refused, these tenants would go back, or the landlords would have to force them back, to the old rent, and the old conditions and heartburnings and difficulties would arise. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle had quoted a paragraph from *The Birmingham Daily Post* to show that the Liberal Unionists were not in favour of the extension of Lord Ashbourne's Act. The right hon. Gentleman hardly showed his usual clearness, and, he might almost add, fairness, in his reference to that passage, because this was known of the Liberal Unionist policy, that whatever the right hon. Gentleman the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain) was responsible for, he was not responsible for all the wording and the exact formula in which that policy was set forth; and if they looked at the context they would find that the sentence meant that the Liberal Unionists would not be in favour of an unlimited sum for continuing Lord Ashbourne's Act. They did not regard it as being the best method of settling the Land Question in Ireland, but they were willing to vote for a certain sum in order to carry out the work during the interval, when some large scheme was being prepared. He assented to the statement that there was a great gulf between the Liberal Unionists and the Gladstonians. The division, however, was not caused by anything affecting the Ashbourne Act; it was rather caused by the Plan of Campaign, Boycotting, and other practices, which were held to be fraudulent and criminal, and which were no more political than the Ten Commandments. The Liberal Unionists were ready to suffer political extinction, if necessary, rather than adopt or countenance such practices. One reason why he voted for the Bill was this—that if they found this scheme to be a successful experiment in Ireland, and could obtain a continuance of it—if they found it to be economically sound, and that it advanced the interests of those concerned, as well as being for the public good—what greater argument could be found for a similar safe experiment in England? Hon. Members who were going to vote against the measure were going to vote against the dearest hopes of the peasants in England. He thought, however, that the 10,000 or 15,000 tenants who would thus secure their holdings in Ireland, and free themselves from arrears and rack-rents, would be wise enough to remember that those advantages had been obtained by Unionist endeavours, and in spite of the bitter opposition of those who posed as their friends.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) said, the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) declared that he was perfectly prepared to extend this system of State purchase to the farmers of England, Scotland, and Wales, but he said there had been, up to the present time, no demand from those farmers for State purchase. If the doctrine embodied in this Bill was accepted by the House it would not be long before they heard a demand from the farmers of these three countries. He (Mr. Hunter) would undertake to say that the weakest Member of the House would win any county constituency, where there was a majority of farmers, if he went down and told those farmers that he was in a position to remove from their minds all fear of eviction, that at the end of 49 years the property would be absolutely their own, and that in the meantime their rents were to be reduced 20 per cent. If, however, the same principle of State purchase were applied in the case of Scotland, Wales, and England, as in the case of Ireland, the capital which would be required would be hardly less than the existing National Debt; Goschens would not stand at 96, as they did now, but at a much lower figure, and the operation would be entirely impracticable. He would suppose that an Irish farmer came over to this country and asked the people voluntarily to back his bill. He would say—"Here am I paying a rent of £100; the Government will reduce the rent to £80. At the end of 49 years there will be a year of jubilee,

and I shall pay no more; but my credit is very bad, and the transaction cannot be carried out. The landlord will not take my name, but he has agreed to take it on those terms if 1,000 good honest Britons will put their names to the bill." Voluntarily, no person would back such a bill. At the General Election there were two cries—"No Coercion!" and "No Land Purchase!"—but would the Government dare to bring forward this Bill if they were within one month of a General Election, instead of three years, as they had been told they were? The noble Lord defended the present Bill upon the somewhat extraordinary ground that it was such a very little Bill, but he (Mr. Hunter) could not admit that there was any argument for advancing £5,000,000, which would enable them to stop short of advancing as many more millions as might be necessary for overtaking the rest of the land in Ireland. They could not make favourites of one set of tenants in Ireland as against the others. If the Bill, however, were as good in principle as he believed it was bad, this was not the time when it could be safely applied in Ireland. Owing to the large arrears which had accumulated, the Irish tenant was not in a position to deal fairly and freely with the landlord on this question. He held in his hand a letter from the agent of Lord Lurgan in North Armagh to a tenant. There was another document which proceeded from the estate office of Lord Lurgan, which set forth that Lord Lurgan wished to give his tenants the opportunity of taking advantage of Lord Ashbourne's Act, and in the inclosed statement they would find the amount at which Lord Lurgan would sell the holding. That was the landlord fixing the price. Thus the landlord proceeded with an eviction notice in the one hand and a contract of purchase in the other. How could any tenant refuse to sign such a contract of purchase? He was not in a position to say whether the purchase price in this case was reasonable or not, but how could they believe that the price named by a landlord with a pistol at the tenant's throat was such as could be guaranteed by the State? The hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) told them, as he had always done, that he was in favour of the principle of this Bill, but he (Mr. Hunter) was not in favour of a Bill which imposed, without justification, a charge and liability on the taxpayers of Scotland and England, and he doubted whether the hon. Member for Cork, if he had an Irish Parliament, would venture to introduce this proposal there. Certainly, if this proposal was to be dealt with at all, the only competent or satisfactory authority to deal with it was a Parliament sitting in Dublin. He objected altogether to the system of State advances. If money was to be raised on the credit of the State, how would they be able to resist an application to Parliament for money to clean out the slums, to build cheap houses for the working classes at home? If they justified the use of State credit for the purposes of the Irish tenants, he ventured to say that there was a clamant demand nearer home, and that the working men of this country had the first claim upon this credit. He entirely disagreed with those who were in favour of dealing with the Irish Land Question, or the English or the Scotch Land Question, on the system of State Purchase. This system of State Purchase was not necessary in the interest of the tenant or the State, but it was necessary in the interest of the landlord, and the landlord alone. They were told that this was a Bill to create peasant proprietors. What was understood abroad by that was a man who cultivated his own land and owed nothing to anybody. But what was the difference between a peasant proprietor who was mortgaged up to the eyes, and the interest on whose mortgage was equivalent to a rack-rent? They took a man's rent and called it interest. How much easier did it make it to pay a rent by calling it interest? A tenant under the Irish Land Act was absolute owner so long as he paid his rent. In that respect land purchase did not improve his position one single iota. Whatever vice existed in the Land Act of 1881, that vice was intensified, so far as the tenant was concerned, by making the rents absolutely rigid for a period of 49 years. What he thought was the true policy was, first, to get rid of the idea of State aid, and to amend the Land Act in two particulars. In the first place they should make the terms elastic, to enable the tenant or the landlord to go to the Court for a revision of the rent; and, secondly, they should restore the purpose and object of the

Healy Clause. In the interest of the landlord he admitted that this Bill was a good Bill, because for 49 years they would get rid of all liability for depreciation of their property, all costs of collection, and all incidents by which their income might be diminished; but it was not necessary in the interest of the tenant, or in the interest of the State, and, therefore, if they were going to make a bonus to the landlord, let them do it with their eyes open. This was a dangerous precedent, for it would be seen that the £5,000,000 was to pave the way for fresh depredations on the Exchequer—first, for the tenants, and then for Irish industries. That was the logical outcome of the present Bill. If all the other objections to the system of land purchase could be removed he should object to it, because it converted rent into Consols—in other words, it removed from the sphere of taxation the most natural, most suitable, and most appropriate fund to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer could go. Therefore he entirely opposed, as a matter of principle, any scheme of land purchase, because he held that whatever amount of rent was spared from the tenant and remained to the landlord, that that was the fund which, in an increasing degree, ought to be developed, and that it should go on until ultimately they reached that happy state of things which had obtained under the benign rule of our own Sovereign in India, where there were no landlords, and where the tenants were in direct relation to the State, and where so much of the profits of the land as was not necessarily and properly given to the tenant for his labour remained with the State for the benefit of the community, and for the relief of taxation.

COLONEL EYRE (Lincolnshire, Gainsborough): I think the hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) would hardly have spoken so disparagingly—I might almost say contemptuously—of mortgagees, if he had carefully considered the various classes of whom mortgagees were composed. Had they been entirely of the wealthy classes I could have understood the hon. Gentleman. But a careful analysis will show the hon. Gentleman that many amongst the poorer classes of his constituents are to be numbered as mortgagees. In fact, so bound up are all our interests in land that no depreciation in the value of landed securities, or no legislation affecting land, could take place without influencing all classes of the community. The poorer classes, as well as the richer classes, are interested. Take, for instance, that large commercial enterprize. the Insurance Companies. In the life insurances nearly 50 per cent of the capital is on mortgage on land and houses. Every policy, whether large or small, is more or less affected by land legislation. It is a most mistaken idea to imagine that the Land Question means nothing more than the contract between landlord and tenant. There is at this moment in Scotland—and I would particularly call the attention of Scotch Members to this fact—an office, whose name I will not mention, but I may say that it is, perhaps, the largest in Scotland, which has millions on mortgage on land in England and Ireland, and which, undoubtedly, will be affected by the Land Bill now passing through the House. Then, again, there is the Lands Improvement Companies, another indirect means of investment, and whose capital, whilst, in a great measure, borrowed from Fire and Life Insurance Companies, is also considered a safe means of investment for smaller sums, from poorer classes. This question of mortgagees cannot be talked of lightly—it is a most important one. By the Encumbered Estates Act of 1848, Parliament gave security to all who wished to purchase land in Ireland—a better title than owners of land in England, Scotland, or Wales are in possession of, for it was absolutely unassailable on a question of title. Now, farms estimated at from £40,000,000 passed from England into Ireland, partly in the purchase of estates, and partly as mortgages, on the security of the State; and I maintain that the State has no more right to withdraw its name from the back of that Bill than, in a private transaction, has a man a right to withdraw his name from any financial transaction he may have become liable for, without giving a fair indemnification for any loss of security. If the State has granted a certain security on which sums of money were lent, it is contrary to the laws of social and political economy to withdraw that security. Again, very few are aware of the large

sums of money on mortgage, lent by Friendly Societies. The officers of these Associations are in the position of trustees, and, consequently, are by the laws of our land, or by the Court of Chancery, limited in the class of their investments. One Society, the Manchester Order of Oddfellows, out of a capital of, I think, nearly £13,000,000, have more than half of this sum — nearly £9,000,000—on land securities. This sum represents the savings of the poorest classes—its hard-earned shillings and sixpences, with difficulty subscribed in these times of depression and low wages. These are the classes who will be more or less affected by any land legislation which may have a tendency to shake or weaken security. I, myself, know of instances where some of the Rural Friendly societies have had to suffer a loss of 30 or 40 per cent of their capital. I believe that the legislation since 1881 with regard to Ireland has been a mistake. I wish to give hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite credit for honest intentions; but their legislation has proved itself a failure. I shall vote for this Bill, not because I like it, but because I believe it is a step —and the only step—towards the settlement of this difficult question. I have always had an aversion to State interference in the matter of contracts, for I have not seen good result from it; and whatever may be the future land legislation for Ireland, we ought to learn a lesson from the Act of 1881—how dangerous it is to interfere in contracts between landlord and tenant.

MR. S. WILLIAMSON (Kilmarnock, &c.) said, the hon. and gallant Gentleman who had just sat down (Colonel Eyre) had referred to the land legislation of the Liberal Party as opposed to the principles of political economy. He (Mr. S. Williamson) asked the hon. and gallant Member whether it would be in accordance with the teachings of political economy or morality, or any other doctrine, to pass a Bill such as this, to relieve men who had most unwisely over-advanced money on insufficient security? The argument of the hon. and gallant Member would go much further. If he could commend a Bill of this nature applying to Ireland, much more might he argue in favour of a Bill for England, Scotland, and Wales, which would protect those who had over-advanced on English and Scottish estates, and it was known perfectly well that there were many such. He was not one of those who objected to the use of the National credit for carrying out great and well-considered measures for the promotion of the National welfare and prosperity—for the carrying out of such measures as could not be touched by private enterprize—and he somewhat regretted that yesterday some hon. Members of the Party to which he was attached expressed themselves as opposed to the use of the National credit for the creation of a peasant proprietary in England, Scotland, Ireland, or Wales. He did not. But the use of National credit, if well safe-guarded, was one thing, and the reckless expenditure of money belonging to the State was quite another thing. He objected to this Bill, because the House was assured by those who ought to know best —the great body of the Irish Members—that the risk was too great, and that statement was borne out by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill), who said that the security for the advances was not enough; and he thought it was further substantiated by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen), who admitted that the margin to enable the Government to carry out this large operation was inadequate—the margin, namely, between the interest paid and the interest which the tenants had to pay. There was another reason, however. He thought it was a very ominous circumstance that after arrangements had been made between a selling landlord and a purchasing tenant no fewer than 1,100 such arrangements had been absolutely refused by the Land Commission. That was a very large proportion of the entire number, and if this was the case in reference to the better class of Irish tenants, what might they expect when they came to deal with the other class? He felt that without the co-operation of the great body of the Irish Representatives it was unwise to proceed with such a measure. He would emphasize what had been brought before the House by the hon. Member for Nottingham (Mr. Broadhurst) in the course of the debate—namely, that the Conservatives, and especially the Liberal Unionists, at the last Election de-

nounced, in the most strenuous terms, what they called "saddling the British taxpayers" for the purposes of such a Bill as this. The electors, particularly the working men, were alarmed, and in a great many cases pledges were exacted from candidates that, so far as was in their power, they would protest against burdening the British taxpayers by any such scheme. He had not himself come under any such pledge, but what he had said prevented him from voting for the Bill, and bound him to vote against it. He had already given his financial reasons, but he had also this political reason, that until they had the concurrence and the approval of the Irish Members to such a measure as this it was unwise to proceed with it. As part and parcel of a great scheme, or as the preliminary step to the introduction of a great scheme, for the pacification and reconciliation of Ireland, he would be prepared to vote for such an amount, but he would require to have it better safeguarded than this, but as it was imperfectly safeguarded, and as it was not part of a scheme for the reconciliation of Ireland by the establishment of an independent Legislature for the transaction of purely Irish Business, he felt compelled to vote against the second reading of the measure.

SIR JOHN COLOMB (Tower Hamlets, Bow, &c.) said, if they were to wait until there was a general concurrence among Irish Members before they proceeded with remedial legislation, Ireland would have to wait a very long time. He regarded the Bill as a political expedient rendered necessary by the circumstances of the past few years. There was one argument in favour of the measure which had not yet been touched upon. The effect produced, at all events, in the South and West of Ireland by the operation of the Land Act was that it put a premium upon the deteroriation of the land. He had been told by tenants that it would never do for them to keep their watercourses clear, because the valuers would find the land in a better state than it otherwise would be if the watercourses were kept clear. The operation of the Land Act, which enabled the tenant to get his rent fixed every 15 years, induced him to abuse his land, because by so doing he would get his rent reduced in proportion. They should therefore encourage the creation of a class of occupying owners throughout Ireland, whose interest would be, not to abuse the land, but to improve it. On this ground he was heartily in favour of the measure, believing that it was rendered necessary by the operation of the Land Act. He sincerely wished that the debate had elicited a few more facts as to how the Land Purchase Act had been administered, and he thought that some steps should be taken to allocate the money to be voted to different parts of Ireland. Nobody could shut their eyes to the danger of creating in one part of the country a colony of purchasing tenants paying a less rent than tenants who were non-purchasing in other parts. He should also like to see the money used for the purpose of extinguishing the small and weakly class of landlords, who contributed very little to the general prosperity of Ireland, and who, as a rule, pressed unduly hard upon the tenants. If, by passing the Bill, these objects could be attained, the money would be judiciously and well spent.

MR. J. E. ELLIS (Nottingham, Rushcliffe) said, he agreed with an observation of the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken (Sir John Colomb) that the House required more information of the working of the Ashbourne Act—indeed, it was something of a scandal that Members were left so much in the dark. The Report of the Land Commission was available on the 9th of September last year, but this year Members could not get it on the 22nd of November. They had not had Papers laid upon the Table which were absolutely essential to their knowledge on the subject. The Lord Lieutenant, on the 15th of October, made some most important statements with regard to the re-letting of farms, and, when one asked that corroborative evidence in respect to those figures should be furnished to the House, one was met by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. A. J. Balfour) with a point-blank denial. No contradiction had been given to the statement of the hon. Member for East Mayo that between 5,000 and 6,000 farms were vacant, and could not be re-let. That was not the way in which the House of Commons, which represented the taxpayers of the country, ought to be treated. So far as they had information, it was not as assuring as it had been represented to be. The fact that 2 per cent of the

money advanced had been repaid was no guarantee for the repayment of the remaining £98. Reference had been made to the repayment of instalments of sums of money lent under the Irish Church Act, but there were some most significant sentences in the Report of the Land Commission last year on the subject which seemed to have been overlooked. The Solicitor General for Ireland had used the following words in the speech on moving for leave to introduce the Bill:—

"There were also, however, some special provisions as to the purchase of glebe lands under the Church Act of 1863. I find that much greater success attended the operation of that Act than either of the two others to which I have referred. I find that 6,000 tenants became purchasers under that Act, and the gross amount of purchase-money—not the amount of the advances, which will be nearly three-quarters of the amount—was £1,674,000."

Now, the Land Commissioners remarked in their Report that the collection of the revenues had been unsatisfactory; that the arrears due on the 31st March, 1887, were £47,787 more than those due at the end of March, 1886. They said that various circumstances had — to use their own language—"proportionately lessened the security on which large advances of public money have been made by the State." He viewed the financial aspect of this measure with the very gravest appreciation, and he thought the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) had unanswerably pointed out the flaws in that respect. During the debate constant reference had been made to the fact that the Bill now before the House was supplementary to the Ashbourne Act of 1885. Many hon. Members had entered the House since the Act was passed, and were, therefore, in a perfectly free position with respect to this matter of land purchase. At that time the Lord Lieutenant of Lord Salisbury's Government was meeting the Leader of the Irish National Party at a house in London with a view to promoting the better government of Ireland. He said that, whatever his opinion of the operation of that Act might be, the circumstances had entirely changed since it passed. He was not one of those who would say that under no circumstances whatever would he be prepared to vote for the helping of Ireland by English credit, but before doing so there must be a settled Government in Ireland, having the confidence of the people of Ireland, with an Executive in their own hands responsible to that Legislature. In that case only would he be perfectly prepared to go to the aid of the Government in the English credit under certain satisfactory conditions. But he would be prepared to take the course simply and solely as a political measure for the sake of the good government of Ireland, not for the sake of the interests of either the landlord or the tenants of the country. The real fact was that this Bill was an incident in the great struggle going on in Ireland as to whom the "property" created by the toil of the tenant really belonged. The Land Act of 1881 recognized the fact that the tenant's improvements belonged to himself; but that view was not accepted on the other side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) had spoken of that Act as the first step in a vicious circle, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was always speaking of the mistaken policy which was then begun. Ever since there had been a continuous struggle between two copartners as to the rightful possession of certain property; and this Government had systematically attempted to reverse the policy of Parliament in recognizing the rights of the tenant in his holding. The object of coercion was to paralyze the Act of 1881 by stopping the legitimate combination of the tenants to maintain their interests as against the landlords. What coercion really meant was well emphasized by the noble Lord the Member for Paddington the other day in the word "brutality." Another method of neutralizing the Act was to interfere with, and, more or less, control the Land Commission by changing Sub-Commissioners, and, above all, by making no efforts to relieve the block in the Courts, so that every month of this year there had been 50,000 more cases waiting to be dealt with than there were last year. Thirdly, the Government had formed a hard-and-fast alliance with the Irish landlords while putting down the combinations of tenants. A deputation of Irish landlords, headed by the Duke of Abercorn, waited upon the Prime Minister some few months ago, and this was Lord Salisbury's reply to the deputation—

"I may say, in the first place, that I am very glad to see the results of the convention of landlords in this deputation, that I congratulate the landlords on the united action that they have taken; and, however inconvenient it may in the future prove—I hope it will not—to me, as a Member of the Government, on wider and more general grounds, I am heartily glad of the spirit and unanimity which they have shown. May I be pardoned for the observation, that if that spirit of unanimity and energy had expressed itself in an equal degree among the landlords of Ireland at an earlier period of our recent history, I think we might have been spared some of the calamities which we have undergone. At the same time I also beg leave to assure them, though they will hardly need the assurance from me, of the very deep sympathy with which we regard the sufferings—the extreme and undeserved sufferings—which the mass of the landlords of Ireland have undergone."

That action had been persisted in, and Lord Abercorn remarked, the other day, that the organization of the landlords was now stronger than it had been in every county in Ireland. There was no such thing, then, under such circumstances, as perfect freedom of contract between landlord and tenant in Ireland; and it was, therefore, most unsafe to carry out any such purchase scheme as this Bill proposed to assist with £5,000,000 of public money. Landlords who wished to sell could practically compel their tenants to buy by threatening to evict them for the arrears of rent if they did not purchase. He knew a case in which a man who was paying £8 a-year rent, whose valuation was £3 10*s.*, but whose fair rent would be about £4 10*s.* a-year, agreed to pay 20 years' purchase, or £160, and who, when remonstrated with for consenting to so extravagant a price, said he knew well that the Commissioners would not give their assent, and that he merely agreed so as to stave off ejectment. This was a fair illustration of the kind of influence under which these bargains were being made. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was already preparing to take his share of the benefits of this Act, and was bringing pressure to bear on his tenants in the North of Ireland to purchase. Recently his agent issued a circular from the Londonderry Estate Office, which he would quote—

"Londonderry Estate Office,
Newtownards, 20th February, 1888.

Dear Sir,—I am desired by the Marquess of Londonderry to inform you that he is willing to offer you your farm at 20 years' purchase of the present rent.

Lord Londonderry has decided to take this step (though much against his inclination), mainly owing to the fact that, in the event of another bad season, he will be quite unable to give the reduction which he has granted the last two years, and by giving which he has received absolutely nothing from his own property.

As you will see by inclosed circular, you will, by purchasing your holding, still gain a reduction of 20 per cent, which will not be dependent on the will of your landlord, but permanent, and at the end of 49 years your holding will be absolutely your own, free of rent.

I am, yours faithfully,
CHARLES BROWNLOW."

So that what was proposed was that, in order that the Lord Lieutenant might not suffer from the reduction in rents caused by bad harvests, Parliament should advance this money, and give him and other Irish landlords the benefit derived from the high credit of the English Government in the money market. That was a strange position for the Viceroy of Ireland to occupy. On that very estate there were many men who had been vainly seeking to get judicial rents fixed. This 20 years' purchase proposed by Lord Londonderry—it should be borne in mind—was based not on judicial rents. Under Lord Ashbourne's Act Lord Normanton had already got £50,000; the Marquess of Bath, £170,000; the Duke of Leinster, £260,000; and the Duke of Abercorn, £267,000; and now Lord Lurgan and the Lord Lieutenant were preparing to get between them £400,000. The word "voluntary," as applied to these purchase agreements, was really a misnomer over a large portion of Ireland, largely on account of the action of the Government. The Bill was really a measure intended to compensate landlords, and on behalf of those who sent him to that House he protested against this proposal to advance another £5,000,000, under the present conditions, where no freedom of contract existed between buyer and seller. He should not have the slightest hesitation in voting against the proposal.

MR. WHITMORE (Chelsea) said, he desired briefly to state why he should support the second reading of this Bill. It was generally agreed that it was desirable to increase the number of pro-

prietors of land in Ireland, so far as this could be done without undue risk to the taxpayers of this country. He had listened to the speeches delivered from the Front Opposition Bench in support of the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone), and he noticed that in none of them was any objection taken, so far as he could discover, to the principle of the Bill. The speech and the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman himself merely urged that the question of arrears ought, at the present time, to be dealt with instead of land purchase. Those who on that side of the House approved the extension of ownership in Ireland could vote for the Bill with a light heart. He had always looked upon Lord Dufferin's Memorandum of 1881 as embodying the true principles of land legislation. That Memorandum spoke of there being three Irelands—the first of rich soil and large farms, the second of middling-sized farms from 15 to 50 acres, and the third consisting of the cottier tenants of the West. Lord Dufferin's contention was that any system of land purchase should be confined to the second class. As to the first, no one would desire that the large landowners should be expelled from the country, and the reproach hurled at the Government that they were not encouraging the smallest occupiers to buy was entirely undeserved, for it could not be well to stereotype in their wretchedness the unhappy cottier tenants, who, as had so often been said, could not make a living of the land if they had it for nothing. The Conservative Party were as anxious as their opponents to add to the material prosperity of Ireland, and to enter on a course of remedial legislation. The Party opposite saw no permanent remedy but Home Rule. For the time being, however, that question was settled; and why should not hon. Gentlemen opposite join in an attempt which would certainly confer happiness and brightness on many an Irish home? Believing that the Bill would contribute to that result, he should cordially vote for it.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT (Derby): Sir, I think that in the course of this debate everybody must have been struck by the singular change of tone which has come over the supporters of this Bill. When this measure was first introduced it was introduced with a great flourish of trumpets as the continuation of a magnificent and successful experiment that the true panacea for the cure of the ills of Ireland had been discovered; that in the Ashbourne Act you had found the true solution of the Land Question; that the Government was at last going to do that which everybody desired, and to increase the number of occupying owners of the soil. If that was so, of course this measure was a step in advance upon the scheme which was accepted by the Government, and which was to be recommended to the country. I observe that through the Unionist Press of the country it has been held out that this is the true scheme upon which we are to proceed in the future. That is the language which was held when this Bill was introduced. It was introduced with a great flourish of trumpets, as not only a great social reform, but as a political *coup d'état;* not only as a measure to improve the condition of the tenants in Ireland, but as a great blow levelled at Home Rule. So it was described by the noble Lord the First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton). So it was spoken of the other night—not to-night by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen). So it was spoken of by the noble Marquess the Member for the Rossendale Division of Lancashire (the Marquess of Hartington), and we imagined we were at the beginning of the end of a great scheme. Throughout all the speeches it was indicated most distinctly that it was more valuable, if possible, in its political aspects than it was even in its economical aspects, although they were great. There has been a good deal of cold water thrown upon these pretensions and prospects to-night—a most wholesome *douche* was administered by the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington (Lord Randolph Churchill) in that very interesting speech, and he cooled down even harder than the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose tone was very different from that in which 40 hours ago he spoke of this measure. Now it is said that this is a political experiment. Now this is what I understand by an experiment. You begin upon the system of seeing how it worked. But you made that experiment in the Bill for the first £5,000,000, and

you may judge of that experiment whether it is a sound experiment on a good financial basis, and whether it has been successful in its social and political results; and, therefore, you ought to be in a position to form a judgment upon it, whether it is a sound system to work upon in the future, or whether it is a system which you ought to drop and take something else in its stead. Now, what is the recommendation of the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington? In his speech, in every word of which I concur except its conclusion, the noble Lord said he gave a hearty support to this Bill, because it was a Bill so bad, so unsound in the principles upon which it was founded, that there was no danger that any Government would be insane enough to follow it in the future. Talk of security—why the security the noble Lord offers us is that the measure being so financially unsound, no Chancellor of the Exchequer—not even the right hon. Gentleman the present Chancellor of the Exchequer—would dare to bring in another like it. I am not going to disparage the noble Lord. I think, whatever I feel about his political opinions or his political course, that he is a man who has made sincere sacrifices for the cause of economy, and I never listen to his speeches upon economical subjects without recognizing the perfect soundness and sincerity of his economic principles, and really nothing but his tenderness for the present Government could induce the noble Lord to have so far departed from his economical principles as to say that £5,000,000 was such a trifle that it really did not signify what became of it. I think I have heard the noble Lord solicitous about much smaller sums. But now he says—"This is a rich country; £4,000,000 or £5,000,000 is a trifle, and though the security is exceedingly rotten, let us advance the money." He makes use of the old illustration; he pleads in favour of the Bill that it is a little one. But there is another illustration which might be applied to the conclusion of the noble Lord. He examines the Bill, he finds that it is unsound in principle, that if carried further it will be mischievous in its consequences, but out of consideration for his friends he finds a verdict, "Not guilty, but do not do it again." Now, under these circumstances, I am justified in saying that this measure thus recommended stands in a very different position from that which it occupied on its introduction. What is the answer of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer? He says to the noble Lord the Member for South Paddington—"We are very much obliged to you for your admirable argument and for the sympathy you have shown us—and because you find us not guilty, you promise to support us, and we promise never to do it again." I think the country will look upon this Bill in rather a different manner from that of hon. Gentlemen opposite. This Bill is being rushed through the House of Commons. I do not think the country will agree with the view of hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House that this expenditure of £5,000,000 sterling upon an unsound financial basis is a trifle. The ordinary Rules of the House in the discussion of measures which require the gravest discussion have been set aside. Bills are printed before they are introduced; they are taken *de die in diem*, so that the country can have no time to examine and consider them. Indeed, we are told in the Unionist Press that it is a gracious act of condescension that we are allowed to discuss this measure at all. It is only £5,000,000. Why should you discuss it? To oppose it is an act of incredible meanness. That is the attitude taken in support of this proposal. The majority are ready to vote the £5,000,000. They would be quite as ready to vote £20,000,000 or £30,000,000 or £40,000,000; and if my noble Friend the Member for Rossendale had found this a Bill to advance £40,000,000 he would have risen to a still higher stage of enthusiasm than he exhibited on the first reading. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) has said that the experiment made by Lord Ashbourne's Act has succeeded. We want to know how this experiment has succeeded? We have asked for information, and we have got none. The Government have no information themselves. Upon all the material elements necessary to judge of this measure—I am not speaking of its economical basis, I am speaking of its social operations—we have failed to extract from the Government any information which would enable the House or the country to judge of its results

What we want to know is, into whose pockets this money has gone? We want to know what class of owners, in what particular districts, have sold the land? We want to know what class of occupiers have acquired the land? This is an absolutely essential element for judging of the experiment. We are not going to take the success of the experiment from the mouth of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, though there is no mouth from which I would take an opinion more willingly. The country ought to know these things. You have had plenty of time to prepare them, and where is the information? We get across the Table of the House a few figures which we are unable to test or to judge of. This very afternoon we were told that a sum of £107,000 was refused. It is most important to know what are the principles, what the grounds of refusal. We can, as I have said, get no information. The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland said—"Oh, I will hand it to you across the Table." That is not sufficient; the House of Commons ought to know the facts and to be able to examine them before it votes away the money of the taxpayers. We want to know the class of holdings sold and the proportion of each. A few figures are flung at our heads across the Table; but where are the Returns by which we can judge the facts? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. John Morley) asked you, if you have not got other things, to give the average number of years' purchase given in each class—a most material thing to know. A second point is the sums advanced under each head. That we are also told is a thing which cannot be supplied. Another question of a most material character was asked this afternoon by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Central Bradford (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), and the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland said he would telegraph for information. When Her Majesty's Government comes to the House of Commons with a demand for £5,000,000 out of the taxation of the country, neither they nor we are in possession of information which would justify us in making such a grant. And when such extraordinary measures are taken to rush this Bill through the House, I say it is one of the most unjustifiable proceedings I have ever known in Parliament. This scheme has come by surprise upon everybody. It has come with surprise upon Her Majesty's Government. How long is it since they determined to introduce the Bill? I do not believe its introduction has been decided upon by themselves more than 10 days. If they decided to do it, they ought to produce the Papers which would have enabled the House of Commons to judge of the necessity of the measure. I believe there has been such a pressure put upon them by the Irish landlords that they have been forced to introduce the Bill before they themselves had time to examine the operation of the previous measure, and now they are using most unusual and undue pressure to force it through the House of Commons. You are hurrying this Bill; you are scamping it. But do not suppose when you have got it through the House of Commons you have got to the end of this Bill. Though you have not supplied the House or the country with the means of justifying the Bill, the country will examine the matter for itself. ["Hear, hear!"] Yes; they will examine it for themselves when the money has been spent and gone, and if they come to the conclusion that this was an unsound system and an improper way of spending the money, what is to be their remedy, and what are they going to say to their Representatives in the House of Commons, who ought to be the guardians of their interests? Do you think they will be any the better satisfied when their Representatives plead that the Bill passed through the House of Commons in a week? This measure has been practically removed from the cognizance and the power of the House of Commons from the manner in which it has been presented and the manner in which you are endeavouring to force it through. As to the Bill itself, in the first place, it is openly avowed that it is a measure intended to operate, and as far as it has gone has been successful in operating, against Home Rule. That was the avowal during the earlier days of the debate of the character and intention of the measure. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was very great on this subject in his first speech. He was silent about it to-night, because the argument is not to be repeated.

Sir William Harcourt

But if the Bill is operating powerfully against Home Rule, why has not the argument been repeated? Because this Bill is not to be repeated.

MR. GOSCHEN: I do not repeat what I have already said.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: This is a verbal quibble. If this is an admirable measure against Home Rule, why are you never to have such another Bill again? If you use this particular measure to defeat Home Rule, do you think you are going to recommend it to the Home Rulers of Ireland? If you choose to take that line, if this Bill has for its object to defeat the national aspirations of the Irish people, if you take that attitude against them, how can you complain if they should not take a very friendly attitude towards you and your Bill? It has been asked in whose interest is this Bill promoted. I do not think it requires the wisdom of Solomon to divine whose child this Bill is. Anybody who heard the enthusiastic cheers of the Irish landlords when this Bill was announced; anybody who had seen the rapacious rush and the voracious appetite with which they darted at the £5,000,000 might, I think, easily have discovered in whose interest this Bill has been promoted. Why, Sir, anybody who listened to the speech of the hon. and gallant Member for North Armagh (Colonel Saunderson) would have supposed that the £5,000,000 were already jingling in the pockets of himself and his Friends. On the other hand, it has not been received with the same enthusiasm by the Representatives of the tenants of Ireland. That, I know, is a great recommendation in the eyes of hon. Gentlemen opposite. Indeed, as far as I can see, the foundation of the Unionist policy is to do nothing that Ireland and the Representatives of the Irish people desire, and to force upon them everything which they do not desire. That is the cardinal principle of Unionism, especially as expounded by Liberal Unionists on this side of the House. If a measure for the benefit of the Irish people is recommended from these Benches—note it down, it is a Parnellite scheme. If the hon. Member for Cork approves of it, reject it on that account. If he asks for it, do not let him have it. But if you can discover anything which he thinks not good for the Irish people, then suspend all Orders of the House and proceed with it *de die in diem*. That is the fundamental principle of the Unionist Party. This measure is a thoroughly Unionist measure; it is a measure which has all the recommendations. It is enthusiastically supported by the half-dozen or dozen hon. Gentlemen who represent the landlords of Ireland; it is disapproved, for the reasons that have been given, by the Representatives of the Irish tenants; and therefore it is certain it must be right, and at any hazard and at all cost it must be forced upon the House of Commons and the Irish people. That is the principle upon which you have proceeded in the past and are proceeding now. I have found some difficulty in understanding exactly the principle which particularly recommends this Bill to the Government and hon. Gentlemen who sit on that side of the House. It appears that they think it an admirable, measure because it will rid Ireland of the Irish landlord. I could understand why it should be approved on that ground by hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway on this side of the House. Hon. Gentlemen opposite think what will most conduce to the pacification of Ireland is the getting rid, to the largest extent, of the Irish landlord. They seem to think that this Bill possesses the miraculous virtues which were attributed to St. Patrick in former days, and if you can only have millions enough, you may boast in Ireland that as there are certain animals from which it is supposed to be free—that Ireland was entirely destitute of landlords. That is a singular view coming from the opposite Benches. I concur in it, I am sorry to say, to some extent. For this I believe—that it is the conduct of the Irish landlords in the past, and I regret to say, as far as the law permits them, in the present, that has caused the ill-will that has existed and which still exists between the English and the Irish nation. Therefore, so far as the Bill tended to remove a class which has done so much evil to its own country and to ours, I should be willing to support it on that ground. The Irish people have too long regarded the English Government as an instrument in the hands of the Irish landlords for that which they look upon as a system of extortion and oppression. On the other hand, the landlords have been trusted too long by

the English Government as a garrison by which they hold a hostile country. It is to these two fatal errors that I trace the greater part of the evils that have arisen between England and Ireland in former days. No doubt those relations were complicated and aggravated by differences of religion and of race. A great deal has been done to remove those feelings by the liberal legislation of Parliament on religious questions, and there is comparatively little of that now left, although Liberal Unionists go from time to time to Ireland and endeavour to see if they cannot blow up the smouldering and smothered embers of dead religious hatred into a flame, and whether they cannot trade upon them. But no doubt one main and principal difficulty that exists is the agrarian difficulty. You try to persuade yourselves that there is now nothing but the agrarian difficulty. We do not agree with you in that. We believe there is a political difficulty as well, and that those difficulties are inseparably connected with and re-act one upon the other. I do not, of course, enter into the political difficulty now, but what is the agrarian difficulty, and who are the authors of it? I will tell you who I think are the authors of the agrarian difficulty. Read the Devon Commission; read every Commission that you have appointed, and you will see the shameful history of the authorship of the agrarian difficulty in the abominable and wicked injustice with which the tenants of Ireland have been treated by the landowners of Ireland. What were we told the other night by the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland? He said the property of the tenant is equal to the property of the landlord? And how was the property of the tenant treated by the landlord? For years it was confiscated without shame and without remorse, and the owners of that half of the property were driven by millions across the Atlantic, where they still remain. ["No!"] Is it denied that you have driven the occupiers of the soil who have that half of the property until they obtained the defence of the Land Act of 1881? When Parliament at last, from a sense of shame, endeavoured to protect that property from the confiscation to which it was subject, how was that legislation encountered? We were told to-night the language in which the Tory Party have spoken and continue to speak of that attempt to protect that property—they called it an act of robbery. That is the history of the origin of the agrarian difficulty. Well, we find ourselves in the presence of that agrarian difficulty. We have made many attempts to protect the property of the tenant. We made an attempt in 1870, but the landlords managed to evade it by raising the rents, and consequently it was necessary to pass the Act of 1881. At this very moment the landlords are using the arrears for exactly the same purpose, in order to defeat the beneficial endeavours of Parliament. It is said that arrears have nothing to do with this question. It seems to me that they have everything to do with it. You will not believe that. The Representatives of the Irish people tell you that it is so, and that is why you will not believe it. You have refused to listen to the Representatives of Ireland upon this Land Question, and you refuse to listen to them now. I shall make this confession, not only for the other side, but for our side of the House—that I believe it is a clear mistake to suppose you can settle any land or agrarian question in Ireland unless you do it with the advice and consent of the Representatives of the Irish people, and I do take blame to ourselves that if the Act of 1881 did not have full success it was because it was not passed and considered with that full concert of the Irish Members and Representatives. But then you say—"This is to be a sort of compensation to the landlord." Well, you have tried your hand at compensation before and not with more success, and I doubt whether this £5,000,000 of compensation will be more popular or more successful than your previous experiment. You say it is a safe experiment to make. I am now going to say a word on the financial part of the question. In my opinion, three years is much too short a period to enable you to judge whether the experiment is safe or not. Why, a bubble insurance company will go on paying for two years, some even for 5 years; but that does not prove the principle is sound in itself, unless you examine their books, and then you find it will not bear investigation. The noble Lord the Member for South Pad-

dington made some observations on the thorough unsoundness of the financial basis of this scheme, which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer partly admitted, and, as I thought, in other respects very imperfectly answered. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that the margin was a great deal too small. [Mr. GOSCHEN: No.] For a Chancellor of the Exchequer to admit a margin to be small would be to put himself in a false position. I make this admission to the right hon. Gentleman, that I think he gave an explanation of the 15 years' security. Therefore, I will not question that. But, on the question of using the tenant-right as part of the security for the repayment of the money, I think his answer was entirely inconclusive and unsatisfactory. I start from the statement of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland that the property of the tenant is equal to the property of the landlord. You sell the property of the landlord at 17½ years' purchase—I will call it 18 years in round numbers. Does that or does it not include the tenant-right of the occupier? One of two things; let us examine the question on both hypotheses. I will suppose, first of all, that it does include the tenant-right of the occupier. If it does, then in the annuity the tenant will pay interest not only on the property of the landlord, but on the property which belongs to himself. ["No!"] That is on the hypothesis that the tenant-right is included. If the 18 years' purchase includes the tenant-right the tenant will pay the annuity on that half of the property which belongs to himself. Therefore what ought to be advanced would only be nine years' purchase, which would be the property of the landlord; and that is the only advance for which you have true security in the rent of the land that you buy. Then the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer says—"It does not include the tenant-right; it only represents the rent due to the landlord." See what the consequence of that is. If that be so, then there is something that is the equivalent of the same sum of 18 years' purchase which belongs to the tenant. [*Cries of* "Why?"] That is quite obvious. I cannot explain why twice two makes four. Well, under the circumstances, if the tenant has the same value in the property as the owner has, and if the owner has a sum which is represented by 18 years' purchase, then the tenant has a value in the property of the same amount. What is the consequence of that? The consequence is that if the tenant acquires the property he ought at once to be able to sell it for 36 years' purchase. If he cannot get 36 years' purchase for it he has been defrauded. That is the absurdity in which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer is landed, or the horns of a dilemma on which he has elected to be impaled. [*Laughter and* "No!"] Well, I may have fallen into an error. But now mark how serious this is. I know you are ready to vote at five minutes' notice £5,000,000 or £50,000,000 of public money, but these are matters which ought to be carefully considered; and I say that the manner in which you are dealing with and scamping this Bill, without giving time and patience to examine questions of this kind, is discreditable to the House of Commons. I do not dogmatize on the matter, but these are propositions which deserve to be examined, and you ought to know, when you are buying at 18 years' purchase, what is the property, to whom it belongs, and how the money is to be distributed. While an argument of this kind is advanced you try to clamour it down. That shows the spirit of the legislation in which you have embarked and the way in which you are disposed to deal with public money. Another thing was said by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was answering the argument that you were giving the landlords 3 per cent, and that that was too much; and he said—"Oh no, that is not so, because the poor man can only invest in my new 2¾ per cent securities, and therefore he would get less for his money." Well, I am afraid the right hon. Gentleman cannot have read the quotations to-day, because his own new securities are at a very heavy discount—I think at 96 or something of that sort, whilst the old Consols are, I think, at 101, so that if you choose to buy old Consols belonging to the people who were wise enough not to convert, you can get 3 per cent. They are not at all reduced to buying the stock of those gentlemen who for 1*s.* 6*d.* were advised by their

bankers to convert a stock that was worth 102 into a stock that is now worth 96. It is always said that cheap advice is bad. Advice tendered at 1*s.* 6*d.* has caused the loss of £5 per £100 to the gentlemen who were unwise enough to take it. I was not a holder of the old Consols, but if I had been, I think I should have had something to say to the banker who for 1*s.* 6*d.* had given me such bad advice as to convert. Well, it cannot be denied that the arrears are part of the purchase money under this Bill. And what is the consequence of making them part of the purchase money? The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer says that in some cases it will only make a difference of one half-year's purchase money; but I am told that in many instances it will be as much as two years' purchase money and more. These are points about which we ought to have information. Before you judge whether the security is a bad or a good one, you ought to know how much you are to pay for arrears. If this is to be a good security for the money advanced, the arrears ought to be excluded. The only real security is the profit-yielding rent. I say it is a perfectly unsound thing to give anything in the way of a year's purchase for arrears. You might as well give so many years' purchase for the mortgages on an estate. And if giving so many years' purchase for arrears is to make your security so much the less valuable, what is the conclusion from that? Why, that you ought to clear away the question of arrears before you can deal fairly and justly with the question of purchase. You ought to buy free of arrears; and, to do that, you ought to have a plan for clearing the estate of arrears. Until you do that you can never have a sound and fitting basis of purchase. It has been said that this is a free contract between the parties. If it were so, I should have a very different opinion of the Bill from that which I now entertain. I believe there is no freedom of contract in Ireland between landlord and tenant. The whole object of the Coercion Act, and the manner in which it is being worked, was to prevent free contract between landlord and tenant. The noble Lord the Member for South Paddington, in oblivion of recent events, says—"Why does not the hon. Member for East Mayo go and advise his constituents?" You take care that the hon. Member for East Mayo shall not go and advise his constituents. Suppose that he did, or that half-a-dozen Members went to Ireland and held a meeting to recommend the tenants under no circumstances to buy under this Bill, why they would all be in prison to-morrow. The tenants of Ireland have not fair play in this matter. They are not allowed to be advised by their Representatives. Why, they were denounced to-night by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer for intimidation in doing that, and it was treated by him as a crime. [An hon. MEMBER: Yes; intimidation.] Well, but the right hon. Gentleman did not treat the bankers as intimidating their clients by advising them. He actually says across this House that for a Representative of the people of Ireland to advise them that it is not a good bargain for them to buy is intimidation.

MR. GOSCHEN: Will the right hon. Gentleman excuse my interrupting him, but to advise and to intimidate strike me as entirely different operations. I never discussed the giving of advice. What I spoke of was the organization which intimidated intending buyers.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: According to the Government, if anybody meets anybody else and gives him advice he is intimidating. I do not desire to misrepresent the right hon. Gentleman, but I think he has repeated what I said. Well, the great defence of this Bill is that it is a very small affair. It cannot, however, be a small affair. It is utterly impossible that you can have the tenants who are enjoying lower rents in the form of an annuity under this Purchase Bill living side by side with other tenants who pay the higher rents of the Land Court. Therefore, it is absolutely impossible; you cannot stand on this Bill. You must either stop this operation—you ought to stop it if it is financially unsound—or you ought to go on with it, because you can justify those two exceptional classes of tenants. Have you on the other side asked yourselves what are the risks? It is admitted that there are risks. Supposing those rents are not paid, and supposing you evict the tenants, what are you going to do with those farms? Is the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer

going to work them himself? Or is he going to have the hon. and learned Attorney General and the right hon. and learned Member for Bury as Emergency men? The thing is absurd. Do you deny it is impossible that in any one of those farms the rent may not be paid? It is not impossible, and, therefore, what are you going to do? Are you going to leave the tenant paying no rent? Are you going to evict him; and then, after evicting him, what are you going to do with him? I should like to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) what is his well-considered scheme for dealing with those evicted farms? I regret very much that in discussing this Bill we have not the presence and the assistance of my right hon. Friend the Member for West Birmingham (Mr. J. Chamberlain). I was going to say that his absence was unfortunate—except for the cause, which is very fortunate; but in his absence I should like to speak on his behalf. He and I have often held sweet counsel, and I do not think that there has ever been any subject upon which we have been more entirely, more constantly, or more consistently agreed than in our condemnation of the principle and the operation of the Ashbourne Act. Now my right hon. Friend, at a very critical period—on the 21st of April, 1886—addressing the electors of Birmingham, used these words—

"If you like to be hopeful, if you are more sanguine than I am, you may believe that the tenants will be willing to pay these rents extorted from them by the decision of the Parliament at Westminster, and against the opinions of all their trusted leaders. You may believe that, but then comes the question, Will they be able to pay them? Whether it be because they are unwilling, or whether it be that they are unable, it is not the landlord who will suffer. He will be spending the income derived from British Consols, in London or in Paris, at his fancy and according to his will."

[An hon. MEMBER: Or in the Albany.] I wish the House to listen to the conclusion of this speech, this eloquent peroration, which, I believe, has not been forgotten and will not be forgotten by the constituencies of this country—

"Working men of England and Scotland, where is your remedy? You will be Irish landlords, you will have to evict the tenants, you will have to collect your rents at the point of the bayonet. I refuse to be a party to such contingencies. British credit, built up as it has been by past generations, is a precious reserve to be held for times of need and necessity, and I will not anticipate it for the benefit of the Irish landlords. We also have a land question in England—there is a land question in Scotland—there is a land question in Wales, and I am inclined to maintain these resources for cases which I think may be more urgent and more deserving than those of the Irish landlords."

The Loyal and Patriotic Union are fond of printing and disseminating leaflets. I recommend them to strike off a number of copies of that peroration, and I have no doubt that they will be energetically and gratuitously distributed by the hon. Member for the Bordesley Division of Birmingham (Mr. Jesse Collings). Those are the declarations that were made for the purpose of defeating the scheme of Home Rule. You talk of the mandate you had from the country. The hon. Member who spoke last (Mr. Whitmore) referred to that mandate. You said you had a mandate against Home Rule. I will not discuss that question with you now. But you had a stronger mandate—it was a mandate against land purchase. What do you think of that mandate, and how have you observed it? When speaking of the Land Purchase Bill of 1886, my right hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lothian used very memorable and pregnant words. He said, "The sands are running out." In my opinion the "sands have run out" on that question. And I do not know that I should be inclined to turn the hour glass over again. I will not argue as to the differences between our plan and your plan in its details in respect to security, but there was one enormous difference between our plan and yours. We offered a plan to a people whom we desired to conciliate. We believed that far beyond any pecuniary securities was the security in the faith and the goodwill of a reconciled Irish nation. And that was the basis of the proposals that we made. But what are your proposals? You are to become, on the part of the English Government, the proprietors of the land of a nation whom you treat as a hostile people, and as a conquered country—a people whom you keep under the iron heel of your coercion. I believe that under those circumstances no securities, were they ten times greater than those you offer, would be of any value, and that is why I believe that no

system of land purchase that you can propose, accompanied by a hostile attitude towards the Representatives of the Irish people, whom every day you are defaming, slandering, persecuting, and prosecuting, or the Irish nation, whom you are treating—out of the mouth of your Prime Minister and others—as an incurably dishonest people—that no system of land purchase, whether large or small, can have the smallest effect. And, therefore, I am entirely and strongly opposed to these proposals which are now made. I believe that no more damaging, no more disastrous proposal for their own position and influence in the country was ever made by any Government. [*Laughter.*] Oh! you laugh now, but as the French proverb says, "He laughs well, who laughs last." And I believe that these £5,000,000, which, with this reckless haste, you are squandering upon the Irish landlords, without even allowing decent time for Parliament to consider it, is a course of proceeding for which you will have to render a heavy account before the constituencies of this country. At all events, I rejoice that, by their voting to-night, the Liberal Party will discharge themselves from all responsibility for this measure—for a measure which I believe is demonstrably unfair to the Irish tenant, and which I am confident is utterly unjust and ruinous to the English taxpayer.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. MADDEN) (Dublin University) said, that, in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. A. J. Balfour), the duty devolved upon him of dealing with the various objections which had been urged against the proposals of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Sir William Harcourt) had occupied a great deal of his time by imputing to Members of the Government sentiments which they had never entertained, and which, certainly, they had never enunciated. The right hon. Gentleman had begun his speech by alleging that a change had come over the course of the debate. He had stated that at the beginning of the debate the measure before the House had been presented as the true solution of the Irish difficulty, while at the end of the debate the Government had receded from that position, and had presented the measure to the House as a small Bill only involving a trifling sum of money. If the speeches delivered at first did differ from those delivered at that moment, it was because they were dealing with very different subjects. It could not be justly thrown in the teeth of his Colleagues that they had not repeated in the second discussion the sentiments and opinions fully expressed on the first discussion. In discussing the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lothian (Mr. W. E. Gladstone) upon the Motion for leave to introduce the Bill, the Government were discussing the measure as compared with a rival scheme—namely, that of dealing with arrears. And, therefore, as between the settlement of the Land Question by way of purchase and the alternative offered to the House, they had presented this solution as the mode of dealing with the question, and to that they adhered. But it was another thing to accuse the Government of presenting the measure to the House as the ultimate solution of such a great question. The position stood thus. It was not possible to have, at this moment, the ultimate solution of the question. There must be an interval, and the practical question was whether in that interval this successful system was to be allowed to drop or whether it was to be continued until the country was able to make up its mind, and a system had been matured which might be brought before the country as capable of offering an ultimate solution. The right hon. Gentleman had also referred to the attitude of hon. Members disputing about a miserable £5,000,000. Having regard to the very large view of the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues two years ago, it was comprehensible that this should present itself to the mind of the right hon. Gentleman as a miserable sum. The measure of 1886 had contemplated advances of £50,000,000, which might have reached £200,000,000. In reading the debates upon Lord Ashbourne's Bill, when introduced in 1885, he found that the ex-Attorney General of the Government, of which the right hon. Gentleman was a Member, had objected to the Bill on the ground that it was a ridiculous sum, and asked for £20,000,000. The Government, however, did not regard it as a miserable sum, but they wished to

proceed by steps and to feel their way. Let them commence with £5,000,000 and see how the plan succeeded. Then, having observed the working of the present scheme, they would be in a better position to bring before the country an ultimate solution. The right hon. Gentleman had then proceeded to put a question which he agreed was the question of all others to be discussed in relation to the Bill before the House. How had the experiment succeeded? The right hon. Gentleman said he wanted facts and information as to how the Act had worked in different districts. Well, that was exactly the information which he laid before the House when he asked for leave to introduce this Bill. The right hon. Gentleman could find the information in the Reports which had been published year after year. Then it was alleged that the Government were rushing the Bill through the House—that certain information was asked for only to-day and had not been obtained. Why, it was announced on the 10th of July by the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) that this proposition would be brought before the House in the Autumn Session, and if hon. Gentlemen had placed their Questions on the Paper a fortnight ago they would now be in possession of the information they required. Then it was said that this measure was recommended to the House because it would operate against Home Rule. The persons who purchased under the Bill would be removed from the temptations of the argarian agitation which was advocated in the name of Home Rule; they would be in an independent position and able to form their opinions on political questions without intimidation. That was the way in which the Bill would operate from a political point of view. The right hon. Gentleman drew a humorous picture of what he called the rush of voracious landlords to take advantage of these £5,000,000. But did it not occur to the right hon. Gentleman that for every voracious landlord rushing to take advantage of the Bill five or six tenants must also be rushing to take advantage of it? No landlord would rush to take advantage of the Bill unless his tenants were rushing to meet him. This Bill was not brought forward in the interests of the landlords, nor did he say that it was exclusively in the interests of the tenants. It was in the interest of both landlord and tenant. It had been said that the Bill would have the effect of getting rid of Irish landlords, and reference had been made to different opinions as to whether that was desirable. Now, he altogether denied that this was a Bill which, either in its actual operation or in its tendency, would have the effect of getting rid of the Irish landlords. He would rather describe it as a measure to get rid of dual ownership. Several times the question had been asked on the other side of the House—"What about England and Scotland?" Neither in England nor in Scotland had that extraordinary position been forced upon the landlords which had been forced upon the Irish landlords—namely, the position of dual ownership. ["Oh, oh!"] That position, he maintained, did not generally exist, either in England or Scotland. No legislation had been applied to the English tenant-farmers which could be compared to the legislation of 1881, which forced upon the Irish landlords a *quasi*-partnership with their tenants. Another topic was referred to by the right hon. Gentleman, who stated that the landlords were using the arrears in order to force purchases. He traversed that statement as a matter of fact, and said that no proof had been laid before the House of any such assertion. Let them test for a moment the argument which the right hon. Gentleman proceeded to found upon it. He understood the right hon. Gentleman's argument to be that the arrears would be added on to the value of the land, and that the bargain would therefore be a disastrous one for the tenant and a dangerous one for the State.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that what he said was that the landlord went to the tenant and said,—"Unless you will purchase, I will evict you on your arrears."

MR. MADDEN said, he thought he had not much misrepresented the right hon. Gentleman, who had maintained that arrears would be used to enforce unfair bargains on the tenants. But the right hon. Gentleman ought to remember that the amount of the purchase-money, whether it included arrears or not, had

to be brought before the Land Commissioners before they accepted the security. When the purchase-money was settled between landlord and tenant, he did not see that, on the question of amount, it mattered at all whether or not arrears were included. An inspector was sent down, an elaborate system of valuation was put in force, every circumstance was taken into account, and the Commissioners saw that the State had full security for the money advanced. What was the danger? Where was the hardship upon the tenant? In protecting the State the Commissioners afforded a general though indirect protection to the tenant, and that was a view which he thought had not been sufficiently presented to the House. Another question to which the right hon. Gentleman had directed attention was that of the security, but he accepted the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer as regarded the retention of one-fifth of the purchase money. He (Mr. Madden) did not feel inclined to labour that point. He thought it was a mere dispute about words, as to whether it should be called a joint security for the entire amount advanced, or a diminution of risk as to one-fifth. As regarded the security afforded by the tenant's interest in the holding, let him put a concrete case. Assume that a farm was worth £100 a-year; the landlord's interest worth £70; and the tenant's part worth £30. Assume the rent to be £70, which, at 17 years' purchase, would be £1,190. What did the tenant buy? He bought the £70 a-year, the landlord's part. But there was the £30 a-year which the tenant had not bought, and that, with the £70 a-year, which represented the landlord's interest, became security to the State. He had not heard that argument touched. Was that no security; was that no margin in a transaction of this kind? Three propositions might be submitted to the House. First, he failed to observe that any real attempt had been made to prove that the Act had been a failure. Then, again, it had been generally conceded that some system of land purchase was the ultimate solution of the Land Question, and when, in addition, it was proved that the Ashbourne Act, so far as it had operated, had been a success, and, lastly, when no other solution was possible in the immediate present, an entire case was made out for the extension of the Act in the manner proposed by the Government. He believed that both landlords and tenants would benefit by the passing of the Bill, and that the measure, if adopted, would conduce to the advantage of Ireland and to the interests of the Empire at large.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) spoke in opposition to the Bill. One danger, he said, they must look at was the growth of Socialism; and he ventured to say that if they placed private property on a different basis from what it was now they would be helping on the Socialistic movement. He opposed the Bill because it would not settle anything.

MR. CONYBEARE spoke against the Bill.

It being Midnight, Mr. Speaker rose to interrupt the business.

Whereupon Mr. William Henry Smith rose in his place, and claimed to move "That the Question be now put."

Question, "That the Question be now put," put, and *agreed to.*

Question put accordingly, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The House *divided:*—Ayes 299; Noes 224: Majority 75.

AYES.

Addison, J. E. W.	Bentinck, W. G. C.
Aird, J.	Beresford, Lord C. W. De la Poer
Allsopp, hon. G.	Biddulph, M.
Ambrose, W.	Bigwood, J.
Amherst, W. A. T.	Birkbeck, Sir E.
Anstruther, H. T.	Blundell, Col. B. H. H.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.	Bolitho, T. B.
Baden-Powell, Sir G. S.	Bond, G. H.
Bailey, Sir J. R.	Bonsor, H. C. O.
Balfour, G. W.	Boord, T. W.
Banes, Major G. E.	Borthwick, Sir A.
Barclay, J. W.	Bristowe, T. L.
Baring, Viscount	Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Baring, T. C.	Brookfield, A. M.
Barnes, A.	Brown, A. H.
Barry, A. H. S.	Burdett-Coutts, W. L. Ash.-B.
Bartley, G. C. T.	Burghley, Lord
Barttelot, Sir W. B.	Caldwell, J.
Bates, Sir E.	Campbell, Sir A.
Baumann, A. A.	Campbell, J. A.
Bazley-White, J.	Carmarthen, Marq. of
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-	Cavendish, Lord E.
Beach, W. W. B.	Chamberlain, R.
Beadel, W. J.	Chaplin, right hon. H.
Beckett, E. W.	Charrington, S.
Bective, Earl of	Churchill, right hon. Lord R. H. S.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.	
Bentinck, Lord H. C.	

Clarke, Sir E. G.
Coddington, W.
Coghill, D. H.
Collings, J.
Colomb, Sir J. C. R.
Compton, F.
Cooke, C. W. R.
Corbett, A. C.
Corbett, J.
Corry, Sir J. P.
Cotton, Capt. E. T. D.
Cranborne, Viscount
Cross, H. S.
Crossley, Sir S. B.
Crossman, Gen. Sir W.
Cubitt, right hon. G.
Currie, Sir D.
Curzon, Viscount
Curzon, hon. G. N.
Dalrymple, Sir C.
Darling, C. J.
Darling, M. T. S.
Davenport, H. T.
Davenport, W. B.
De Lisle, E. J. L. M. P.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dimsdale, Baron R.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Dorington, Sir J. E.
Dugdale, J. S.
Duncombe, A.
Dyke, right hon. Sir W. H.
Egerton, hon. A. J. F.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, Sir G.
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Elliot, hon. H. F. H.
Ellis, Sir J. W.
Elton, C. I.
Ewing, Sir A. O.
Eyre, Colonel H.
Farquharson, H. R.
Feilden, Lt.-Gen. R. J.
Fergusson, right hon. Sir J.
Field, Admiral E.
Finch, G. H.
Finlay, R. B.
Fisher, W. H.
Fitzgerald, R. U. P.
Fitz-Wygram, Gen. Sir F. W.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Folkestone, right hon. Viscount
Forwood, A. B.
Fowler, Sir R. N.
Fraser, General C. C.
Fulton, J. F.
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. A. E.
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. J. S.
Gedge, S.
Giles, A.
Gilliat, J. S.
Godson, A. F.
Goldsmid, Sir J.
Goldsworthy, Major-General W. T.
Gorst, Sir J. E.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Granby, Marquess of
Gray, C. W.
Greenall, Sir G.
Grimston, Viscount
Grotrian, F. B.
Gunter, Colonel R.
Hall, C.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G. F.
Hamilton, Lord E.
Hamilton, Col. C. E.
Hamley, Gen. Sir E. B.
Hanbury, R. W.
Hankey, F. A.
Hardcastle, F.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Havelock-Allan, Sir H. M.
Heathcote, Capt. J. H. Edwards-
Heaton, J. H.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hermon-Hodge, R. T.
Hervey, Lord F.
Hill, right hon. Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Hoare, E. B.
Hoare, S.
Hobhouse, H.
Holloway, G.
Houldsworth, Sir W. H.
Howard, J.
Howorth, H. H.
Hozier, J. H. C.
Hubbard, hon. E.
Hughes, Colonel E.
Hunter, Sir W. G.
Isaacson, F. W.
Jackson, W. L.
James, rt. hon. Sir H.
Jardine, Sir R.
Jarvis, A. W.
Jeffreys, A. F.
Jennings, L. J.
Johnston, W.
Kelly, J. R.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
Kenrick, W.
Kenyon, hon. G. T.
Kenyon-Slaney, Col. W.
Kimber, H.
King, H. S.
Knatchbull-Hugessen, H. T.
Knightley, Sir R.
Knowles, L.
Lambert, C.
Laurie, Colonel R. P.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir J. J. T.
Lawrence, W. F.
Lea, T.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Legh, T. W.
Leighton, S.
Lennox, Lord W. C. Gordon-
Lethbridge, Sir R.
Lewisham, right hon. Viscount
Llewellyn, E. H.
Long, W. H.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Macartney, W. G. E.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Maclean, F. W.
Maclean, J. M.
Maclure, J. W.
M'Calmont, Captain J.
Madden, D. H.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Malcolm, Col. J. W.
Mallock, R.
Maple, J. B.
Marriott, rt. hon. Sir W. T.
Maskelyne, M. H. N. Story-
Matthews, rt. hn. H.
Mattinson, M. W.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Mayne, Admi. R. C.
Mildmay, F. B.
Mills, hon. C. W.
Milvain, T.
More, R. J.
Morgan, hon. F.
Morrison, W.
Moss, R.
Mount, W. G.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Mowbray, R. G. C.
Mulholland, H. L.
Muncaster, Lord
Muntz, P. A.
Murdoch, C. T.
Newark, Viscount
Noble, W.
Norris, E. S.
Northcote, hon. Sir H. S.
Norton, R.
O'Neill, hon. R. T.
Paget, Sir R. H.
Parker, hon. F.
Pelly, Sir L.
Penton, Captain F. T.
Plunket, right hon. D. R.
Powell, F. S.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, Sir J. H.
Quilter, W. C.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Rasch, Major F. C.
Reed, H. B.
Richardson, T.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ritchie, rt. hon. C. T
Robertson, Sir W. T.
Robertson, J. P. B.
Robinson, B.
Rollit, Sir A. K.
Ross, A. H.
Rothschild, Baron F. J. de
Round, J.
Russell, Sir G.
Russell, T. W.
Salt, T.
Sandys, Lt.-Col. T. M.
Saunderson, Colonel E. J.
Selwyn, Captain C. W
Shaw-Stewart, M. H.
Sidebotham, J. W.
Sidebottom, T. H.
Sidebottom, W.
Sinclair, W. P.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Smith, A.
Spencer, J. E.
Stanhope, rt. hon. E.
Stanley, E. J.
Stephens, H. C.
Stewart, M. J.
Stokes, G. G.
Swetenham, E.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Tapling, T. K.
Taylor, F.
Temple, Sir R.
Theobald, J.
Thorburn, W.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Townsend, F.
Tyler, Sir H. W.
Vincent, C. E. H.
Walsh, hon. A. H. J.
Waring, Colonel T.
Watson, J.
Webster, Sir R. E.
Webster, R. G.
West, Colonel W. C.
Wharton, J. L.
Whitley, E.
Whitmore, C. A.
Williams, J. Powell-
Wilson, Sir S.
Winn, hon. R.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Wood, N.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wright, H. S.
Yerburgh, R. A.
Young, C. E. B.

TELLERS.

Douglas, A. Akers-
Walrond, Col. W. H.

NOES.

Abraham, W. (Glam.)
Abraham, W. (Limerick, W.)
Acland, A. H. D.
Acland, C. T. D.
Allison, R. A.
Anderson, C. H.
Asher, A.
Asquith, H. H.
Atherley-Jones, L.
Austin, J.
Balfour, Sir G.
Ballantine, W. H. W.
Barbour, W. B.
Barran, J.
Blane, A.

Bolton, J. C.
Bolton, T. D.
Bright, Jacob
Bright, W. L.
Broadhurst, H.
Brown, A. L.
Brunner, J. T.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Buxton, S. C.
Byrne, G. M.
Cameron, C.
Cameron, J. M.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, H.
Campbell-Bannerman, right hon. H.
Carew, J. L.
Causton, R. K.
Channing, F. A.
Clancy, J. J.
Clark, Dr. G. B.
Cobb, H. P.
Coleridge, hon. B.
Colman, J. J.
Commins, A.
Condon, T. J.
Conway, M.
Conybeare, C. A. V.
Corbet, W. J.
Cossham, H.
Cozens-Hardy, H. H.
Cox, J. R.
Craig, J.
Craven, J.
Cremer, W. R.
Crilly, D.
Crossley, E.
Davies, W.
Deasy, J.
Dillon, J.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Duff, R. W.
Ellis, J. E.
Ellis, T. E.
Esmonde, Sir T. H. G.
Esslemont, P.
Evershed, S.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fenwick, C.
Ferguson, R. C. Munro-
Finucane, J.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzgerald, J. G.
Flower, C.
Flynn, J. C.
Foley, P. J.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Foster, Sir W. B.
Fowler, rt. hon. H. H.
Fox, Dr. J. F.
Fuller, G. P.
Gardner, H.
Gilhooly, J.
Gill, T. P.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gourley, E. T.
Graham, R. C.
Gully, W. C.
Hanbury-Tracy, hon. F. S. A.
Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W. G. V. V.
Harrington, E.
Harrington, T. C.
Harris, M.
Hayden, L. P.
Hayne, C. Seale-
Holden, I.
Hooper, J.
Hunter, W. A.
Illingworth, A.
Jacoby, J. A.
Joicey, J.
Jordan, J.
Kay-Shuttleworth, rt. hon. Sir U. J.
Kenny, C. S.
Kenny, J. E.
Kilbride, D.
Lalor, R.
Lane, W. J.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lawson, H. L. W.
Leahy, J.
Leake, R.
Leamy, E.
Lefevre, right hon. G. J. S.
Lewis, T. P.
Lockwood, F.
Lyell, L.
Macdonald, W. A.
Mac Innes, M.
M'Arthur, W. A.
M'Cartan, M.
M'Carthy, J
M'Donald, P.
M'Donald, Dr. R.
M'Ewan, W.
M'Lagan, P.
M'Laren, W. S. B.
Mappin, Sir F. T.
Marjoribanks, rt. hn. E.
Marum, E. M.
Mayne, T.
Menzies, R. S.
Molloy, B. C.
Montagu, S.
Morgan, rt. hn. G. O.
Morgan, O. V.
Morgan, W. P.
Morley, right hon. J.
Morley, A.
Mundella, right hon. A. J.
Murphy, W. M.
Neville, R.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
Nolan, J.
O'Brien, J. F. X.
O'Brien, P.
O'Brien, P. J.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, J.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Doherty, J. E.
O'Gorman Mahon, The
O'Hanlon, T.
O'Hea, P.
O'Keeffe, F. A.
Oldroyd, M.
Parker, C. S.
Parnell, C. S.
Paulton, J. M.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Philipps, J. W.
Pickersgill, E. H.
Picton, J. A.
Pinkerton, J.
Playfair, right hon. Sir L.
Plowden, Sir W. C.
Power, P. J.
Power, R.
Price, T. P.
Priestley, B.
Provand, A. D.
Pugh, D.
Randell, D.
Redmond, J. E.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Rendel, S.
Reynolds, W. J.
Roberts, J. B.
Robertson, E.
Robinson, T.
Roe, T.
Roscoe, Sir H. E.
Rowlands, J.
Rowlands, W. B.
Rowntree, J.
Russell, Sir C.
Samuelson, G. B.
Schwann, C. E.
Sexton, T.
Shaw, T.
Sheehy, D.
Sheil, E.
Sinclair, J.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stack, J.
Stanhope, hon. P. J.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stevenson, F. S.
Stewart, H.
Stuart, J.
Sullivan, D.
Sullivan, T. D.
Summers, W.
Swinburne, Sir J.
Tanner, C. K.
Thomas, A.
Thomas, D. A.
Trevelyan, right hon. Sir G. O.
Tuite, J.
Waddy, S. D.
Wallace, R.
Warmington, C. M.
Watt, H.
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Wilson, H. J.
Wilson, I.
Winterbotham, A. B.
Woodall, W.
Woodhead, J.
Wright, C.

TELLERS.
Bradlaugh, C.
Labouchere, H.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

BOARD OF AGRICULTURE BILL.

(*Mr. William Henry Smith, Mr. Secretary Matthews, Viscount Lewisham.*)

[BILL 379.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order be discharged, and the Bill withdrawn."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

MR. CHAPLIN (Lincolnshire, Sleaford) said, that in reference to this Bill he proposed to put a question and to make an appeal to his right hon. Friend. He was quite aware that in the circumstances in which they found themselves, and under the exigencies of Public Business, it was imperative that his right hon. Friend should abandon the Bill. At the same time, he regretted that the right hon. Gentleman did not feel it within his power to take the sense of the House upon the principle of the Bill; because he could not help think-

ing that the opposition to the measure, whatever it might be, would not have been found to be of a very serious or complicated character. He was aware that some opposition had been manifested on the part of hon. Gentlemen who were, and always had been, the special champions of economy in the Public Service, and on the ground that they objected to any increase in the number of Government Departments, and especially at what they probably considered unnecessary cost to the State. But if he was correctly informed —and his right hon. Friend would be able to correct him if he was wrong— the scheme contemplated by the Government, so far from adding anything whatever to the public cost, would effect an absolute economy. If that was so, he could not believe that any opposition to this measure on any ground whatever could have been anything at all of a formidable character. He made no complaint of the course the Government had adopted on this occasion; but he wished to make an appeal to his right hon. Friend, because, undoubtedly, there had been a feeling in certain quarters that the Government were never really in earnest in introducing this measure. He should be the last person in the world to pay his right hon. Friend such an exceedingly bad compliment as to suppose for a single moment that when the Government announced their intention of dealing with this question during the present Session they were not speaking and acting in perfect good faith towards the Gentlemen interested in the subject. Now, what he had to ask was, whether, under all the circumstances of the present time, the First Lord of the Treasury was able to give to the House an assurance—a distinct and definite assurance—that the Government would re-introduce the Bill and prosecute it to a conclusion, as far as it was in their power to do so, at the earliest possible opportunity during the coming Session? If his right hon. Friend would give such an assurance he would give great satisfaction to those Members of the House who were interested in the subject as representing the agricultural interest in the country. Such an assurance would go far to remove what he believed to be a feeling of disappointment in certain constituencies; it would absolutely remove any doubt there might be as to the intentions of the Government in the matter.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he had listened with great interest to the remarks which had fallen from his right hon. Friend, and he had no hesitation in saying that it was with great regret the Government found themselves obliged to part with this Bill for the present Session. But he thought the country and the House would not regret the opportunity of seeing the outlines of the measure which the Government thought it right to ask the House to consider, and which time alone had prevented the House considering. He had already expressed to hon. Friends behind him, and to hon. Gentlemen opposite who took an interest in agriculture, that it was the intention of the Government to find an opportunity of re-introducing the measure in the early part of next Session, and to do their best to pass it into law. It would not be fitting, under present circumstances, that he should attempt to follow his right hon. Friend as to the framework of the Bill. He believed it was a good Bill, and that it was one which would effect economy in the Public Service, and conduce to good administration.

MR. CONYBEARE (Cornwall, Camborne) said, he thought it would hardly be right to let that opportunity pass without expressing from the Opposition side of the House their complete sympathy with the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chaplin), who, they knew, took a personal interest in this question. There was, of course, only one Gentleman in the House who was at all qualified to fulfil the post which would be created by the Bill, and that Gentleman was the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chaplin). He sincerely condoled with the right hon. Gentleman that the opportunity of getting an official position was, for the present at least, lost to him.

DR. TANNER (Cork Co., Mid) desired to add his regret to that already expressed by his hon. Friend (Mr. Conybeare).

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Order *discharged.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

COPYHOLD ACTS AMENDMENT BILL

[*Lords*].—[BILL 298.]

(*Mr. Haldane.*)

COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

MR. HALDANE (Haddington) moved that the Order be discharged and the Bill withdrawn. Several Notices of opposition had been put down, and the promoters of the Bill felt that if they agreed to the Amendments they would be passing not a living Bill, but a skeleton Bill. Under the circumstances, the promoters of the Bill concurred in thinking it would be better to defer the measure.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Order be discharged, and the Bill withdrawn,"—(*Mr. Haldane,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Order *discharged.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

PUBLIC BUSINESS—PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS.

MR. HENRY H. FOWLER (Wolverhampton, E.) begged the indulgence of the House while he asked the First Lord of the Treasury what course the Government proposed to pursue, during the remainder of the Session, with reference to the Bills of private Members? He took it they were now in the position they were ordinarily in when the Session was drawing to a close, and when they had only to deal with Supply and Government measures. Towards the end of a Session there was a general understanding that the Government would not afford facilities for proceeding with Bills of private Members. He could quite understand hon. Members coming down night after night to deal with Government Bills; but he did not think they ought to be called upon to deal with the Bills of private Members, unless the Government meant to support and carry them.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) said, he thought the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly reasonable in his view of the purposes to which this Autumn Sitting was devoted. Undoubtedly this Sitting was primarily for Government Business; but he would not say that a private Member's Bill, which was unopposed, should not pass. However, so far as the Government was concerned, it would not be any portion of their duty to provide facilities for the discussion of private Members' Bills which were opposed. He trusted, therefore, that hon. Members who found that opposition was likely to be taken to their Bills would withdraw them.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR (Donegal, E.) asked what the right hon. Gentleman proposed to do with those Bills which appeared on the Paper as Private Bills, but which were really Lords' Bills?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Haddingtonshire (Mr. Haldane) had already given an indication of the course which hon. Gentlemen in charge of Bills coming from "another place" were prepared to do—he had withdrawn a Lords' Bill.

CHAPELS (CLONMACNOICE) BILL.

(*Colonel Nolan, Mr. T. M. Healy, Dr. Fitzgerald.*)

[BILL 361.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. JOHNSTON (Belfast, S.) said, that as this was one of the Bills which was hanging on night after night, he hoped the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) would take the hint from the First Lord of the Treasury and withdraw the Bill. This was a Bill to which there was very decided objection in Ireland, and which could not be allowed to pass. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

SCOTCH CROFTERS' EMIGRATION.

APPOINTMENT OF A SELECT COMMITTEE.

THE FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY (Mr. W. H. SMITH) (Strand, Westminster) asked leave to move the Motion for the appointment of a Committee which stood in his name. He was aware it was said that his Motion could not be assented to without discussion; but he wished to intimate to hon. Gentlemen who took an interest in this question that it was exceedingly desirable that the Committee should get to work, in order to ascertain the facts relating to crofter emigration. The Government were anxious that the House should be put in possession of all information with

regard to what had been done; and it appeared to them that the best method of furnishing that information would be by means of a Committee, which would represent all views on this important question. He hoped, therefore, the House would allow this Committee to be nominated.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the various schemes which have been proposed to facilitate Emigration from the Crofter districts of Scotland to the British Colonies; to examine the results of any such scheme which has received practical trial in recent years; and to Report generally upon the means by, and the conditions under, which such Emigration can best be carried out, and the quarters to which it can most advantageously be directed."—(*Mr. W. H. Smith.*)

DR. CAMERON (Glasgow, College) said, he did not rise to oppose the Motion, because he was quite aware of the truth of what the right hon. Gentleman said as to the importance of at once appointing the Committee if it was to do anything this Session. What he was anxious to do was to criticize the Remit or Reference. In his opinion, the Reference to the Committee was open to some very serious objections. The first portion of the Reference was that the Committee should

"Inquire into the various schemes which have been proposed to facilitate Emigration from the Crofter districts of Scotland to the British Colonies."

He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman proposed to remit to the Committee the question of the policy of crofter emigration. The Government had adopted that policy on their own responsibility; and, perhaps, it was as well they should continue to carry it out on their own responsibility. He thought that if the Committee were to inquire into the general question, it would certainly come to the conclusion that any scheme that was to be carried out by the Government must be carried out by Government money alone, and that it would never do to trust to private subscriptions—to make grants of public money dependent upon the money subscribed by the Government. The right hon. Gentleman must have seen that the operation of the Government scheme had been very seriously curtailed indeed, owing to the failure of the public to subscribe the £2,000 expected; as a matter of fact, he believed the public subscribed only £720. He objected to the following part of the Reference:—

"To examine the results of any such scheme which has received practical trial in recent years,"

for the simple reason that it was utterly impossible that the Committee could get information from Canada, in the period during which its Sittings could extend, which would enable them to form an opinion as to the results of recent schemes which would be of the slightest value to the House. There were certain facts in dispute with regard to the Government scheme; it was alleged, for instance, on the one hand, that the crofters were dissatisfied, and, on the other hand, that they were satisfied. That was a disputed fact. Could the Committee settle it without evidence? And the Committee could not get the evidence in the time allowed them. The same remark applied to all the previous schemes. Then there were facts that were admitted. He held that there was not the slightest necessity for a Committee to be appointed to bring out those facts. It was known that the present scheme was not carried out at the expense contemplated by the Government. It was shown by the Lord Advocate, when replying to a Question put to him that afternoon, that the £120 per family had not sufficed for the expenses of the scheme; that the Government had been obliged to supplement the allowance by an extra £700. It was known, too, that the crofters were not located on Government land, but were placed by mistake on the land of the Canada North-West Company, which was selling at some $6 or $8 an acre. That fact could be got out by the production of the correspondence, and without any Committee at all. What he contended was that the Committee, upon these disputed facts, could get no evidence which would entitle its recommendations to the smallest weight. It would get official evidence put before it, and that was all the evidence it could get. If it reported on that official evidence, it would report in an official sense; and if the Government wished to be guided simply by official evidence, there was no necessity for a Committee; the Government should take the official evidence, and act on its own responsi-

bility. He objected to the Government shifting its responsibility for the emigration scheme to the shoulders of a Committee which could not get information which would entitle it to bear the responsibility of any recommendation. He would, therefore, suggest that the right hon. Gentleman should curtail the Reference to the Committee; that the Committee should be appointed to consider and report upon the various schemes that had been proposed to facilitate emigration. It was perfectly impossible that the Committee could examine into the results of the Government scheme, for example. They did not yet know the results of the Government scheme, and they would not know them until after the winter had been passed by the crofters who had been sent out. If the right hon. Gentleman would curtail the Reference as he had suggested, he thought he and his hon. Friends could consent to the appointment of the Committee.

MR. MARK STEWART (Kirkcudbright) said, he hoped that the Government would adhere to the terms of their Motion, as he thought nothing would be more useful than the inquiry proposed, so far as the congested districts in many parts of Scotland were concerned. The proposal was not to appoint a Committee to inquire generally into the question of emigration, which would be far too wide a subject to deal with; but it was to consider what scheme of emigration had already been proposed, and to examine the results of schemes which had received practical trial. The public generally had no facilities for finding out what was the real state of matters abroad; and, therefore, if the Committee were appointed, he believed it would give the greatest possible satisfaction, not only to Scotland, but also to many parts of the United Kingdom.

DR. CLARK (Caithness) said, that the Government, instead of limiting, should extend the scope of the proposed inquiry, which, no doubt, would enable the Committee to perform very useful work. If the First Lord of the Treasury would agree to insert after the word "facilitate," in the second line of his Motion, the words "migration, or," and then go on to say, after the words "British Colonies," "and to report generally how such migration and emigration may best be carried out," very good and useful work might be done by the inquiry on the lines of the Royal Commission. With the limited Reference in the Motion, as it at present stood, however, the Government would not be able to get at the facts of the case; and the result might be that false views of this question would be increased on the part of the public.

MR. ANDERSON (Elgin and Nairn) said, he also would call attention to the terms of the Reference as being far too limited, seeing that they included the words "from the crofter districts of Scotland to the British Colonies." The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury must know very well that what were technically understood as the crofters' districts of Scotland were those districts included in the Crofters' Act. He (Mr. Anderson) should oppose any Motion for a Committee which was confined to the crofter districts within that Act; because it was felt to be a great grievance that Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, and the counties he represented, which contained a large number of crofters situated exactly in similar circumstances to the crofters dealt with under the Act, were excluded from the benefits of that Act. The right hon. Gentleman would see why he (Mr. Anderson) objected to the appointment of a Committee whose inquiries were to be confined to the counties within the Crofters' Act. He had been endeavouring to get that Act extended to other counties which, though not technically called in the language of Parliament, "crofter counties," were counties containing many hundreds and thousands of crofters. He was sure the right hon. Gentleman would agree with him that it was only fair that the scope of the operations of the proposed Committee should be extended. He (Mr. Anderson) was in favour of an inquiry, but one which would range over all the crofters in Scotland. There were several hundreds, he believed thousands, of people in Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, Morayshire, and Nairnshire, all of whom were crofters; but, because they were not in the counties named in the Act, the Government got the idea that there were no crofters in those counties. The late Lord Advocate (Mr. Macdonald) was of that opinion; but he hoped the present Lord Advocate did not share that view.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. GOSCHEN) (St. George's, Hanover Square) said, he thought he could satisfy the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken with regard to the point he had raised. The proposal of the Government was not to appoint a Committee to inquire into the condition of the crofter districts of Scotland mentioned in the Crofters' Act, but to inquire into the various schemes which had been proposed to facilitate emigration from these districts. Although those schemes might be applicable to certain districts in Scotland mentioned in the Crofters' Act, they might also be applicable to other districts. What the Government had been anxious to submit to the House was that schemes should be referred to the Committee which had already been proposed, or received practical trial; and they were anxious that the Committee should consider the general principle upon which proposals proceeding from the Colonies should be accepted. This question of emigration was a very serious one, and they were constructing a Reference to the Committee in such a form as to lead them to hope that they would be able, as a result of the inquiry, to obtain some reliable opinion as to the various schemes of emigration which, from time to time, had been proposed by the various Colonies, and by Gentlemen in that House interested in emigration; and they had thought that it would be of interest to hon. Gentlemen from Scotland, and of advantage to the Government, if they could get the various points in connection with these schemes threshed out. They attached value to the words that the Committee should

"Report generally upon the means by and the conditions under which such Emigration can best be carried out; and the quarters to which it can most advantageously be directed."

They could not agree to strike out that part of the Reference, because that was precisely the point upon which they would most desire to have the inquiry. If the hon. Gentleman opposite (Dr. Cameron) objected to making a special examination into the success of the Crofters' Act, which was upon its trial, that would be a matter for consideration and determination by the Committee. But the Government were *bonâ fide* in their desire to receive some guidance from the Report of the Select Committee as to the places in which they could most satisfactorily send emigrants, the conditions under which they should go, and the kind of arrangements which should be made for forwarding them. The Committee would also enlighten them as to whether or not Land Companies should be formed; as to what arrangements should be made with the Colonial Governments; and as to the broad principles of the arrangements which should be carried out. He hoped that after this explanation hon. Gentlemen opposite would agree to this general Reference, which had been drawn up in order to give the Committee the opportunity to examine, as well as time would allow, the various schemes for emigration which, from time to time, had been brought forward.

MR. ESSLEMONT (Aberdeen, E.) said, it would not be in the recollection of the present Lord Advocate, but no doubt inquiries at the Scotch Office would enable him to discover that in regard to the previous scheme of emigration, a very numerously signed Petition was sent from Fraserburgh, in Aberdeenshire, requesting that the inhabitants of that county might be made participators in any scheme of emigration which was adopted. He understood that the present scheme was not directed chiefly to crofters *per se*, but more to fishermen who were connected with the crofters' districts. If this Motion were passed in the words in which it had been framed by the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, it would, undoubtedly, preclude the consideration of the claims of the fishermen of Fraserburgh, who had already received a communication from the Government saying that in any scheme of emigration which was brought forward their case should be considered. He would suggest that the House should allow the Motion to pass if the First Lord of the Treasury would strike out four words of it in line three, "the crofters' districts of." The Motion would then read,

"Committee to inquire into the various schemes which have been proposed to facilitate emigration from Scotland to the British Colonies,"

and so on. If those words were struck out he, for one, should be glad to allow the Motion to pass; and the inquiry would then take a scope which it was desirable it should take, and which the large

district he represented was in favour of.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY (Forfarshire) said, he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, if he would extend the scope of the inquiry, so as to enable the Committee to report on the policy of emigration, and to state their view as to whether emigration could be expected to remove the evils that the crofters in the Western Islands complained of? This seemed to him to be a question of great importance for the House to determine; because if on further consideration and inquiry, it did not appear that emigration could possibly remedy the evils under which the crofter districts and the Western Islands of Scotland generally were labouring, it would be simply a loss of time on the part of the Committee to inquire as to what schemes of emigration should be adopted. He thought it worthy of the serious consideration of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether or not State emigration was a policy which that House ought seriously to adopt. Emigration might be a very desirable remedy if brought about by voluntary and individual effort; but he was afraid that further inquiry into this subject by persons practically acquainted with the situation in the West Highlands would show that emigration could not be expected to perceptibly reduce the existing evils; and that, therefore, any scheme of State emigration would only be putting off the day when Parliament must deal seriously and effectually with a state of matters which caused so much suffering and trouble. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would be good enough to say whether he was prepared to empower the Committee to report as to the policy of State emigration?

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he should be glad to meet the views of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Aberdeenshire (Mr. Esslemont) by inserting after the word "crofter," in line three, the words "and other," which would make the proposal read—

"To inquire into the various schemes which have been proposed to facilitate Emigration from the Crofter and other districts of Scotland to the British Colonies."

Those words would embrace any scheme which had been proposed for emigration from any district of Scotland which had been really seriously under consideration. He trusted the House would allow the Committee to be appointed. [DR. CLARK: How about "migration?"] The Committee could not go into that subject, as it would be opening up a question which was a very large one, and there would be very little hope, indeed, of the Committee making any Report at all this Session. Surely the hon. Member would not desire to render the whole of the inquiry useless. The Reference would be quite wide enough with the addition of the words he now proposed to insert.

MR. RANKIN (Herefordshire, Leominster) wished to appeal to the First Lord of the Treasury not to limit this inquiry to Scotland alone. There was great distress existing in many parts of England, and such an inquiry as that proposed would be very useful in pointing out methods of alleviating that distress.

MR. ANDERSON said, the words proposed by the right hon. Gentleman would not be quite sufficient, because he proposed that the inquiry should extend to the schemes for emigration proposed in the crofter and other districts of Scotland, and, as a matter of fact, there had only been schemes in one or two counties. He (Mr. Anderson) desired to have a general inquiry as to the desirability of emigration for the whole crofter districts; and he desired to see a Report as to the means by, and the conditions under, which emigration could best be carried out, and the quarters to which it could be most advantageously directed.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the Government desired to meet the wishes of hon. Gentlemen opposite as much as they could. Their great aim was to obtain for the House some evidence in the course of the present Session, if possible, and certainly in the early part of next Session, with regard to the particular question now before the House; and if they were to widen the scheme so as to include emigration generally, and take in the question of migration, they would fail to get the evidence as soon as they earnestly desired to have it. He would ask hon. Members to recollect that it would be quite open, at some future time, for the House to appoint another Committee to deal

with the wider questions that had been raised. He trusted the House would accept the Motion. The matter was of such importance that it was desirable the Committee should finish its labours during the Autumn Session.

DR. CAMERON contended that the Committee, under the proposed Reference, would only get misleading evidence.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the Committee would not accept misleading evidence, but would get the best evidence it could, and make the best Report possible.

DR. CAMERON: I shall have to object to the Motion.

MR. HUNTER (Aberdeen, N.) asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman would extend the inquiry, so as to include the question whether emigration itself was a desirable thing or not? As the language of the Reference stood, it would confine the Committee simply to the mode in which emigration was to be carried out; and, of course, there was a preliminary question as to whether or not emigration by the State as a policy should be adopted. The other part of the Motion was extremely wide, as it said that the various schemes that had been proposed to facilitate emigration from Scotland should be inquired into. One of these was the scheme of Mrs. Gordon Baillie; and he was afraid the Government would find great difficulty in tracking the details of that scheme. If the recommendation of the hon. Member for East Aberdeen (Mr. Esslemont) were adopted, it would be necessary to leave out the word "such," in line 4. He (Mr. Hunter) had another objection to the Motion, which was that the names of the Committee had not been mentioned.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, it was not the rule to give the names of the Members of a Committee before a decision had been taken as to whether that Committee should be appointed.

MR. HUNTER: Then, as I have no hope of seeing a satisfactory Committee appointed, I shall object to the discussion being continued and the Motion being adopted.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member object to the Motion being agreed to?

MR. HUNTER: Yes.

Further Proceeding stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at five minutes after One o'clock.

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TO

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

VOLUME CCCXXX.

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When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

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c. Ordered ; read 1° * *Nov* 16 [Bill 334]

Bann Drainage Bill
(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*)
c. Order for resuming Adjourned Debate on Appointment of Select Committee read, and discharged *Nov* 15, 1371 [Bill 312]
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l. Moved, "That the House do now resolve itself into Committee upon the said Bill" *Nov* 20, 1633; Motion withdrawn; Bill withdrawn (No. 241)

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Committee *; Report; Considered; read 3° *Aug* 10
l. Read 1ª * (*L. Harris*) *Aug* 10 (No. 276)
Read 2ª *Aug* 11, 383; Committee negative read 3ª
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 13 [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 32]

INDIA—Under Secretary of State (*see* GORST, Sir J. E.)

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Contagious Diseases Acts—The Cantonment Regulations, Question, Mr. James Stuart; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *Aug* 9, 101
Indian Police—Appointment of Europeans—The Hon. A. Hay, Questions, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The Under Secretary of State *Nov* 8, 635; *Nov* 12, 889
Inland Emigration Act, 1882—*Coolies—Mortality in Tea Gardens*, Questions, Mr. James Stuart; Answers, The Under Secretary of State *Aug* 9, 99, 100; Question, Mr. Summers; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *Aug* 10, 328
Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *Aug* 9, 83

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Medical Instruction and Examination, Question, Dr. Tanner; Answer, The Under Secretary of State *Aug* 9, 86

Threatened Famine, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Under Secretary of State *Nov* 8, 646

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Chittagong to Dibrugarh, Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *Nov* 12, 887

NATIVE STATES

Annexation of the Shan States, Question, Mr. Channing; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *Nov* 13, 1030

The Begum of Bhopal and Sir Lepel Griffin, Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *Nov* 15, 1222

BENGAL

Outstills in the Hooghly and Howrah Districts, Question, Sir Roper Lethbridge; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *Nov* 15, 1229

BOMBAY

The Dock, Question, Admiral Field; Answer, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *Aug* 9, 90

India—East India—Hyderabad (Deccan) Mining Company

Question, Sir Roper Lethbridge; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Nov* 9, 773

The Select Committee, Question, Dr. Clark; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *Nov* 15, 1242;—*The Report*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State *Nov* 22, 1815;—*Mr. Furnivall*, Question, Mr. Kelly; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *Aug* 10, 326;—*Mr. Hughes*, Question, Mr. Kelly; Answer, The Under Secretary of State, 327;—*The Nizam*, Questions, Mr. Kelly; Answers, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *Nov* 16, 1375;—*Colonel Marshall*, Questions, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Kelly; Answers, The Under Secretary of State *Aug* 9, 106

India—East India Revenue Accounts—The Annual Financial Statement

Moved, "That it appears, by the Accounts laid before this House, that the Total Revenue of India for the year ending the 31st day of March 1887 was Rx.77,337,134; that the Total Expenditure in India and in England charged to Revenue was Rx.77,158,707; that there was a surplus of Revenue over Expenditure of Rx.178,427; and that the Capital Outlay on Railways and Irrigation Works was Rx.5,670,484, besides a Capital Charge of £4,914,540 involved in the Redemption of Liabilities" (*Sir John Gorst*) *Aug* 9, 137

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India—East India Revenue Accounts—The Annual Financial Statement—cont.

After long debate, Amendt. at end, add "But this Committee is of opinion that the economies proposed by the Army Commission in India should be enforced, especially those which would do away with the Commands in Chief in Madras and Bombay; and that the Civil administration of those Presidencies might be more economically conducted, but with equal if not greater efficiency, by making those Presidencies Lieutenant Governorships instead of Governorships" (*Sir William Plowden*); Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after further debate, Question put; A. 36, N. 105; M. 69 (D.L. 272)

Main Question put, and agreed to

The Financial Resolutions—Power of Discussion—The New Rules, Question, General Goldsworthy; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Aug* 13, 436

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Competition for Indian Stamped Paper, &c., Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *Nov* 8, 643; Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for India (Sir John Gorst) *Nov* 9, 769

Industrial Schools Bill

Question, The Earl of Harrowby; Answer, The Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Salisbury) *Nov* 6, 457

IRELAND (*Questions*)

Belfast Banking Company—Bank Issue Act, 1845, Question, Mr. Blane; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Madden) *Nov* 16, 1374

Home Industries—Lacemaking, &c., Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Lane; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland, The Vice President of the Council (Sir William Hart Dyke) *Nov* 16, 1376

Irish Church Act—Section 25—Religious Services on the Rock of Cashel, Question, Viscount Grimston; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Aug* 10, 313

State of the Country—Potato Crop, &c. in Co. Donegal, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Nov* 12, 890; Questions, Mr. Mac Neill, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Chief Secretary *Nov* 15, 1220

Tithe Rent-Charges—Commutation, Questions, Mr. Stanley Leighton, Mr. H. Gardner; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Nov* 22, 1825

CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE (IRELAND) ACT, 1887

Conviction of Mr. J. O'Kelly, M.P.—Supply of Drink to Irish Witnesses, Questions, Mr. J. O'Connor, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton), Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Clancy; Answers, The Solicitor Gene-

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IRELAND—*Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act*, 1887—cont.
ral for Ireland *Aug* 10, 334; Questions, Mr. J. O'Connor, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Aug* 11, 391
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Charge of Intimidation by an Emergency Man at Blarney, Questions, Dr. Tanner; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Nov* 19, 1512

COMMISSIONERS OF PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND)
Improvement Loans, Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. John Morley; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) *Nov* 16, 1382

LABOURERS' (IRELAND) ACT
Cottages at Mullingar, Questions, Mr. Tuite; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Nov* 20, 1653

LAND (IRELAND)
Derelict Farms, Questions, Mr. J. E. Ellis, Mr. Clancy, Mr. John Morley; Answers, The Chief Secretary *Nov* 9, 762

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)
Mr. Hugh Ferguson, of Newtownards, Questions, Mr. M'Cartan; Answers, The Chief Secretary *Aug* 9, 109

PURCHASE OF LAND (IRELAND) ACT, 1885
Payment of Interest and Instalments, Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) *Nov* 13, 1029
Proportion of Advances, Questions, Mr. John Morley; Answers, The Chief Secretary *Nov* 15, 1223
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Purchase Money, Questions, Mr. Brunner, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton), Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Nov* 22, 1829
Terms of Purchase, Question, Mr. Brunner; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland [further Questions thereon] *Nov* 22, 1830
Return of Proceedings, Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Nov* 8, 634

IRISH LAND COMMISSION
The Report, Question, Mr. J. E. Ellis; Answer, The Chief Secretary *Nov* 15, 1239

Fair Rents
Carrick-on-Shannon and Boyle, Question, Mr. Cox; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Nov* 12, 887

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Additional Sub-Commissioners, Question, Mr. Maurice Healy; Answer, The Chief Secretary *Aug* 9, 110
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INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)
The River Bann, Question, Mr. Macartney; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Nov* 12, 886

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Mr. Clifford Lloyd, Questions, Sir George Campbell, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *Nov* 20, 1064; Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury [Further Questions thereon] *Nov* 22, 1819

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Riot at Arthurstown, Questions, Mr. Clancy, Mr. Cobb; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Nov* 12, 883
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Labour Statistics—Return as to Wages, &c.—Part 3
Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The President of the Board of Trade (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) *Nov* 15, 1227

Labourers' Allotments Act, 1887—*Restrictions on Cultivation*
Question, Mr. Cobb; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) *Nov* 12, 884

LAFONE, Mr. A., *Southwark, Bermondsey*
Army Contracts—Inspection of Boots, 1813

Land Charges Registration and Searches Bill [H.L.] (*Mr. Haldane*)
c. Committee; Report *Nov* 16, 1497 [Bill 356]

Land Law (Ireland) (Land Commission Bill
(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Colonel King-Harman*)
c. Bill withdrawn* *Nov.* 15 [Bill 199]

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Secretary Matthews*)
c. Notice of Amendment, Mr. W. E. Gladstone *Nov* 16, 1395
Moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill further to facilitate the Purchase of Land in Ireland by increasing the amount applicable for that purpose by the Land Commission" (*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*) *Nov* 19, 1520
Amendt. to leave out all after "That," add "in lieu of proceeding again to vote a sum of £5,000,000, so as to place the State in the direct relation of landlord to the Irish occupier, under the provisions of 'The Purchase of Land (Ireland) Act, 1885,' it is expedient, especially in view of the lamentable sufferings caused by recent evictions in Ireland, to extend the provisions of 'The Law (Ireland) Act, 1887,' so as to empower the Land Court to reduce or cancel the arrears of rents found to be excessive, as well as to deal with the rents themselves, after the example of the legislation recently and beneficially applied to the crofters' holdings in Scotland" (*Mr. Gladstone*); Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Debate adjourned

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill—cont.
Debate resumed *Nov* 20, 1668; after long debate, Question put; A. 330, N. 246, M. 84
Division List, Ayes and Noes, 1756
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1° * [Bill 385]
A Point of Order, Questions, Mr. Conybeare, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Nov* 21, 1761
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Nov* 21, 1761
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day three months" (*Mr. Labouchere*) Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c;" after debate, Debate adjourned
Debate resumed *Nov* 22, 1841; after long debate, Moved, "That the Question be now put" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*); Question put, and agreed to; Question put accordingly, "That 'now,' &c.;" A. 299, N. 224; M. 75
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Alleged Conviction of two Innocent Men (*The Edlingham Burglary*), Question, Mr. Milvain; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *Nov* 14, 1150; Questions, Mr. Aird, Mr. Conybeare; Answers, The Secretary of State *Nov* 22, 1814
Calendar and List of Previous Convictions, Question, Mr. Atherley-Jones; Answer, The Secretary of State *Aug* 9, 108
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c. Consideration of Lords' Amendts. *Aug* 10, 339; several agreed to; several amended, and agreed to [Special Entries]
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 13 [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 41]

Local Government (England and Wales) Electors Act, 1888, Repeal Bill [H.L.] (*The Lord Denman*)
l. Presented; read 1ª * *Nov* 6 (No. 282)
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c. Ordered * *Nov* 19

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c. Read 2°; Committee; Report; read 3° *Aug* 9, 252 [Bill 370]
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 13 [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 28]

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(*Mr. William Henry Smith, Mr. Secretary Matthews, Mr. Solicitor General*)
c. As amended, further considered; read 3° *Aug* 8, 10 [Bill 336]
l. Read 1ª (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) *Aug* 9, 59 (No. 263)
Read 2ª, after debate *Aug* 10, 255
Committee, after short debate; Report; read 3ª *Aug* 11, 378
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l. Royal Assent *Aug* 10 [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 24]

Mersey Railway (No. 1) Bill [*Lords*] (*by Order*)
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Metropolitan Board of Works (Money) Bill (*Mr. Jackson, Sir Herbert Maxwell*)
c. Read 2°, after short debate *Aug* 8, 46 [Bill 354]
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l. Read 1ª* (*M. Salisbury*) *Aug* 9 (No. 263)
Read 2ª*; Committee negatived; read 3ª *Aug* 10
Royal Assent *Aug* 13 [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 40]

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MONTAGU, Mr. S., *Tower Hamlets, Whitechapel*
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MORGAN, Right Hon. G. Osborne, *Denbighshire, E.*
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MORGAN, Mr. W. PRITCHARD-, *Merthyr Tydvil*
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MORLEY, Right Hon. J., *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*
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Mortmain and Charitable Uses Bill [H.L.]
(*Mr. Attorney General*)
c. As amended, considered; read 3° *Aug* 10, 357 [Bill 285]
l. Commons' Amendts. considered *Aug* 11, 380
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Mortmain and Charitable Uses Bill
Lords' Amendments—Exemption of Keble College, Oxford, Questions, Mr. E. Robertson, Mr. Howell; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Aug* 13, 437; *Nov* 20, 1665

MUNDELLA, Right Hon. A. J., *Sheffield, Brightside*
Parliament—Business of the House—Postponement of Bills, 120
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Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks, Comm. 1614
Supply—Mercantile Marine Fund (Grant in Aid), 923, 926
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Municipal Corporations (Local Bills) (Ireland) Bill
(*The Lord Fitzgerald*)
l. Read 2ª *; Committee negatived *Aug* 10
Read 3° * *Aug* 11 (No. 255)
Royal Assent *Aug* 13 [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 34]

Municipal Funds (Ireland) Bill
(*Mr. Jackson, Mr. Arthur Balfour, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*)
c. Read 2° * *Aug* 8 [Bill 371]
Committee; Report *Aug* 9, 249
Considered *; read 3° *Aug* 10
l. Read 1ª * (*Ld. Privy Seal*) *Aug* 10 (No. 278)
2R. discharged *Aug* 11
Read 2ª, after short debate *Nov* 20, 1630

National Defence Bill [Bill 235]
(*Mr. Secretary Stanhope, Mr. Brodrick*)
c. Committee; Report *Aug* 9, 247
As amended, considered; read 3° *Aug* 10, 361
l. Read 1ª * (*L. Harris*) *Aug* 10 (No. 277)
Read 2ª, after short debate; Committee negatived; read 3ª *Aug* 11, 384
Royal Assent *Aug* 13 [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. 31]

National Defence—Possibility of Invasion —Landing in Suffolk
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Motion for a Return (*Lord Charles Beresford*); Motion agreed to *Nov* 20, 1647

NAVY (*Questions*)
Additional War Ships, Questions, Mr. Howell, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *Nov* 15, 1229
Partially Armoured Battle Ships, Question, Lord Charles Beresford; Answer, The First Lord *Nov* 20, 1649
Coaling Arrangements in the Home Ports, Question, Admiral Mayne; Answer, The First Lord *Nov* 19, 1501
H.M.S. "Sultan"—Collision in the Tagus—The British Steamer "Nith"—Compensation, Question, Mr. Leatham Bright; Answer, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *Nov* 9, 764
Machinery, &c.—Engines of H.M.S. "Blake," Question, Mr. Leatham Bright; Answer, Sir Herbert Maxwell (A Lord of the Treasury) *Aug* 10, 315
Naval Manœuvres—Bombardment and Capture of Towns and Forts, Questions, Admiral Field, Mr. Caldwell; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. H. A. Macdonald), The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *Aug* 9, 111
Naval Policy of the Government—The Navy Estimates, Questions, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *Nov* 12, 911
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Pay and Position of Signalmen, Question, Admiral Mayne; Answer, The First Lord *Nov* 19, 1502

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Production of Guns, Questions, Mr. R. W. Duff; Answers, The Financial Secretary, War Department (Mr. Brodrick) *Nov* 13, 1029

THE DOCKYARDS
Check Measurement, Questions, Captain Price, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Answers, The First Lord of the Admiralty (Lord George Hamilton) *Nov* 22, 1821

NEVILLE, Mr. R., *Liverpool, Exchange*
Land Purchase (Ireland), Motion for Leave, 1705
Members of Parliament (Charges and Allegations), 3R. 30

New South Wales—Chinese Immigration —see *Australia*

NOLAN, Colonel J. P., *Galway, N.*
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NOLAN, Mr. J., *Louth, N.*
Ireland—Evictions—Estate of Mr. R. T. Hamilton, Co. Armagh—Certificates of Registration, 430
Law and Justice—J. M. Johnson, M. J. Carroll, and H. Cooper, 641, 642
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NORRIS, Mr. E. S., *Tower Hamlets, Limehouse*
Literature, Science, and Art—British Museum—Evening Admission, 1837
Supply—British Museum, 1489

NORTHCOTE, Hon. Sir H. Stafford, *Exeter*
Law and Justice — Debts Contracted by Married Women, 1246
Post Office—Canadian Pacific Railway Company—Contract for Conveyance of Mails, 317

Oaths Bill [Bill 319]
(*Mr. Bradlaugh, Sir John Simon, Mr. Kelly, Mr. Courtney Kenny, Mr. Burt, Mr. Coleridge Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Richard, Colonel Eyre, Mr. Jesse Collings*)
c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *Aug* 9, 128; after short debate, Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. De Lisle*); Question pro-

Oaths Bill—cont.
posed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after further short debate, Question put; A. 147, N. 60; M. 87 (D. L. 271)
Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 3° *l.* Read 1ª * (*L. Herschell*) *Aug* 9 (No. 272)
2R. discharged *Aug* 10, 303
Read 2ª, after debate *Nov* 13, 1013

O'Brien, Mr. P., *Monaghan, N.*
Ireland—Law and Justice—Sentence on Mr. P. A. M'Hugh, Mayor of Sligo, 1238

O'Brien, Mr. W., *Cork Co., N.E.*
Ireland — Magistracy—Mr. Clifford Lloyd, 1820, 1821
Royal Irish Constabulary—Interference of Police at Castlerea, 1823
Land Purchase (Ireland), Motion for Leave, 1560, 1538, 1593; 2R. 1857, 1858, 1872

O'Connor, Mr. A., *Donegal, E.*
Ireland—Irish Land Commission—Sittings at Strabane, 891
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Parliament—Public Business—Private Members' Bills, 1932
Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks, Comm. 1614
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Law Officers, &c. 972, 983
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O'Connor, Mr. J., *Tipperary, S.*
Ireland—Questions
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O'Connor, Mr. T. P., *Liverpool, Scotland*
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O'Connor, Mr. T. P.—*cont.*
Metropolitan Fire Brigade—Fire Escapes, 317
Parliament—Adjournment, 324, 397
Business of the House—Postponement of Bills, 122
United States — American Copyright—The Proposed Enactment, 308

Onslow, Earl of (Secretary to the Board of Trade)
Sea Fisheries Regulation, 2R. 1629

Paget, Sir R. H., *Somerset, Wells*
Agriculture—Dairy Schools—The Grant in Aid, 334
Pleuro-Pneumonia and Tuberculosis—Report of the Departmental Committee, 318

Parker, Mr. C. S., *Perth*
Bail (Scotland), Consid. *add. cl.* 40
Supply—Supreme Court of Judicature, 1087

Parliament
LORDS—
Private Bills
Moved to resolve, "That the following be made a Standing Order; A copy of every Local Bill, if amended in Committee, shall, as so amended, be deposited at the Office of Her Majesty's Treasury and at the General Post Office three days before the Bill is read a third time;" agreed to; and the said Resolution ordered to be added to the Roll of Standing Orders, to be numbered 143A, and to be printed (No. 265) *Aug* 9

Standing Orders of the House—Report of the Select Committee, Observations, The Lord Privy Seal (Earl Cadogan) *Nov* 6, 419
Standing Order No. XXXV. considered (according to order) and dispensed with during present sittings of the House *Aug* 9
Standing Orders (*Private Business*)—*Amendment*, 304
Ordered, That the Standing Orders, as amended, be printed [No. 368] *Aug* 11
Sittings of the House, Questions, Earl Granville; Answers, The Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (The Marquess of Salisbury *Nov* 6, 456

COMMONS—
Imprisonment of a Member (*Mr. Sheehan*), Letter received by Mr. Speaker, *Nov* 16, 1372

Public Accounts Committee
Ordered, That the Report of the Select Committee on Estimates Procedure (Grants of Supply) be referred to the Committee of Public Accounts (*Sir Herbert Maxwell*) *Nov* 15
Standing Orders—Mortmain and Charitable Uses Act—Lords' Amendments, Question, Mr. Warmington; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Nov* 12, 907

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

SITTINGS AND ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Aug* 8, 53; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Jackson*) *Aug* 9, 254; Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That this House, at its rising on Monday next, do adjourn till Tuesday, the 6th day of November" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Aug* 11, 392; after debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Aug* 11, 430; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Aug* 13, 439; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to

Moved, "That, until the Government Orders are disposed of, so much of the Standing Order No. 1, Sittings of the House, as relates to the interruption of Business at midnight, the right of objection after midnight, and the Adjournment of the House at One o'clock, be suspended this day and To-morrow" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Aug* 9, 123

Amendt. after "Government Orders," insert "and the Order for the Second Reading of the School Board for London Election Bill" (*Colonel Hughes*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Question put; A. 27, N. 201; M. 174 (D. L. 270)

Main Question again proposed, 126; after short debate, Main Question put, and agreed to

Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill—Exemption from the Standing Order

Ordered, That the proceedings on the Motion for leave to introduce the Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill, if under discussion at Twelve o'clock this night, be not interrupted under the Standing Order, Sittings of the House (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Nov* 20

Wednesday Sittings—Suspension of the Standing Order

Ordered, That the Standing Orders of the House relating to Wednesday Sittings be suspended this day (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Aug* 8

Question, Mr. Marjoribanks; Answer, Mr. Speaker *Aug* 9, 117; Question, Mr. Brunner; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Nov* 20, 1667

Saturday Sittings

Ordered, That the Sitting of the House, this day, be held subject to the Standing Orders that regulate the Sitting of the House on Wednesdays (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Aug* 11

New Rules of Procedure, 1888—*Closure Rule (Application on the 19th July)*, Question, Mr. Conybeare; Answer, Mr. Speaker *Nov* 6, 462

East India Revenue Accounts—The Financial Resolutions—Power of Discussion—The New Rules, Question, General Goldsworthy; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Aug* 13, 436

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PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE AND PUBLIC BUSINESS

Question, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) [further Questions thereon] *Aug* 8, 8; Questions, Sir William Harcourt, Lord Charles Beresford, Mr. Conybeare, Sir George Campbell; Answers, The First Lord *Nov* 6, 460; Ministerial Statement, The First Lord; short debate thereon *Nov* 15, 1250;—*Postponement of Bills*, Question, Mr. Warmington; Answer, The First Lord [further Questions thereon] *Aug* 9, 118;—*The Adjournment*, Questions, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Lawson, Sir George Campbell, The Lord Mayor of Dublin (Mr. Sexton); Answers, The First Lord *Aug* 10, 337;—*Housing of the Working Classes Bill*, Questions, Lord Henry Bruce, Mr. Howell; Answers, The First Lord *Nov* 8, 649;—*The Navy Estimates*, Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, The First Lord *Nov* 8, 652;—*Scotch Business—Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill*, Questions, Mr. D. Crawford, Dr. Clark; Answers, The Lord Advocate (Mr. J. P. B. Robertson), The First Lord *Nov* 9, 769; Question, Mr. Esslemont; Answer, The First Lord *Nov* 19, 1518;—*Universities (Scotland) Bill*, Questions, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Childers; Answers, The First Lord *Nov* 9, 773;—*The Vote for Crofter Emigration*, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The First Lord *Nov* 9, 774;—*Irish Legislation*, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The First Lord *Nov* 12, 907;—*Land Purchase (Ireland) Bill*, Questions, Mr. John Morley, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, The First Lord *Nov* 20, 1666;—*Private Members' Bills*, Questions, Mr. Henry H. Fowler, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The First Lord *Nov* 22, 1931

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS

New Peer

Nov 13—The right honble. Sir John Savile, G.C.B., created Baron Savile of Rufford, in the county of Nottingham

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS

New Writs Issued

Nov 6—*For* Merthyr Tydvil Borough, *v.* Henry Richard, esquire, deceased

For Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities, *v.* Right honble. John Hay Athole Macdonald, Lord Justice Clerk in Scotland

Nov 9—*For* Dewsbury, *v.* Sir John Simon, knight, Three Chiltern Hundreds

Nov 21—*For* Finsbury (Holborn Division), *v.* Colonel Francis Duncan, deceased

New Members Sworn

Nov 6—The honble. William Henry Cross, *Liverpool (West Derby Division)*

Nov 8—Moir Tod Stormonth Darling, esquire, *Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrew's*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*New Members Sworn*—cont.
Nov 13—William Pritchard-Morgan, esquire, *Merthyr Tydvil*
Nov 20—Mark Oldroyd, esquire, *Dewsbury*

Parliamentary Franchise, The
Caledonian Road Station—Disallowance of Claims by the Revising Barrister, Question, Mr. R. Chamberlain; Answer, The Secretary of State *Nov* 15, 1237
Registration of Miners—The County Franchise, Question, Mr. Paulton; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) *Nov* 12, 900

Parliamentary Elections (Returning Officers' Expenses) (Scotland) Bill
(*Mr. Esslemont, Sir George Trevelyan, Mr. Hunter, Mr. M'Ewan*)
c. 2R. discharged; Bill withdrawn *Nov* 16, 1499 [Bill 4]

Parliamentary Voters Bill
(*Mr. Cremer, Mr. William Crawford, Mr. Abraham (Glamorgan), Mr. Burt, Mr. Pickard, Mr. James Rowlands*)
c. 2R. deferred *Nov* 8, 760 [Bill 171]

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., *Cork*
Land Purchase (Ireland), 2R. 1841, 1845, 1855, 1857

Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks Act, 1883—Section 27—Officers of Departments—Sir Frederick Abel
Question, Mr. D. A. Thomas; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *Aug* 10, 332

Patents, Designs, and Trade marks Bill [H.L.]
(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*)
c. Read 2° *Aug* 10, 361 [Bill 348]
Committee deferred *Nov* 19, 1614

PAULTON, Mr. J. M., *Durham, Bishop Auckland*
Registration of Miners—County Franchise, 900
Supply—Revising Barristers in England, 1117

PEASE, Sir J. W., *Durham, Barnard Castle*
London Coal Dues—Ancient Rights of Measuring and Weighing Coals, 1836

PEEL, Right Hon. A. W. (*see* SPEAKER, The)

Perpetual Pensions—The Treasury Minute
Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh, Dr. Clark; Answers, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Nov* 6, 461; Question, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answer, The First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) *Nov* 7, 570

PERSIA
Trading Companies — Proclamation of the Shah, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Sir James Fergusson) *Aug* 9, 74

Petroleum Traffic — Explosion in Calais Harbour
Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. Matthews) *Nov* 19, 1513

PHILIPPS, Mr. J. W., *Lanark, Mid*
Land Purchase (Ireland), Motion for Leave, 1566
Scotland—Local Government—Town Council of Hamilton, 766, 897

PICKERSGILL, Mr. E. H., *Bethnal Green, S.W.*
Bahama Islands—Superior Court of Justice—Thomas Taylor, 891, 892
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PICTON, Mr. J. A., *Leicester*
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Places of Worship (Sites) Bill
(*Mr. John Ellis, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Burt, Mr. M'Arthur, Mr. Henry Wilson*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Nov* 13 [Bill 93]

PLAYFAIR, Right Hon. Sir Lyon, *Leeds, S.*
Local Government (England and Wales), Lords' Amendts. Consid. 339

PLOWDEN, Sir W. C., *Wolverhampton, W.*
India—East India Revenue Accounts, Comm. Amendt. 180
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PLUNKET, Right Hon. D. R. (First Commissioner of Works), *Dublin University*
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Poor Law—Alleged Ill-Treatment of Children in St. George's Workhouse
Question, Mr. Conybeare; The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) *Nov* 16, 1388

POST OFFICE (ENGLAND AND WALES) (*Questions*)
Alleged Opening of Letters, Questions, Mr. Bradlaugh; Answers, The Postmaster General (Mr. Raikes) *Nov* 9, 770; *Nov* 19, 1533;—*Bills* (*House of Commons*)—*Extension of Time*, Question, Mr. Chance; Answer, The Postmaster General *Aug* 9, 98
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Gateshead Office, Question, Mr. W. H. James; Answer, The Postmaster General *Nov* 16, 1373
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Mail Contracts—Surgeons on Mail Steamers, Questions, Mr. R. Power, Dr. Clark; Answers, The Postmaster General *Nov* 22, 1827
Messrs. De La Rue & Co's Contract for Postal Stationery, Questions, Mr. Jennings, Mr. Bartley, Mr. Hanbury; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) *Nov* 16, 1390
Postcards, Contract for, Questions, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Wootton Isaacson; Answers, The Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Jackson) *Nov* 16, 1378; Question, Mr. Henniker Heaton; Answer, The Postmaster General *Nov* 20, 1662;—*Prices of*, Questions, Mr. R. Power; Answers, The Postmaster General *Aug* 9, 72

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Telegraphic Communication between Halifax and Bermuda, Question, Colonel Eyre; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Goschen) *Nov* 22, 1835

POWELL, Mr. F. S., *Wigan*
Augmentation of Benefices Act Amendment, 2R. 1011
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POWER, Mr. P. J., *Waterford, E.*
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POWER, Mr. R., *Waterford*
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Preferential Payment of Wages Bill
(*Mr. Randell, Mr. Abraham* (*Rhondda*), *Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Burt, Mr. Fenwick, Mr. D. A. Thomas, Mr. Thomas Ellis*)
c. Bill withdrawn * *Nov* 12 [Bill 234

[*cont.*

Preferential Payment of Wages (No. 2) Bill
(*Mr. Randell, Mr. Kenyon, Mr. Abraham (Rhondda), Mr. Llewellyn*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Nov* 12 [Bill 381]

PRICE, Captain G. E., *Devonport*
Navy—Dockyards—Check Measurement, 1821

PRICE, Mr. T. P., *Monmouth, N.*
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Prisons (England and Wales)—Knaphill Prison
Question, Mr. Hankey; Answer, The Secretary of State for War (Mr. E. Stanhope) *Nov* 16, 1384

PROVAND, Mr. A. D., *Glasgow, Blackfriars, &c.*
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Floods in the Chalk Farm District, Question, Mr. Lawson; Answer, Colonel Hughes *Aug* 10, 333
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Pollution of the Regent's Canal, Question, Mr. Picton; Answer, The President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Ritchie) *Aug* 9, 93

Public Health Acts Amendment (Buildings in Streets) Bill
(*Captain Cotton, Mr. Seton-Karr, Mr. Brunner, Mr. Mowbray*)
c. Committee (*on re-comm.*) *; Report; considered; read 3° *Nov* 12 [Bill 255]
l. Read 1ª * (*L. Basing*) *Nov* 13 (No. 283)

Public Health (Scotland) Provisional Order (Kirkliston, Dalmeny, and South Queensferry Water) Bill [H.L.]
l. Royal Assent *Aug* 13 [51 & 52 *Vict.* c. cxcix.]

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l. Read 1ª * (*M. Salisbury*) *Aug* 9 (No. 269)
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Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the various schemes which have been proposed to facilitate Emigration from the Crofter districts of Scotland to the British Colonies; to examine the results of any such scheme which has received practical trial in recent years; and to Report generally upon the means by, and the conditions under, which such Emigration can best be carried out, and the quarters to which it can most advantageously be directed" (*Mr. W. H. Smith*) *Nov* 22, 1933; after short debate, Further Proceeding adjourned

Sea Fisheries Regulation Bill
(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Baron Henry de Worms*)
c. As amended, considered *Aug* 8, 50; Bill re-committed; Committee; Report; as amended, considered; read 3° [Bill 350]
l. Read 1ª * (*E. Onslow*) *Aug* 9 (No. 261)
Read 2ª *Nov* 20, 1629

Sea Fisheries Regulation Bill
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Considered in Committee *Nov* 9, 776—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART, Vote 1
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Considered in Committee *Nov* 13, 1033—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Votes 3 to 9
Resolutions reported *Nov* 14, 1217
Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the First Resolution;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Dr. Tanner*); after short debate, Motion withdrawn; original Question put, and agreed to
Subsequent Resolutions agreed to
Considered in Committee *Nov* 14, 1152—CIVIL SERVICE ESTIMATES; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE, Vote 9
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"£233,520, For contribution towards the Expenses of the Metropolitan Police, and of the Horse Patrol and Thames Police, and for the Salaries of the Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners, and Receiver"
Amendt. to leave out "£233,520," insert "£230,220" (*Mr. Pickersgill*); Question proposed, "That '£233,520,' &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 143, N. 30; M. 113 (M. L. 294)
Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Resolution;" after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. James Stuart*); Question put; A. 25, N. 116; M. 91 (D. L. 295)
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Original Question again proposed; after short debate, Original Question put, and agreed to
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l. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3ª" *Aug* 11, 385; after short debate, Motion withdrawn
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